Reviews

The Coins and Pottery from Hamwic (Southampton finds, 1). Edited by P. Andrews. 21 × 30 cm. 141 pp., 25 figs., 12 tables, 9 pls., 4 microfiche. Southampton: City Museums, 1988. Price not stated.

The middle Saxon settlement in the St Mary's area of Southampton is the best-known and most extensively excavated site of its kind in England. Excavations have shown that the settlement was laid out with a grid of streets and a surrounding but non-defensive ditch. Reports on the excavations at Six Dials and other sites are being prepared by P. Andrews and A. Morton while further volumes are in preparation covering the later Saxon settlement underlying the medieval town, other classes of finds and the results of environmental archaeology. While the present volume, by Michael Metcalf and Jane Timby, can be considered in isolation there are many occasions when one would like to have the stratigraphic evidence from the site nearby for comparison, since both authors are concerned primarily with the chronology and function of the middle Saxon settlement.

Metcalf has assembled a corpus of Anglo-Saxon coins from excavations in Southampton and in addition includes those examples of Series H *sceattas* known at the time of writing. Good quality photographs of most of the coin finds are published, at life size, and photographs of selected items are also published as enlargements. The catalogue has been supplemented by a programme of metal analysis carried out by Dr J. Northover using electron probe micro-analysis (E.P.M.A.) coupled with wavelength-dispersive spectrometry. There are some interesting comments upon the accuracy of previous analyses, some of which are republished for comparison and completeness. In a note by Hugh Pagan, the shadowy finds of the pre-war years are listed. There is no doubt that between them these papers form a solid foundation for future discussion, even though one suspects that many of the conclusions drawn from it by Metcalf will soon be, or have already been, overthrown, such is the rate of change in Anglo-Saxon numismatics.

A crucial point to establish, both for the understanding of the site and for the development of numismatics, is the date and nature of the start of coin-use at Hamwic. Out of 129 *sceattas* recorded by Metcalf only one belongs to the primary series, and that only doubtfully found at Hamwic. Intermediate *sceattas* from south-eastern England and the Continent are much more common and it is therefore likely that coin-loss on the site began in earnest in the first or second decade of the 8th century. This was followed very soon after by the establishment of a mint at Hamwic and the domination of the coin-supply by local issues. Metcalf has argued elsewhere that the period of issue of the local Series H coinage extends into the mid 8th century and they may well have continued in circulation at Hamwic until the introduction of the broad flan pennies in the reign of Offa. From that period onwards the volume of coin-finds from Hamwic is much lower and from *c.* 840 onwards there are very few single coin finds from modern excavations, the latest being an early issue of Alfred. From Pagan's list of earlier finds it is clear that a few later coins were definitely found on the Hamwic site, extending the list in fact to the reign of Edgar.

A short note from Pagan on an imitative solidus of Louis the Pious found outside the area of middle Saxon settlement suggests that gold coins of this sort played a role in cross-Channel trade. Die-linked or otherwise related finds are listed from Porchester; Elgin, Morayshire; Cambridge; Therfield, Hertfordshire and Lewes, Suffolk. Together with a handful of official solidi and other copies (such as that of archbishop Wigmund of York, 837–54), these coins

suggest that there was a need for gold coinage for international trade, although Pagan states that since these coins are heavier than the official mancus it was for their gold content rather than as coins of fixed international value that they circulated in the British Isles.

Timby has also provided a complete corpus of middle Saxon pottery from Hamwic, incorporating the imported wares published by Hodges in 1981. She finds Hodges's classification incapable of expansion to include new finds and has therefore reclassified the previous finds, publishing a concordance. The pottery report omits any discussion of the Roman pottery from Hamwic, so that there is no comment on the significance of these finds which might have been useful to set alongside Metcalf's suggestion that the finding of over 30 Roman coins in middle Saxon deposits is evidence for the re-use of these pieces as small change. Potentially more serious is the absence of any data about late Saxon pottery, except to state that it will be the subject of a forthcoming report. In view of the uncertainty about the date of abandonment or decline of Hamwic we should at least be reassured that none of the late Saxon pottery from the sites was stratified in occupation deposits and whether or not it was reasonable to see it as originating from a small settlement around St Mary's church. It is also unfortunate, but perhaps the fault of the system rather than the author, that there is no correlation of the Hamwic pottery sequence with that from Winchester, which is postulated to have taken over some of the administrative functions of Hamwic/Hamtun during the 9th century.

Timby has succeeded, however, in producing a clear sequence of local pottery types from Hamwic which will provide at least a relative chronology with which to study rural settlement in the Test and Itchen valleys during the middle Saxon period. The earliest vessel, both typologically and stratigraphically, is a rouletted, carinated blackware bowl from the fill of the marking-out or boundary ditch of the settlement, found at Six Dials. Whilst it could well be of late 6th-century date, on the basis of parallels from Merovingian cemeteries it is more likely to date from the late 7th century, unless the settlement was marked out for a century before permanent settlement began within it (perhaps the only evidence so far for the existence of a Hodges Type A emporium at Hamwic?). Associated imports are, however, of types which occur in pits and occupation deposits within the settlement and the coarsewares include types which Timby convincingly demonstrates belong to the middle phase of the middle Saxon pottery sequence. The ditch was filled (and we have to wait for the site report to find out how) before being cut into by a series of pits from which came three Series H *sceattas*, of type 49 which Metcalf dates to the third quarter of the 8th century. Closed groups belonging to Timby's early phase contain mainly sandy and organic-tempered wares (Groups I and III). Timby states that a series E *sceat* was found in association with an early assemblage but it is clear from her Fig. 20 that the coin is actually from a late top fill. The only other absolute dating evidence present for this phase consists of an assemblage from a pit cut by a well, the construction of which is dated by dendrochronology to between 695 to 733.

In an ill-defined middle phase pottery with sand tempering (Group III) predominates while the latest phases are marked by an increase in the frequency of pottery with mixed grits (Group IV). Sherds with flint tempering (Group VI) and shell-tempering (Group V) appear in the latest pit groups, as well as in the top fills of earlier pits. This latest phase is associated with finds of Tating ware, Beauvais ware and 9th-century pennies. Imports are as common in these late assemblages as they were in the earlier ones, a fact to bear in mind when considering the decline in coin finds, and it is plausibly suggested by Timby that the shell-tempered wares of Group V are imported, since they occur at the site of Visimarest (?Quentovic?) in the Canche valley. In support of this suggestion is the fact that indistinguishable vessels have been found on the middle Saxon Strand sites in London while none of the other 'coarsewares' are shared by these two settlements.

Timby has concentrated on presenting the evidence from selected, closed assemblages rather than overall statistics by ceramic phase and in this she is probably correct since many pits appear to have a high frequency of residual pottery and presumably other finds which would mask the clear chronological progression. In three intriguing maps the distribution of demonstrably early pottery (Group I), demonstrably late pottery (Group IV) and imports

of all dates (Group IX) are plotted across the excavated sites. Both early pottery and imported pottery show a trend towards the waterside, although both are present throughout the excavations. It would, however, have been worthwhile calculating the frequency of the early and late coarse wares against all coarsewares rather than against all pottery to determine whether there was a shift away from the waterfront in the later period or whether this is merely an apparent pattern caused by the higher percentage of imports there.

Taking the two works together we can be left in little doubt that the middle Saxon settlement at Hamwic came into existence no earlier than the end of the 7th century and was flourishing within a few decades of the beginning of the 8th century. There is, however, no conclusive evidence for a decline in either settlement area or trading activity before the end of the occupation of the site. Neither the coin finds nor the pottery have yet conclusively demonstrated when the demise of the settlement occurred. While it is most likely to judge from the imported pottery, that settlement was substantially depopulated before the end of the 9th century, it is possible on the evidence provided here to suggest that this event took place quite late in the 10th century. With this in mind, Metcalf provides us with a timely reminder that the last use of the mint-signature HAMWIC is actually in the reign of Ethelred II, on coins minted between 1009 and 1016.

ALAN VINCE

The Rebirth of Towns in the West A.D. 700–1050 (C.B.A. Research Report, 68). Edited by Richard Hodges and Brian Hobley. 21 × 30 cm. ix + 135 pp., 69 figs., and pls. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988. Price £29.00.

Those who attended the 1986 conference at the Museum of London remember it as a useful and stimulating discussion of urban themes, so this volume of papers arising from it will be welcomed. In some ways it is a companion to British Archaeological Report International Series 255 (1985), edited by H. B. Clarke and A. Simms, *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*, except that it has a chapter on Sweden. Indeed, it is a pity that Hodges does not take the opportunity in his introductory chapter to take up the challenge to his dismissal of the concept of 'proto-urbanism', and why his type A and B *emporia* should not be viewed within this model.

Hodges's type A *emporium* is one in which use was seasonal, periodic, with few permanent inhabitants. He takes Ipswich as an example, and it is one of the most welcome features of this book that there is at last an up-to-date statement on the recent work done in that town — and Keith Wade has also provided a new and much-needed distribution map of Ipswich ware. That the immediate area contained settlements and at least one cemetery by the early 7th century suggests that the town may not have been 'periodic' in its early stages: any port would have its numbers swollen at certain times of the year, but there seems nothing to disprove the fairly steady growth of a permanent population from an established core. More data need to be published before categorization can be considered securely based.

It is parochial to start a review with a discussion of an English site, as half the book is taken up with discussion of continental data; the Italian chapters are particularly interesting in taking the subject outside northern Europe. Ward-Perkins considers 'continuity' and the evidence for continuing use of town sites, with administrative, religious and residential functions: commercial and craft-production roles are less certain, and a field for archaeology to explore. Whitehouse draws a contrast between Rome and Naples, arguing that it is not yet known whether the latter was really much more than a cluster of churches, with a ducal garrison, in the 8th century. Delogu makes a similar point, in showing that papal church building in Rome is not a measure of its prosperity as a city.

Something on Spain and Southern France would have been welcome next, but instead, after a brief introduction by Brühl on the relationship between palace sites (rather than pagan temples) and churches, attention switches to the north. Janssen gives a résumé of his latest thoughts on Rhenish towns arising from excavations in Cologne, Paderborn and others: he deplores the 'rescue' imperative of these, valuable as they are, as there is no overall

research strategy — a familiar cry. The results from Dorestad are more familiar in England, but it is useful to have van Es playing down the likely population level of the place and stressing the agrarian sector immediately adjacent to the commercial and industrial. Galinié on Tours is also well known in England: he has now established a convincing outline of how the Roman *civitas* turned into a medieval town, and the roles of forts and churches. Ambrosiani on Sweden looks a little isolated without other Scandinavian chapters, but the emphasis on the control of iron as a major resource at an early date is an antidote to dependence on flows of Arab silver as the explanatory key.

As the venue of the 1986 conference, London rightly has many pages allotted to it, although the two separate contributions could have be combined to save a lot of repetition. Other English sites are Southampton, Chester and York: useful as résumés, with, in Figure 66, an evocative comparison between 'squatter' use of a Roman site in modern Jordan and what an English town emerging from Roman ruins may have looked like.

DAVID A. HINTON

Sailing into the Past (The International Ship Replica Seminar Roskilde 1984). Edited by O. Crumlin-Pedersen and M. Vinner. 20 × 26 cm. 137 pp., 209 figs. and pls. Roskilde: The Viking Ship Museum, 1986. Price not stated.

In 1984 the city of Roskilde hosted the first international research seminar on the problems of constructing and testing replicas of medieval and earlier ships, boats and watercraft. Accounts of experimental work on medieval craft have until now been difficult to locate, and in presenting the results of the seminar with edited discussions of the lectures the editors provide an important sourcebook for medieval archaeologists involved with waterfront, riverine, inter-tidal or underwater sites.

The proceedings are organized under four themes: experimental archaeology, replica projects, materials and tools and performance under oar and sail. The first part comprises contributions by Sean McGrail on methodological considerations of experimental boat archaeology, and from Hans Ole Hansen on the advantages of permanent experimental centres such as Lejre Forsøgscenter. McGrail stresses the need for problem orientation preceded by theoretical model building, and rigorous evaluation of the hypothetical reconstructions generated. He argues for increased cost-effectiveness and 'reservoirs of experience' through the formation of a permanent group to foster boat archaeological experiments along the lines of Lejre, Butzer and West Stow. Hansen analyses the formative difficulties of the Lejre Experimental Centre since 1964 (with approximately one-fifth of work effort left for its original aims), the role of polarization, children and the environment in policy, and the value of an international network of scholars and laymen exchanging ideas.

Part Two presents a wide range of case-studies from specialists of different backgrounds. Heyerdahl describes the 'Kon-Tiki', 'Ra' and 'Tigris' experiments on what are described as 'wash-through' watercraft which helped change popular conception of the ocean as an effective isolator of civilizations. Boat designer and naval architect Colin Mudie describes the procedures followed in designing replica boats, drawing on his work on the St Brendan, 'Sohar' (the 'Sinbad' ship, of assumed 8th–9th century dhow form), and Jason's 'Argo'. From these modern concepts of early craft we move to John Coates's summary of the design of the 5th-century Greek trireme, then to the first contribution based on a medieval archaeological find — Arne Emil Christensen on the 1893 Gokstad Ship replica 'Viking' and performance during her Atlantic crossing. A replica of Skudelev ship 1 is described by Ragnar Thorseth. Completed in 1983, it was filmed during its retracing of the assumed Leif Eriksson route to N. America. Few details are given on her construction apart from reference to the use of the same tools, techniques and materials, and the paper concentrates on the project design. Soren Vadstrup provides a useful summary of experiments with Danish replicas within the research of the Roskilde Viking Ship Museum 'Roar' project. Attention is drawn to the lack of procedural standardization, and differing degrees of experimentation and documentation in the sailing and navigation of the ships. The group includes two

identical warships ('Sebbe Als' 1968–69 and 'Lindheim Sunds' 1975–77, copies of Skudelev 5), and two identical merchant ships ('Freja' 1982–84 and 'Roar Ege' 1984, copies of Skudelev 3). The value of each replica for an assessment of hull, rigging and sail qualities is summarized. The failure of warship replicas to be superior to all other ships in sailing and manoeuvring indicates a field for future research.

The 'Roar' project, named after one of the members of the mythical Skjoldunge (Scylding) royal family, aimed to build and test an authentic full-scale replica of the 14 m long coastal trading ship Skudelev 3. The work from documentation to launch in 1984 is described by O. Crumlin-Pedersen and this is followed by Erik Nylen on the 'Krampmacken' recreation of a vessel and voyage from the European rivers upstream and downstream from the Baltic to Black Sea. The problems of reconstruction which is based on an Eastern Baltic medieval example (Bulverket), with elements from the Gokstad small boats, Roskilde and the Helgeandsholmen ship, and of solving the intricate problems of the rig shown on early picture stones from Gotland are discussed. Bjorn Varenius describes the 'Helga-Holm' copy of a 14th-century ship excavated in Stockholm harbour. The aim here was to produce a vessel which had as great a resemblance as possible in form and detail to the original. Care was taken to copy the 3,000–4,000 nails and spikes by hand, but electric saws were used to reduce costs in a low-budget project. Owen T. P. Roberts describes the National Maritime Museum copy of the Viking boat from Arby. Lack of natural crooks required the use of glued laminations for frames and stem, which raises discussion of the use of green and seasoned timber for boat replicas, and the problems of shrinkage. Edwin Gifford closes this section by setting out the proposals for a replica Saxon trading ship based on the Graveney boat. A consideration of the sailing route from Hamwih to Rouen/le Havre reminds us of the benefits of a sound knowledge of the maritime environment from tides and winds to anchorages.

Section Three looks at materials and tools. Peter Wagner on wood species in the Viking Period based on the Skudelev and Hedeby finds (quality of wood chosen being as important as species), Ole Crumlin-Pedersen on evidence for wood technology in medieval (Viking) shipbuilding and on the wood resource required. Arne Emil Christensen provides an all too short survey of tools used for shipbuilding in ancient and more modern times — excluding discussion of original tools found and concentrating on the surviving Scandinavian traditions and mastery of a few simple tools — primarily, of course, the axe. All three papers are of general relevance to archaeologists involved with medieval sites.

The final section looks at the performance of boats, with Einar Gjessing on the physiology of rowing, Leif Wagner Smitt on performance evaluation of sail, and Colin Palmer on the theoretical and practical difficulties of measuring the performance of sailing rig. A stimulating paper by Jon Godal on recording extant square-sail rigged Norwegian craft is followed by Erik Andersen on steering square rigged vessels, Max Vinner on recording trial runs in the 'Roar' project, and Detlef Soitzek on reed boat experiments on sailing into the wind.

All four sections are readable, clearly set out and well illustrated, often with dramatic photographs of the replicas in action. While the examples range from those for which very little archaeological evidence exists to those based on well documented excavations, and detail within the papers varies, the critical discussions add considerable value to the volume, in particular for those who could not attend the seminar. The not unexpected concentration on Scandinavian craft, and number of medieval replicas reported on makes it of special interest to members of this Society, and while many ship and boat types are not represented (a pointer to further experiments) all the key considerations for the modern medievalist/archaeologist are covered. The research on 'Roar Ege', the most recent replica of Skudelev 3, included an examination of hull flexibility and its influence on boat speed and handling. The need for well formulated precise questions in any future replica project is amply illustrated. For readers new to nautical terminology a glossary would have been useful ('shear stress' on p. 65 is not explained), and while literature is cited references are not always made to sources within papers. Misprints and misspellings are few (it is all in English) (the rudder fastenings referred to on p. 76 occur in fig. 10 not 11). To conclude, the organizers of the seminar and

editors of the volume are to be congratulated in this critical and stimulating survey of replica building, with its concentration on examples from the early medieval period. With the growing interest in replica experiments, I look forward to more medieval reconstructions, more rigorous testing of those that get off the drawing board, and further publications of international seminars on the subject.

MARK REDKNAP

Building and Street Development near Billingsgate and Cheapside (Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, 1; London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Special Paper 11). By V. Horsman, C. Milne and G. Milne with contributions by P. Allen. 19 × 24 cm. 123 pp., 111 figs. (incl. tables and plates). London: L. & M.A.S., 1988. Price: £12.95.

By A.D. 1100 London probably had 20,000 or more inhabitants. Most of the buildings used by this sizeable urban community were small in scale and made of timber and other non-durable materials. Their remains, hacked about in the constant and intense renewal of the city's fabric, represent a highly fragmentary body of material for archaeological enquiry. The slender evidence available 20 years ago provided no basis for organized study. Now, after the extensive excavations undertaken by the Museum of London, we have a large body of material, capable of yielding some answers.

This clearly written (for the most part) and systematic work deals with the evidence concerning buildings and streets, *c.* 900–1100, from seven sites, of which four lay near the city's principal market street, and the remainder in streets leading up from the river near London Bridge. Its focus is the early growth of the intra-mural settlement which in the late 9th century succeeded the western suburb as the heart of London's commercial life. A second volume will deal with artefacts and other evidence from the sites in this period, and a further publication will consider the Cheapside sites from 1100 onwards. In broad terms, this scheme seems sensible: it makes important results available fairly quickly (though some sites were dug over ten years ago); and the rapid spread of building in stone during the 12th century marks a distinct break in the record (though not one matched in economic or social change). Yet, our understanding of the layout of the buildings described would have been helped by some reference to the abundant evidence for later periods; and the reader is left wondering whether the artefactual evidence will reveal any more of the use of the buildings and of the character of their occupants than the very brief indications given here.

The strength of the book lies in its presentation of some crucial indicators concerning the early development of the street pattern, and in the detailed description of the buildings. Evidence is cited that Bow Lane and Botolph Lane may have originated *c.* 900, and that some other lanes were created later, and this conclusion is set within an acceptable model concerning an increase in the density of the street network. Yet this discussion pays little attention to evidence beyond that of the sites in question, and could seriously mislead readers wishing to understand the character of early London.

Things are happier with the buildings. Several techniques of construction were used, and there is little sign of development from one to another. The conclusion drawn from this — that London had no building 'traditions' of its own — is, however, questionable. One innovation — the use of chalk and rubble for the foundations of timber buildings during the 11th century — is attributed to a general increase in masonry building elsewhere in London at that time, a sound observation relevant to interpretations of the city's economic growth. Some good points are made about the broad categories of buildings. Sunken-floored ones (some with earth banked up against the walls outside) and cellared ones were probably used for storing commercial goods, for which they would provide some protection against fire and theft. They were set back from street frontages, while 'surface-laid' buildings (presumably shops and dwellings) adjoined them. This pattern is used with that of pit distributions, in somewhat circular fashion, to postulate the existence or not of certain streets at particular

periods. Evidence was also found for doors, porches, and even the use of window glass, but not, on the whole, for the internal arrangement of buildings.

The presentation of the basic archaeological framework upon which all this rests reveals serious problems. Are the 20 pages (including plans) of 'Excavation Summaries', which assert a jejune interpretation of the record, all that is ever to appear in print on a fundamental aspect of these important sites? The sequence of 'ceramic phases', the construction of which is to be fully argued in volume 2, provides a coherent chronological system (though one likely to be modified as time goes on), but in this text it is far from clear when the pottery assemblage or some form of stratigraphic dead reckoning is being used to date a phase. The explanation of how these two dating systems were used is notably opaque. The uncertainty of the chronological argument is revealed, for example, by the variety of dates to which the origin of Bow Lane is attributed (pp. 28, 30, 112). The straight descriptions of the sites are also weak: there is a ludicrous variation in what is considered to be proximity to a street frontage; features crucial to the argument are often omitted from plans; and the principles are far from clear upon which it was decided to identify the successive building phases and to draw the outlines of structures for which no walls were found. Such problems may arise from the summary form of publication, which can dimimish an author's sense of his responsibility to argue a case. But they seem also to reveal an inability to deploy the flexible, interacting hypotheses which are necessary for interpreting this type of fragmentary information. Furthermore, they may originate with observation and technique on the site, for several of the fudged issues in this volume could perhaps have been resolved had more attention been given to creating a record of vertical stratigraphy.

Readers will find many good things in this text, but they will have to work hard to disentangle fact from fantasy, and preconception from hypothesis. The many who will not have time for this exercise in deconstruction should beware.

DEREK KEENE

The Scottish Medieval Town. Edited by Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell. 16 × 24 cm. ix + 344 pp., 12 figs., 4 pls. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988. Price: £20.00.

Incredible as it may seem, this is the first book devoted exclusively to the subject of the Scottish medieval town to have been published for over 50 years. Given the welter of publications devoted to the medieval town in England and elsewhere in north Europe it may not be thought that this lack matters greatly. But matter it does and if nothing else this book highlights the many differences that exist between Scottish and English towns.

Under the auspices of the Urban History Group of the Conference of Scottish Historical Research, this volume is a collection of essays drawing together the different strands of current research and examining the organization and life within and around the Scottish town, concentrating on aspects that were hitherto obscure or misunderstood. The essays are grouped to examine: 1. Sources and evidence; 2. The ecclesiastical setting; 3. Trade and industry; and 4. Urban society and administration.

In their examination of the documentary sources, Iain Flett and Judith Cripps immediately highlight one of the differences between English and Scottish towns — the dearth of material from the latter. The major difficulty is 'the fact that no continuous urban archive survives which pre-dates the very end of the 14th century and most begin or expand to a useful degree only a century later'. The historian's task is a difficult one because there are no 14th-century poll tax records (would that future historians could say the same about the 20th century!), or lay subsidy returns, few extant bishops' registers and virtually no evidence as to the rents of urban properties before the 16th century. What does survive (and is heavily relied on) for the earlier centuries of the medieval period are burgh charters and the two detailed sets of municipal regulations: the Burgh Laws and the Statutes of Guild of Berwick (then Scottish). Flett and Cripps also draw our attention to some, as yet, under-utilized

sources for the earlier period, such as the cartularies of religious houses and records relating to trade and exchange rates.

Mike Spearman, in his essay on the medieval landscape of Perth gives an excellent account of the growth of the town using the burgh plots and their widths to chart planned phases of expansion. It has to be said that Perth with its parallel street system is not, however, typical of the Scottish medieval town, but Spearman's approach shows what can be done in certain circumstances. In his treatment of urban building, Geoffrey Stell's task is a difficult one; essentially this is a survey which might more appropriately be titled 'Urban Churches'. Stell's problem is that there are virtually no surviving non-ecclesiastical buildings in Scottish towns which pre-date the 16th century. As is already becoming apparent, the main source for the evidence of earlier urban buildings is archaeology and more could, perhaps, have been made of this.

In Part 2 we are given the ecclesiastical setting, looking at the urban parish and taking Glasgow as an example of the essentially ecclesiastical burgh. Regarding the monastic presence in Scottish burghs, Wendy Stevenson takes Berwick as her example and usefully examines the urban property holding that various religious houses held there, and discusses their influence on burgh affairs.

Part 3, which concentrates on trade and industry, begins with a more archaeologically based essay by Mike Spearman, who examines the evidence for early industries. He gives a fair reflection of the position at the time of writing, but more recent excavations in Gallowgate, Aberdeen, will add further detail to this subject and perhaps suggest that many of the excavations so far undertaken in Scottish towns have not been in 'Industrial Areas'.

There follow three very important essays on trade, both inland and international. Harold Booton, looking at inland trade and taking Aberdeen as an example, is once again hampered by a lack of documentation for the period before 1400 but conveys a clear and interesting picture of late medieval inter-relationships between the town and its regional setting and more importantly, its landward connections. The book is rounded off with 42 pages of extremely useful bibliographical references.

The editors have, in my view, achieved an excellent balance reflecting the current state of historical research on Scotland's medieval burghs. They take only a very limited account of the archaeological data amassed over the past 20 years but provide a very useful backdrop for any future synthesis of the archaeology. The publishers are also to be congratulated on having packed a great deal of information into a well produced and reasonably priced volume — one hopes they can also be persuaded to produce its archaeological equivalent.

J. C. MURRAY

The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Millgate, Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire. (Nottingham Archaeological Monographs, 2). By A. G. Kinsley. 21 × 29 cm. iv + 187 pp., 98 figs., 8 pls. Nottingham: Nottingham University, Dept. of Classical and Archaeological Studies, 1989. Price: £17.50, incl. p. & p.

This report catalogues over 400 Anglo-Saxon cremation burials recovered in intermittent excavations between 1958 an 1978 from Millgate, Newark, adjacent to the Fosse Way. The delay in publication is partly because one of the principal excavators, Malcolm Dean, died in 1970.

The excavations appear to have covered most of the original area of the cemetery, although the site had been badly disturbed and many urns were fragmentary. No reliable features were identified. Nevertheless the surviving vessels provide a valuable assemblage, including one vessel (67), decorated with two animals in raised relief, unique in England. Cremated bone survived from 220 burials, and Mary Harman contributes an analysis of age at death, although no attempt is made to sex the remains.

Kinsley's report follows the Spong Hill model. A short history of work on the site is followed by brief discussions of the pottery and grave-goods. Several stamp groups are identified but there is no typological discussion; nor any attempt to date the pottery beyond the 'earlier 5th to the earlier 7th centuries'. Given the present state of early Anglo-Saxon pottery studies this is probably prudent. Reassessment of the dating, if possible at all, must await the study of larger assemblages. The discussion of the grave-goods is marred by one androcentric observation, that spindlewhorls 'presumably indicate female graves'. In fact they are found equally commonly with male burials.

The bulk of the report comprises the full catalogue and the illustrations. The catalogue is properly detailed but there are two alarming omissions. First, there is no concordance list between Myres' Corpus numbers and the site catalogue numbers. This is particularly unfortunate since many of the urns represented as complete by Myres are, in fact, very fragmentary. Secondly, the fact that three Newark pots were identified by Myres as by the 'Sancton-Baston potter' is ignored. The three vessels are placed by Kinsley in his Stamp Group 6, along with seven other pots which presumably, therefore, represent newly discovered output from this workshop. That gives Newark a rather pivotal importance in the distribution of the Sancton-Baston group. Unfortunately no cognizance is taken of this significant fact.

There are further shortcomings with the illustrations. The scale of the pot drawings is not printed, but examination of the scale ruler (needlessly repeated on every page) reveals it to be 1:3. The grave-goods, reproduced alongside their respective urns, are at 1:1. The drawings appear cramped, an impression increased by the enclosing polygonal lines. The treatment of the broken surfaces is particularly idiosyncratic; need this be done by drawing broken edges in perspective and shading with heavy stippling? By giving the fractures such undue prominence (rather than using a faint edge as favoured by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit) they actually divert attention from what is present. Fig. 12 still contains a sketched note which has gone through proofs undetected. The site plan is arbitrarily split into four parts rather than being presented on a fold-out. The quality of the plates can only be described as abysmal. The whole is bound in plain cream card. Overall one might expect rather more (or better) for the price.

Clearly this was a badly disturbed site with much low-quality data. The recording methods would also be regarded as inadequate by today's standards; identifying the original position of urns in the ground was a major problem. Nevertheless one must welcome the appearance of another long overdue excavation report, and Kinsley should be congratulated on disentangling and making sense of the various records he inherited. The report adds a useful set of grave-groups to the corpus of early Anglo-Saxon burials. One may still learn a lot, even from low quality data. We must hope that the publication of this report will encourage others with unpublished cemeteries, such as the large group at Loveden Hill, only 8½ miles to the south-east, to make their material available for study.

JULIAN RICHARDS

St Cuthbert: His Cult and his Community to A.D. *1200*. Edited by G. Bonner, D. Rollason and Clare Stancliffe. 16 × 24 cm. xxiii + 484 pp., 34 figs., 60 pls. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989. Price: £49.50.

By general consensus the St Cuthbert conference at Durham in 1987 was a great success, and the editors have now brought together the proceedings in a fat book, twice the size of a normal book and inevitably twice the price as well. The range of topics is impressive: seven papers on the *Lives* and the Early Cult; eight on Lindisfarne and its Scriptoria; nine (one a double-header) on the Coffin and its Treasures; and seven on Cuthbert's Community at Chester-le-Street and Durham. All the contributions bear the mark of careful thought and preparation, helping to advance understanding of St Cuthbert, his period, his setting, and his

after-life. There is a moving dedication to three fine scholars who did so much in their lifetimes to further Cuthbert studies: William Levison, Bertram Colgrave, and Julian Brown who died only months before he was due to give a paper at the Durham conference.

The section on the *Lives* and the Early Cult bears directly on the nature of the Northumbrian Renaissance. Argument over Irish or Northumbrian origins to this or that of its literary or artistic attributes is often unfruitful and James Campbell is surely right to read Northumbria in this Cuthbertine period as in a continuum with Ireland. Useful contrasts may still be made between Roman and Celtic, the life of the pastor and the solitary, the inspiration of St Wilfrid and St Cuthbert: but the contrasts are not simple. Alan Thacker insists accurately that we deal with a wealthy community and a powerful cult. The wealth of Northumbrian conquests was needed to fuel the Northumbrian Renaissance. Yet the apparent contrast remains powerful between the opulence and splendour of the gospel books and the simple monastic vallum on Holy Island with its marked Irish parallels. For readers of this journal there will be special interest in Michael Herity's collection of cross-slabs relating to early Irish hermitages mostly from insular sites off the Atlantic coast with their open-air altars and other features such as pools, lakes or mills.

Discussion of the texts associated with St Cuthbert and the Lindisfarne Scriptoria indicates the volume of detailed work that has been done in recent years and also the puzzling uncertainties that still remain over sequence and likely origins. Michelle Brown provided an acute analysis of the present position, pointing out the strength of Julian Brown's identification of the so-called Durham-Echternach calligrapher, a point of view doughtily supported by Rupert Bruce-Mitford who sustains firmly his view, consistently held now over many years and based on powerful evidence, that the Durham and Echternach Gospels are by the same hand. He is less certain that they were necessarily a product of the Lindisfarne scriptorium, though again points to good evidence in favour. All seem agreed with Christopher Varey's view that there was nothing mutually exclusive to the Irish and Italian Gospel tradition in Northumbria; and Janet Backhouse reminds us that the status of the great books themselves lay somewhere between the relic and the liturgical object, far removed from the ordinary library or service book. Rosemary Cramp stresses the continuity of Lindisfarne's influence, west as well as east of the Pennines.

The account of the Coffin and its treasures rouses all manner of interests, antiquarian and technical. Some of the fine new work on the silks, indeed, deserves separate publication in monograph form. Richard Bailey sets the scene with a lively description of the opening of the tomb in the 19th century, in 1827 and again in 1899, bringing out admirably the chaotic elements involved in the occasions, notably that of 1827, a chaos somewhat concealed in the smooth prose of official reports.

The final division of the book deals with the later life of the community at Chester-le-Street and Durham. Gerald Bonner and David Rollason independently interpret their wanderings not as the movement of destitute refugees but as that of a community that retained its power and influence, more like a bishop's household on the move, with Chester-le-Street an important link in the route to York. Danish influence was not negligible but everyone agrees that King Athelstan became the key figure in patronage, acting, as Luisella Simpson argues elegantly, to establish common cause between the Saxon ruling house and St Cuthbert's community. David Rollason is acute on West Saxon influence, though perhaps over-cautious in suggesting that the famous illustration in CCCC183 may not represent Athelstan. After the Conquest the use of historiography, knowledge of Bede's writings, helped to prepare the way for Durham's great age in the 12th century.

This book contains valuable material and it is good to have the proceedings published. St Cuthbert provides the thread of continuity but (as the editors recognized in their quadripartite division) there is great diversity, and some of the material, such as the chapters on the silks, for example, could well merit further publication elsewhere. In a review of this nature one can only scratch the surface but all interested in medieval archaeology will find much to entertain and instruct throughout from deep reflection on Cuthbert's spirituality or the nature of the sanctuary connected with his resting-place to comments on the plans of the

early monastery at Lindisfarne, the pectoral cross, the iconography of St Peter, or possible dates for the wooden coffins, and the altar.

H. R. LOYN

Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950–1200 (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 17). Edited by John Blair. 21 × 29 cm. 217 pp., 85 figs. and pls. Oxford: O.U.C.A., 1988. Price: £25.00.

This is a useful collation of papers which strives to define the role of the minster in the development of the parish church. Inspired by a conference held in Oxford in 1985, the fourteen chapters are headed by a sizeable introduction, 'From Minster to Parish Church', provided by John Blair. This sketches the origins of the medieval parish church. At the outset large parishes are served by the old minsters. This period of central control is diluted during the 10th–12th centuries by a proliferation of 'private', local churches; these are most commonly constructed of stone during the 11th and 12th centuries. Finally the minsters decline and the 'medieval' parochial system crystallizes during the 11th to 13th centuries. This perceptive chapter acts as a summary of, as well as an introduction to, the volume and binds together the largely regional studies which follow.

In the second chapter Richard Gem analyses of the development of the Romanesque style and argues for a 'great rebuilding' of major churches during late 11th and 12th centuries. The rebuilt churches benefited from a 'new technology' of ashlar masonry introduced from the Continent in the 1070s, though local churches remained rubble-built for some time. Throughout the chapter, Gem lays bare the difficulties of dating. His study of the East Riding in the 12th century — based on a fragile web of parallels in architectural form, inscriptions and tenuous documentary evidence — perfectly illustrates how insecure the dating for church development during this period actually is.

Other than a short paper by Gervase Rosser on Anglo-Saxon Guilds, the remaining chapters in the volume are regional studies. Only Neil Batock's study of south-west Norfolk and Thetford draws on any significant archaeological evidence (alongside architectural and documentary evidence). The value of this disappointing contribution lies in the presentation of evidence for many present-day parishes having encompassed the sites of two or three medieval parish churches. The treatment of these is regrettably shallow, the arguments for dating unconvincing and no model for development is presented. The multiplicity of churches within a single parish unit is similarly ignored in Blair's introduction, yet excavations throughout England are revealing similar 'lost' Anglo-Saxon or Norman churches in parishes with extant medieval parish churches. No treatment of the relationship of minsters and parish churches can be considered complete without a detailed consideration of this phenomenon of plurality.

Four other authors make use of architectural evidence. J. K. West studies the architectural sculpture in the parish churches of the West Midlands, essentially from an art historical perspective. Richard Morris considers the churches around York. His analysis begins with a bold statement that the 11th and 12th centuries were a period of 'national activity' during which stone churches were raised for lay folk; by the end of this period most medieval parish churches existed. It continues with a brief summary of the dating criteria and stone sources for the Yorkshire buildings which are seen as a 'first essay in a new tradition of stone built churches'. Stephen Heywood takes on the narrow subject of round church towers in Norfolk. Such towers are seen as post-Conquest rather than Anglo-Saxon and the commonly held view that such towers result from difficulty in obtaining freestone quoins is dismissed. Instead the towers are claimed, in a manner reminiscent of 1950s prehistory, to result from the influence of round towers in the Schleswig-Holstein area, the influence being transmitted by 'trading contacts'.

Architecture is combined with topography and documentary evidence in James Bond's study of 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire'. This is a major 50-page study that makes extensive use of plans and diagrams to summarize the intricate data. The chapter considers in detail the territorial organization of the church with sections on minsters, proprietary churches and parochial chapels. After taking stock of the plans of the churches, Bond attempts to correlate nave size with population. He is openly honest about the difficulties of this, though the weakness of argument — that there is a general correlation between nave sizes and Domesday population, hence deviations from the correlation must be significant — suggests that this section would have been better omitted from an otherwise strong paper. Although no general conclusions are drawn, Bond's chapter presents information in a form that can readily be used by other analysts and hence remains one of the more important contributions to the volume.

Other contributions concentrate almost exclusively on documentary evidence. P. H. Hase reviews the 'Mother churches of Hampshire': Jane Croom, the fragmentation of minster *parochiae* in south-east Shropshire: Mike Franklin, the college of St Augustine's, Daventry: Brian Kemp, Leominster: and Tim Tatton Brown, the Canterbury diocese.

As a statement of the current status of minster studies this volume will be of use to archaeologists and historians alike. Newcomers to the subject will find John Blair's introduction of most interest. The volume is, nevertheless, primarily concerned with the historical evidence for minsters and parish churches, rather than archaeological evidence. Given that those minsters that have been extensively excavated still await publication, this imbalance is perhaps inevitable.

ANDREW BODDINGTON

Three Scottish Carmelite Friaries: Excavations at Aberdeen, Linlithgow and Perth 1980–86 (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series, 6). Edited by J. A. Stones. 21 × 30 cm. 175 pp., 13 fiches. In all 110 illus., 77 tables. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1989. Price: £19.50.

This volume contains reports on excavations undertaken during the 1980s, demonstrating commendable alacrity in publication. There are, at present, numerous friary excavation reports recently published or forthcoming, which indicate how urban renewal has spread from the cores of historic towns to their peripheries, where the friaries were generally located. They are also a recognition of the importance of the friaries in the medieval urban landscape. The Carmelites, one of the four principal orders of friars in Britain, are probably the least well researched. This group of sites, constituting a quarter of the Carmelite houses in Scotland, is therefore an important addition to our knowledge.

The house at Perth (founded 1262) was the first in Scotland. Trial trenching of an extensive development area located the lost site allowing a larger area to be opened. Four periods were identified. The structures revealed were identified as the eastern end of the church and the eastern cloister range. After destruction at the Reformation in 1559 the shells of the buildings survived until the 18th century. Significantly the site was re-used for burials in the 17th century.

Similarly, at Aberdeen (founded 1273) the location of the buildings had been forgotten. This excavation revealed the south-west corner of a buttressed, masonry building, tentatively but plausibly identified as the church. A second building probably formed the corner of the cloister. Again, demolition at the Reformation in 1560 was limited. Occupation and also burials continued until a general demolition in the 17th century.

The most extensive excavation, that at Linlithgow, revealed the church, the eastern range and parts of the southern and western ranges: fourteen medieval phases in all. A pre-friary stone chapel was granted to the Carmelites in 1401. It became the nave of their church with a chancel added. The eastern and then the southern claustral range were added.

The cloister walks and possibly the western range were never completed. Detailed evidence for the positions of altars and screens in the church and the arrangements in the eastern range were discovered. Occupation of the eastern and southern ranges continued after the Reformation. Following a period of neglect the complex was systematically demolished in the 17th century. Again burials occurred in the post-Reformation period.

The bold editorial decision to integrate the reports of three widely separated sites dug by different organizations has provided a successful and useful synthesis of the activities of the friars in Scotland. The opening chapters provide a historical survey of the Carmelites and their buildings in Scotland. There then follow detailed excavation reports of the three sites, each preceded by a section on the documentary evidence. Each phase is provided with a discussion. Aberdeen and Perth also provide a conclusion, which is sadly lacking from the Linlithgow chapter even though that was the most complex site. The plans are clear, with helpful location plans for the irregularly shaped trenches at Perth and Linlithgow. There are, however, no section drawings which would have given an idea of the stratigraphy and depth of surviving deposits, and few photographs (none at all at Perth).

The chapters on burials and finds, which integrate the collections from the three sites, are supplemented by a substantial packet of microfiches, thirteen in all. This unfortunately makes the information much less accessible especially for the private reader. Most of the fiches is taken up with the skeleton catalogue; this is justified on account of its size and specialist nature. The discussions of burial practice, population statistics and pathology are printed in full. Surprisingly, the Linlithgow burial report is relegated to fiche. Burials were an important function of friaries and are frequently a major feature of their excavation. It would have taken relatively few pages to print it in the report. Moreover, it is regrettable that the Linlithgow burials are not located on the plans.

The small finds, which include the architectural fragments, are discussed and illustrated in the report with detailed catalogues on fiche. Of note are the seal matrix of the Perth Friary and pigment containers from Linlithgow. The pottery reports, apart from a brief summary, are on fiche. This is perhaps justified by the nature of the collection, which was small and frequently residual or from disturbed contexts. On the other hand, it would have occupied only a small number of printed pages. More importantly, pottery drawings on fiche are difficult to use for comparative purposes.

In conclusion, the carping about microfiche should not detract from the merit of this report. It is a significant contribution to our knowledge of an important aspect of medieval life, from an area too often overlooked by those of us south of the border. It is clear that these houses lay in the main stream of urban friary development.

SIMON S. WARD

'The deserted medieval village of West Whelpington, Northumberland': third report, parts one and two. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fifth series, volume XV, pp. 199–308 by D. H. Evans and Michael G. Jarrett (1987), and volume XVI, pp. 139–92 by D. H. Evans, Michael G. Jarrett and Stuart Wrathmell (1988).

The final publication of the excavation report for the deserted medieval village of West Whelpington in Northumberland marks the end of a chapter in the history of medieval archaeology. This is the most completely excavated deserted village in England and the archaeological and historical research presented here, as well as from projects such as Wharram Percy and Raunds, will guide the future of nucleated settlement research towards the 21st century.

West Whelpington is a large site which was excavated for fifteen of the years between 1958 and 1976, in which time 14,000 sq. m were cleared, representing 20 per cent of the area, and a remarkable sequence of plans of some 95 12th- to 17th-century medieval and post-medieval buildings were recovered. This third and final report is published in two parts

and supersedes earlier interim excavation reports of 1962 and 1970. The report as published here, eleven years after excavation finished, is an abbreviated version of a full report which can be found in Cardiff and Newcastle.

Since the first turf was cut at West Whelpington there have been dramatic changes not only in medieval archaeology but also in archaeological methodology. Metrication, the switch from box trenches to open-area excavation, the growths of landscape and environmental archaeology, and the changed focus from single site excavation to parish survey, have all been absorbed into the research strategy at West Whelpington. It is unlikely that a project of similar size would be launched today without a more detailed preparatory evaluation of archaeological evidence and documentary sources within a regional context. At West Whelpington the parish survey was one of the last investigations undertaken and there is no mention of more recent technical developments such as remote sensing (except air photography) or phosphate analysis.

Clearly mistakes were made as the excavators felt their way in early seasons and it is easy with hindsight to see how things might have been done differently. Individual buildings were excavated but relationships between buildings were lost and the original site survey was later found to be inaccurate. In the first earthwork survey identifiable earthworks were numbered and the crofts behind were given identifying letters, but afterwards more buildings and elements were uncovered than had appeared on the survey, thereby causing a seemingly endless subdivision of the recording system. In short, the excavators were learning what we can now all read about upland medieval agricultural-residential sites: that it is impossible to reconstruct the morphology of a village from earthwork surveys; that there is little vertical stratigraphy, few primary contexts and large-scale excavations may produce a poor material assemblage (1,475 pottery vessels, negligible animal bone and plant remains) with the bulk being represented by unstratified material.

Excavation produced evidence for three main phases of occupation. In period I (late 11th to early 14th centuries) there were houses of proto-longhouse type but the village layout, apparently deliberately planned, can only be partially reconstructed. However, unlike Wharram, the key antecedent features do not appear provide the morphological framework for medieval development. This period ends with destruction which is linked to the aftermath of the Battle of Bannockburn. In period II (early 14th to 17th centuries) there is further evidence for planning as four main terraces of 'semi-detached' stone-built longhouses are constructed to flank a central triangular green, each holding having a croft and at least one outbuilding. A 15th-century bird's-eye view is cleverly reconstructed in an artist's impression by Howard Mason (p. 145). This is a short period of nucleated settlement in an area otherwise dominated at all periods by dispersed settlement forms. In periods III and IV (late 17th century to 1720) the cohesive village plan breaks up into a series of separate farmsteads as land management policies change and the removal of arable fields leads to a substantial reduction in village population and to final depopulation *c.* 1720.

The review of pottery evidence is excellent (Section 3), though I would prefer to see some mention of quantification, fabric analysis, medieval markets, and distribution maps in the main text. There is little to say about animal bones or plant remains, but there is a lengthy section on the multi-phase construction and planning of the traditional long-house buildings on the site (Section 4). This is one of the highlights of the report and will be much referred to by archaeologists and architectural historians. One point to note is the appearance of longhouses, with cross-passages and beaten floors, in the 13th century, which may lay to rest the idea that this style of building appeared as a result of climatic deterioration. The argument is also put forward that roofs could be supported on crucks founded on the ground surface inside the stone footings of walls. Thus common archaeological evidence for the rebuildings of stone footings are not taken to imply reroofings nor reconstructions as elsewhere. On this basis, a plausible re-interpretation of some of the Wharram evidence is suggested on p. 176. This discussion is placed into a more general context in the last two sections (Sections 6 and 7) which consider the chronology of the village and the wider implications of the research. These 'landscape' sections are useful, with some good maps of

field systems and attendant earthworks, but the area covered is quite small with limited opportunity for inter-site comparisons. A useful project for the future would be to extend this work so that the integrity of the township unit chosen could be better assessed.

All this is bound to generate interest and debate which can only lead to more thoughtful directions for future research strategies. It is refreshing to see how an excavation report can extend beyond central issues such as dates of abandonment and the reasons for it. Even so, fifteen years' excavation and eleven years' post-excavation is too long to produce 161 pages with 64 full-page illustrations, even with an extensive microfiche. Sadly, the research content of the report is also badly let down by the editing and format. A report with this amount of new information and with so many crisp, well-drawn illustrations deserves a bigger format, more photographs and, most of all, more space for the text. This is a monograph packed into a journal format.

Users of this report will find numerous irritations, mostly because of the way the material is arranged. A clear numerical sequence of figures is not followed. Fig. 15 has the correct key but it is labelled as for Fig. 114. Figures referred to in the text are not always present (Fig. 2 in the fourth paragraph, for example, is in the microfiche). The English is a little unimaginative, the soil is 'fairly' thin and 'fairly' acid in the village which is 'fairly central in its parish'. The main text opens with credits, so we learn who the typists were before we know where West Whelpington is. There are those who would prefer to see information like this as footnotes and more of the missing figures next to the text. The abbreviation of i.p.m. is unnecessary since it is mentioned only once (p. 142).

In the microfiche the plans are difficult to decipher and the sections lack a key, though at least they show up better, being more stylized. There are a number of typographical errors (on pages MI-D13/E2/E11/F4/F5, for example), 'Dalriadan' should be 'Dalradian' (MI-E3), 'sandstone', when used without further qualification, IS 85–90% quartz (MI-E3), and what is a 'nearly microcystalline texture' in worked stone? It is annoying that while we are invited to read the first two reports for some information not present here (for problems relating to the interpretation of documents, for example, p. 148) we are then advised that some of the details of earlier reports are incorrect (p. 155) and treated to a partial re-interpretation of the excavation (Appendix E). There are also references to the full report (for details of the ceramic fabrics, for example) and to pre-medieval finds and earthworks (although the prehistoric excavation is in a separate volume, and not reviewed here). This is most frustrating and I can only think that the best way to get full value from an otherwise excellent report is to be a lifelong subscriber to *Archaeologia Aeliana*, and have all five reports, discredited or not, by your side, along with a mirofiche reader and a day return to Newcastle or Cardiff. All of this could have been avoided with a full, authoritative, monograph.

CHRISTOPHER GERRARD

The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume II, 1042–1350. Edited by H. E. Hallam. 16 × 24 cm. xxxix + 1,086 pp., numerous figs. and tables. Cambridge: C.U.P., 1988. Price: £90.00.

With this volume *Ag. Hist. Eng.* — and it says much for the stature of the series that, like *D.N.B.* or 'Grove', its short title immediately identifies it to a wide audience — moves to within two volumes of completion. One of the two volumes still awaited is that on the later Middle Ages (1350–1500), and it will be interesting to see how its editor has tackled the presentation of a much greater corpus of data than was available to Professor Hallam and his contributors.

For, as readers of the review heading will already have noticed, the volume under consideration here is a bulky tome indeed. But, is it the Domesday Book of early medieval agriculture that the number of pages might suggest? Certainly Professor Hallam's eleven-strong team, which began work in 1965, is one of formidable authority. The volume includes

both single-author chapters, mostly overviews, and ones made up of regional studies contributed by a number of different specialists. Among the former is a wide-ranging yet innovatory survey by Dr Sally Harvey of Domesday England, or, more specifically, 'The agrarian based peoples of Domesday England and of their lands, their agrarian duties and their returns'. Equally valuable is Professor Farmer's chapter on prices, wages and the cost of living. The volume editor himself contributes a short chapter — lively, but something of a rag-bag — on 'The Life of the People' (ground recently covered in much greater detail in C. C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*), and a half-chapter on drainage techniques.

The eight regions — eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western and northern England, the east and the west midlands, and Wales and the Marches — appear as subsections of chapters on new settlement, farming techniques, population movement, and social structure. As one would expect from authors including Brandon, Dyer, Hatcher, Miller and Raftis, there is much here of substance. While the fast-moving nature of agrarian history means that the theories and conclusions proposed by the contributors *c.* 1973 (some making minor revisions *c.* 1983) have for the most part long since appeared in print elsewhere, the huge quarry (or should it be clamp?) of data here gathered will be of great long-term value.

'New settlement' is one of the book's recurrent themes. Professor Hallam has some very individual ideas on this, especially on the use to which place-name evidence can be put, and unfortunately has used editorial privilege to impose these on the other regional section authors. The first documentary record of a place-name is taken to herald the appearance of a new village, and phases of settlement expansion are constructed on this basis. There are sufficient riders in the text (e.g. p. 209) to show the contributors' awareness of what nonsense this is, but still the concept was persisted with. One weeps to think of the huge and wasted labour that went into the compilation of these sections.

Twenty year's work in archaeology and landscape history is also virtually ignored in the volume's opening chapter, once more by Professor Hallam, on England before the Norman Conquest. Here when diet, personal possessions and climate are discussed no mention is made of the work of archaeologists or climatologists. The reliance on the written record — documents and place-names — is almost absolute. Moreover, the absolutely crucial question of the origin of open fields is avoided. But, once more, Herculean labour has gone into the production of meaningless lists of 'new settlements'.

There are also major flaws with the volume's organization. Firstly the unwieldy size and crippling cost of the book owe much to the inclusion of material which has no proper place here. One would quite properly expect to find some discussion in such a survey of the size and composition of the rural population, but not to the extent of 85 pages, of which 56 comprise tabulations of holding numbers at various dates. And, similarly, while the industrial and other by-employments of the rural workforce require consideration it should not have been in the form of free-standing (and generally cursory) sections on industry. These are included within chapters on rural building in England (J. G. Hurst) and Wales (Dr L. A. S. Butler), in all running to 111 pages. Both, especially the former, are too discursive, with sections on priests' houses and roof types: the difficult question of what, if anything, the evidence of buildings tells us about agriculture is not sufficiently to the fore.

Nor is the scholarly apparatus what one would expect in a book from this publisher. The bibliography appears to be selective, although what those principles for selection are far from clear. The index too — and the quality of the index in a major work of reference cannot be stressed too highly — has been arranged more on an *ad hoc* basis than according to usual index-making practice. To give but two examples: in the General Index some 75 individuals are indexed under 'de' (e.g. 'de Lacy, Henry'). 'Hamund of Chigwell' is indexed thus, but Chigwell appears neither as a cross-reference nor in the place-name index. More worrying, in terms of the likely usage of the book, the subject index is apparently badly flawed, with substantive references being missed (e.g. goats p. 32, oats p. 37, marl p. 43, and molmen p. 611).

There is certainly more that is good, often very good, in this book than is bad. But it is the bad that stands out, even more so given the two decades and more that the volume was in preparation. That is a very sad fact to report.

PAUL STAMPER

The Mills of Medieval England. By Richard Holt. 15 × 24 cm. x + 202 pp., 10 figs. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988. Price: £29.95.

This book is a welcome, full scholarly survey of English medieval mills. Holt is a historian: the work has been a major research project of the School of History at the University of Birmingham, but the author is fully alive to the archaeological resonances of his subject and the background work in Europe by Orjan Wikander and others.

The initial discussion of the history of the watermill includes a fresh discussion of the problems of the Domesday mills and their values. The contrast between the horizontal-wheeled and the vertical-wheeled mill is important here. The possibility of early horsemills is also explored, though the earliest mention is 1183. Interestingly Holt interprets 'Structure X' in the 10th-century palace at Cheddar as a horsemill. Tide mills are attested in 949, and numerous examples are recorded by 1300. Windmills, which often replaced tide mills, made their appearance in the later 12th century, and it is suggested that they may be an English invention. In the 13th and 14th centuries many of these were built, especially in those areas such as East Anglia where there was a shortage of waterpower but a steady wind. They never, however, supplanted watermills, but supplemented them. The post type is uniform in illustrations.

To Holt, the horizontal-wheeled mill is essentially a peasant mill, less efficient but simpler. Their continuance as the dominant type in the Byzantine Pontos and elsewhere is due, in his view, to a low-profile seigneurial control. Conversely the growing strength of this in England is the reason for their demise here. The alternative view which Anthony Bryer proposed for the Pontos was technical regression.

Much detail is available for the technology of the vertical-wheeled mill. Brass, glass, flint, stone and wood were used for bearings. Archaeology and pictorial sources supply detail that is missing from the written sources, notably on the type of wheel — overshot (Luttrell Psalter and Batsford Mill), undershot (Bordesley Abbey), and breast-shot (Castle Donington). The medieval mill, unlike modern ones, never drove more than one pair of stones, though two mills might operate in the same millhouse. The mill at Abbotsbury with a wheel on each side of the leat may have had its medieval counterpart.

Monastic and manorial monopolies were probably being exercised before the Conquest, but are well attested in England from the later 13th century. Fines were either for using some other mill, or for grinding at home by hand or horse, sometimes in an entrepreneurial manner. Struggles between people and their abbot or lord have, Holt believes, been overstressed: they must be seen in the wider context of rural and urban aspirations to freedom. Nor is this irrelevant to the problem of technical innovation: were handmills, for the peasant, more economical? Or were they used in protest against exaction?

Not all mills were in the hands of lords or abbots. There were more independent mills than historians have formerly assumed; whether they were tolerated depended on whether it was more profitable to do so in some circumstances.

More palatable perhaps to the general reader is the chapter on the millers themselves. Chaucer's vivid portrayal and the evil-looking miller in pictorial sources are not thought by Holt to be a true portrayal of a 14th-century miller. The miller's wages, and those of his boy, were paid in cash and kind, and were not large. Mill expenses were heavy, and much of the work wearisome, even though considerable skill was needed. The miller tried to remedy this by many means, which may have contributed to his bad reputation — using false measures, and even having a false compartment below the stones into which some flour would fall.

How many mills were there? Here it is calculated that there may have been a doubling of the Domesday number by 1300 to a figure of 10,000 to 12,000 — a formidable total for archaeologists to consider. After that time the number fell for economic reasons. Perhaps the most important chapter for students of material culture is that on technology. Holt suggests that archaeology's most important contribution would be to trace the history of the horizontal-wheeled mill and its apparent demise in England by the 13th century.

There were many uses to which water or wind power could be applied with a trip-hammer — fulling by 1185, mashing malt for beer or bark for tanning, and especially iron-working (using bellows). The latter is witnessed by Domesday and archaeologically now recorded at Chingley for hammer blooms; and at Bordesley Abbey for smithing and manufacture. A further use of the mill was to grind blades, perhaps on large scale for many crafts in medieval Winchester. Fulling mills were formerly suggested to have proliferated because rural lords wanted a share of the profits of the cloth industry, from the early 13th century onwards. Most, however, are in south Wales, not because the cloth workers were here, but because waterpower was in abundance to make the rather low profits worthwhile. The evidence from these industrial uses of mills is used to deny any significant 'power revolution', because lords would invest principally in the more profitable cornmills — flour was the only commodity always in demand; real mechanization had to wait until the 'growing markets and emerging capitalist enterprise of the 16th century ushered in an era of larger scale production'.

Holt's final chapter is on 'the end of the golden age', the period of massive economic change following the Black Death, which made many mills redundant, especially those that were marginal. The 15th century saw a decline in seigneurial authority; mill numbers were adjusted to the new population; there had probably in any case been too many earlier on, because of the urge to profit.

This book will hold the field for some years to come as an authoritative and fully-referenced account of the subject; it is essential reading for all medieval archaeologists. The production is attractive with an elegant typography, and I noticed only one misprint in a work crammed with long footnotes and a massive bibliography, in which there are no obvious omissions.

PHILIP RAHTZ

The Rural Settlements of Medieval England. Edited by Michael Aston, David Austin and Christopher Dyer. 20 × 25 cm. x + 318 pp., 45 figs., 19 pls. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989. Price: £55.00.

This handsome volume is a collection of sixteen papers, each written by a leading expert, brought together as a tribute to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst. In their Introduction, the editors pay fulsome tribute to the very special contribution to the study of medieval rural settlement and landscape by these two scholars, and it is difficult to recall a pair of researchers working in medieval archaeology to whom a greater debt is owed. This *Festschrift* is well-deserved, and particularly well-timed, given the imminence of the demise of excavations at Wharram Percy when publication occurred.

The contributions are collected under three headings. Part I, entitled 'History and Geography', contains articles by Della Hooke, P. D. A. Harvey, Christopher Dyer, Brian K. Roberts and H. S. A. Fox. Part II, entitled 'Fieldwork', has papers by Michael Aston, C. J. Bond, Peter Wade-Martins, David Baker, D. R. Wilson, David Hall and C. C. Taylor. Part III, 'Excavations', has work by David Austin, Stuart Wrathmell, Martin Bell and Richard Hodges. The selection of contributors was intended to reflect the views of the generation of scholarship which immediately followed that of Beresford and Hurst, although it requires a certain suspension of disbelief to place all those whose work is included in a single generation. The mix is intentionally multi-disciplinary, and there is a brave attempt to

provide comment from as many parts of the country as possible — something which will surely have pleased Beresford and Hurst, whose past eclecticism underlies all current mapping of national or regional distributions of abandoned medieval settlement.

Despite its special role, this volume must be judged on the academic value of its individual papers. Obviously, it is impossible in a review to comment meaningfully on the contents of all sixteen contributions, but several general points can be made. The volume has been briefly but adequately indexed, which is a great help when attempting to dip into it, rather than read it throughout. It contains no bibliography. The individual articles are provided with footnotes (most, liberally), which are generally adequate to identify the source referred to, although some contributors (e.g. Bell) have made large-scale use of current, ongoing or unpublished research, and the reader will find him/herself balked if wishing to pursue such points further. The illustrations are sufficient in number to be of considerable value. Most line drawings are clear and some are very clear (e.g. those by Bond, Wrathmell, Aston and Fox). Some have suffered from over reduction or are too lightly printed (e.g. 12.9 and the section in 15.1). Some contain idiosyncracies. Why, for example, is figure 16.5 captioned 'Five millennia of field walls at Roystone Grange', when the first of its five component maps is of walls constructed in the 2nd millennium B.C.? Several of the plates are magnificent. Those which illustrate David Wilson's 'Aterations to Ridge and Furrow ...' (Plates 10.1–5) are exemplary and several of Peter Wade-Martin's are not far behind. Others are less useful or positively unhelpful. The dark mud masquerading as plate 6.2 might have been better omitted. Each contribution has a conclusion, which summarizes the preceding comments and assesses priorities for the immediate future.

Although many will find much to interest and stimulate them in the first section, it is Parts II and III which are of primary interest to readers of Medieval Archaeology. Part II contains three regional studies — of the West (Glouc., Som., Wilts.), the South-West Midlands (Oxon., Warw., Worc.) and East Anglia (Norfolk, with reference to Suffolk). These provide a useful history of research into medieval settlement in these regions to the present day, and a review of current or ongoing work and comments on regional research priorities. David Baker's concern is rather with the preservation, management, interpretation and display of medieval settlement remains, an area in which he offers some comments which are both sensible and apposite, given the current interest in the interface between archaeology and the public. David Wilson's contribution is a valuable reminder of the degree of change that we should expect in systems of ridge and furrow, which, as open fields, are all too often assumed to have been static over extremely long periods. The theme of field systems is taken up by David Hall, who summarizes work to date on medieval fields, based on his own mapping and fieldwork efforts in the south-east Midlands over an area of 700,000 acres, and then homes in on Northamptonshire, and, in particular, on Watford. The theme of local fieldwork is taken up by Christopher Taylor, who offers a study of Whittlesford (Cambs.). For my money, this is one of the more valuable of these papers, which documents successive explanations of the settlement history of the village, constructed, tested and abandoned by the author. The process of research is revealed to an unusual degree and the accidental nature of so many discoveries is underlined by the role played by the author's allotment. The end result is the collapse of all efforts to explain the settlement history of this single community, something which a researcher of less stature and humility might have been less inclined to offer as a conclusion.

Part III opens with a somewhat pessimistic discussion of research activity on dispersed settlements, by David Austin, followed by a useful regional survey of rural buildings by Stuart Wrathmell. Both call for the input of further resources, albeit for different purposes, in order to test current hypotheses and obtain primary data. Bell's contribution is a very successful attempt to relate environmental research to some of the problems of continuity and change in the medieval landscape. His particular interest is in the 'Dark Ages', where he reinforces the current lack of concurrence between the results of on-site and off-site archaeology concerning continuity, but he also addresses important issues in the later medieval period. The section is closed by a rather more philosophical contribution by

Richard Hodges, which draws for its ballast on the San Vincento and Montarrenti Projects in Italy, and the Roystone Grange Project in the White Peak.

Several of these contributions are not particularly novel, if only because their contributors have already published very similar material, or significant parts of this material, elsewhere. That is not to belittle the amalgamation of their efforts in this single volume, but there will be a sense of *déjà vu* among those who have read other recent collections of papers, such as that edited by Della Hooke on Medieval Villages (1985). Those who are looking for a clear way forward will not be entirely satisfied, but they should dwell on the Introduction, particularly pp. 4–6, where the editors have picked out several of the key messages which are otherwise remarkably well hidden in the text.

There are very few typographical errors in a volume which is well edited and handsomely produced, if far too expensive.

NICK HIGHAM

The Other Economy. Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate. By Kathleen Biddick. 16 × 24 cm. 230 pp., 61 figs. and tables. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Price: $30.00.

Kathleen Biddick's account of pastoral husbandry on the estate of Peterborough Abbey (7th to 14th centuries) claims to 'pioneer a methodology for analysing pastoral activities'. Her self-professed dedication to agrarian history, animal bones and social theory is a rare mix — one which promises much. The 'other' economy of the title refers to the indifference to pastoralism on the part of previous historians. Biddick presents evidence for the pastoral and arable sectors within a regional context. A single estate is chosen 'because the institutional approach offers the best chance to focus on a nuanced study of poorly known household strategies for pastoral resource-use'. This systemic model explores links between consumption, production, exchange and resources. The model, and the jargon in which it is presented, may appeal to any remaining processualists. But some of the terms are misleading, since exchange is defined as the circulation of resources beyond the household (distribution?); and resources include both the means and relations of production. Ironically, definitions of household and institution are never provided, so that the question of a monastic estate's representativity is not resolved. Consumption seems to imply the absorption of production, with no consideration of social consumption through diet, dress or other badges of rank.

The book is in two parts, with more jargon-ridden synthesis contained in introductory and concluding chapters. Part 1 reviews the economy of the early medieval estate, its scale in 1086, and 13th-century changes. Part 2 deals comprehensively with animals kept between the 12th and 14th centuries. It contains sections on demesne cattle herds, sheep flocks, horses, pigs and poultry. Exhaustive appendices of document-based calculations follow. Numerous tables and rather unattractive computer-generated diagrams accompany the text. Efforts toward brevity resulted in a large number of footnotes. Any critical reading requires their consultation two to three times per paragraph; unfortunately they are at the back of the book. Biddick's knowledge of the fenlands is impressive — from written sources and on the ground. She is at her best when writing ecological history: documentary reconstructions of landscape management of fen, meadow, woodland and arable; and livestock husbandry. These sections will be of tremendous interest to environmental archaeologists.

Reconstruction of the early medieval estate would have benefited from source criticism of both texts and archaeology. Peterborough Abbey's conjectural territory included peat and silt fens and extensive upland along the River Nene. From archaeological evidence, Biddick suggests the possible twinning of ecclesiastical and trade centres such as Peterborough and Oundle, and Winchester and Hamwih. But of course Oundle was itself a contemporary ecclesiastical presence. She concludes that the early medieval economy was based entirely on tribute, with renders (*feorms*) collected from centres which organized processing and storage. Rather than sudden cessation brought about by Vikings, Peterborough Abbey is placed

within the context of general economic decline in the 9th century, although this 'disruption in the Dark Age world economy' is uncritically attributed to shortages in Arab silver supplies. In contrast to previous historical models, Biddick maintains that the reformed monastery practised no direct demesne farming before the 12th century.

From 1125 onwards more detailed surveys are extant. Twelfth-century production appears to have been geared to the abbey's requirements, and not to the market. The abbey consumed demesne products and processed renders (loaves, wool, and hemp cloth). Late 12th- and early 13th-century high farming is explained by the 'structural indebtedness' of estates. Biddick views the intensification of production as a response to debt which trapped landlords into cash-cropping grain and wool. During this period Peterborough experimented with a Cistercian-type grange at Rocklingham Forest. Windmills are first mentioned; urban property is acquired; and storage capacity is increased through the building of granaries on the estate manors. Increased investment in ploughs and livestock was met by higher peasant rents and labour requirements. The 14th century saw greater emphasis on sheep-farming, with attempts to increase arable yields. Five thousand acres were sown with grain: half wheat and oats; the remainder barley, dredge, rye and legume. Biddick has calculated that the abbey consumed 44 per cent of the total harvest, with livestock accounting for 21 per cent, workers 10 per cent and the remaining 25 per cent for seed corn and sales. There is no allowance within her calculation for the spoilage of grain, nor are the problems of storage discussed.

Biddick's discussion of demesne herds includes the changing emphasis on species and demography over time, specialization by manors, and reliance on marketed livestock for herd replenishment. Medieval accountants divided herds by subgroups of age and sex. In the 12th century cattle were kept for traction, with only enough cows to maintain the herd. Only five of the 23 manors (those on lighter soils) used plough horses. Sheep were kept primarily as dairy animals. By the 14th century cattle were relied upon for dairying, with half of the yield sold. The number of sheep had doubled with the increased opportunities for wool export, and the fen edge was developed for pasture. Whethers were favoured for their heavier fleeces. The proportion of horses increased dramatically until they made up 40–45 per cent of transport and traction animals. Likewise the pig herd had doubled. Pigs were kept for consumption within the community. Since the estate woodland was coppiced, sty management was practised. Pigs consumed up to half of the legumes grown by the abbey (peas, beans, vetches); 25 per cent of the herd was butchered annually. Consumption of poultry was maintained through rents and court fines paid in poultry and eggs.

Monastic consumption was given only brief consideration, with tabled comparisons of the major species consumed at ecclesiastical institutions. These figures are interesting for the ratio of carcases and animals entering monastic precincts on the hoof. Biddick's reliance on manorial records, neglecting kitchener's and cellarer's accounts, produces only a partial picture. Specifically monastic consumption is omitted, such as the additional demands brought about by hospitality and literacy (animal skins for vellum). The pastoral history of the estate complete, there is little attempt to evaluate the model's relevancy to the larger region or inter-regional economy. Nor is the period of high farming compared with 15th- and 16th-century estate management, when lands were leased out to fuel cash economies. The study emphasizes an estate-wide strategy of pastoral management with specialization and exchange between manors allowing the functioning of the whole. As such, it serves as both a caution and context for the interpretation of animal bone assemblages from single sites.

Has Biddick succeeded in creating a methodology for analysing pastoral activities? She is confident that her study 'restores hitherto invisible and marginalized forms of economic activity to historical vision and resonates to the extent that it inspires sustained appreciation of the multiple vanishing points of such economic activity'. Yet within her methodology, and despite her multi-disciplinary interests, it is ironic that Biddick has rendered the archaeology of pastoralism invisible. The potential of animal bone studies and the contribution of fieldwork on relict pastoral landscapes are never mentioned. The consistent emphasis on production for consumption within the estate neglects the market pattern which is generated

by pastoral strategies. A definitive methodology would acknowledge the extent to which rural production and urban consumption were integrated, with an additional point of access to rural production via animal bone assemblage from urban sites.

ROBERTA GILCHRIST

Diet and Crafts in Towns: The Evidence of Animal Remains from the Roman to the Post-Medieval Periods. (B.A.R. British Series 199). Edited by D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron. 21 × 29 cm. 223 pp., figs. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989. Price: £15.00.

This collection of essays by bone specialists records the proceedings of a conference held in 1986. The authors address themselves primarily to their fellow workers, and consequently the papers contain much discussion of the principles and methods of their speciality. They emphasize the need for recovery techniques that will yield smaller bones from fish and poultry (Coy). Sampling methods are advocated for coping with the overwhelming mass of material from large urban sites (O'Connor). Levitan demonstrates the advantages of calculating the proportion of bones from different parts of the carcass, and then using the localized distribution patterns to show which parts of a site were used for food processing or crafts. Maltby argues that cuts and marks on bones can tell us not just about butchery techniques, but by implication about the scale and specialization of the urban meat trade. Should the bones of different species of animal be counted or weighed? Or should the study of a group of bones result in an estimate of the number of individuals? Serjeantson reports a study in which an attempt was made to assess the 'minimum number of beef cuts'. Perhaps the most sophisticated example of method on display here is Ijzereef's essay on 17th- and 18th-century Amsterdam, in which he distinguishes between the bone debris of Jewish and Christian households, and between those rich and poor.

The conference did not aim to cover all aspects of the subject. Only one paper is concerned with the bones of *Homo sapiens* (by Waldron), and little is said about the size and breed of animals. However the use of animal products as industrial raw materials is well covered by an essay on antler, bone and horn by MacGregor, and another on tanning by Serjeantson. The most original contribution, by Armitage, reveals a bizarre, even surreal use of bones as building materials. Evidently it was not uncommon for bones to serve as substitutes for brick or stone, and skulls were sometimes placed under dance floors to give resonance. The evidence is mainly post medieval.

In view of the book's concern with method, the reader cannot expect that this book will sum up the state of knowledge of urban bone studies. However, there is a good deal of information here about patterns and trends in medieval use of animal products. Work in both Lincoln and York shows a long-term increase in the proportion of sheep bones as compared with those of cattle between the 10th and 17th centuries. Goats figure prominently among the animal remains from both York and Exeter in the 11th to 13th centuries. Antler was replaced by bone as the material from which combs and knife handles were made in the same centuries. All of these observations must reflect complex changes in ecology, farming methods, and market demand. Sometimes a change may simply be the result of consumer preference, like the observation that the inhabitants of Roman York ate a great deal of crab from the east coast. Crabs disappeared from the menu in the Middle Ages, to be supplanted by sea birds from the same area.

This reviewer, as a historian, is bound to react to the authors' use of (or rather non-use) of historical information. It is frustrating to find a parallel drawn from modern historical evidence when good medieval information exists. And sometimes one is shocked to read a plain error, like the statement that human skeletons alone can provide statistics on life-span, as if the half-dozen calculations made from documentary sources had never been written. There is no excuse either for citing an amateur's popular work (by R. Whiteman) on the history of agriculture when so many authoritative studies are available. And discussions of

animal bones in the context of food should really state more boldly and clearly that meat formed only a single and often rather minor element in medieval diet. No doubt the bone experts would reply to such criticisms that historians scarcely encouraged mutual understanding by themselves ignoring the animal remains as a source of information. Furthermore, the study of bones illuminates early periods when written evidence is lacking, and such undocumented features of the later Middle Ages as the use of bone in crafts. None the less, it might be a valuable experience for all concerned if they were to invite a historian or two to the next bone conference.

CHRISTOPHER DYER

A New History of Ireland Vol. 2. Medieval Ireland 1169–1534. Edited by Art Cosgrove. 16 × 24 cm. lxii + 982 pp., 32 pls., 18 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. Price: not stated.

The medieval volume of *A New History of Ireland* is a massive tome of almost a thousand pages, covering the period from 1169 to 1534. There were delays in its publication, most of the contributions being completed by 1973, but opportunities for revision were given, and taken by most of the nineteen contributors a decade later. The result is a volume of very great interest to medievalists, the various chapters well cross-referenced so that, for example, discussions of houses in the Gaelic and Gaelicized areas can be found in the chapters on Gaelic Society and Economy in the High Middle Ages, Architecture and Sculpture, and Land and People *c.* 1300. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the whole volume is the incorporation of material referring to the Gaelic areas and people derived from native sources, which have become more readily available during the last 30 years with the work of a younger generation of Irish historians.

More broadly, however, different emphases on, and interpretations of, the available historical evidence can be found. For this reason the introductory character study by F. X. Martin placing both medieval Ireland, especially the earlier part, and its historiography in broad perspective is especially welcome and helps explain some of these differences. Martin himself argues strongly, for example, that the Anglo-Normans came to Ireland not as invaders but by invitation. The complexity of the later interactions between 'Norman feudalism' and 'Celtic tribalism' is well illustrated by J. A. Watt in his chapter on Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity in which he attempts to capture something of the specifically 14th-century Gaelic ethos. This should, hopefully, weaken the dichotomous view of these systems derived from Orpen's classic work, *Ireland under the Normans, 1169–1333*. The difficult problems of estimating the changing size of the population during the medieval period are dealt with by K. W. Nicholls and in an especially critical fashion by K. Down. There are clearly conflicts between some of these conclusions and such other evidence as the state of commerce and the obvious wealth that at various times is represented by architectural and artistic endeavours in church, castle and town. Unfortunately there are few comments of a genuinely cross-disciplinary nature examining the divergent conclusions that can be drawn from different types of evidence.

As a whole, therefore, the volume will offer a useful historical source for the medieval archaeologist, the chapter on overseas trade by W. R. Childs and T. O'Neill, for example, providing a valuable historical context in which to place the increasing archaeological evidence for imports into Ireland. There are, however, several chapters of immediate archaeological significance. That by E. C. Rae on Architecture and Sculpture 1169–1603 is illustrated with some excellent photographs. In the space available to him it is impossible to do justice to the complex building history of castles such as Bunratty which are illustrated although the text gives tantalizing glimpses of the interrelations of historical events and extant buildings. The turbulent history of Ireland has meant that few medieval buildings have survived intact — not one medieval stained-glass window is known to remain (p. 771)

— but enough remains to indicate the divergent sources of architectural and artistic significance which culminated in such distinctly Irish abbeys as Holycross, and the late Gothic mensa tombs. Again in the chapter by F. Henry and G. Marsh-Micheli on Manuscripts and Illuminations 1169–1603 the varied influences of tradition and imported novelty are examined. Between the 12th and 14th centuries the manufacture of books passed from the monastic scriptorium to the workshop of a school kept by one of the learned families who attached themselves as poets, historians and lawyers to chiefs from whom they expected their living in exchange for their services. No definite solution has yet been demonstrated as to how this change took place, nor the mechanism by which the earlier tradition survived to be continued in the later period. Finally of general archaeological interest will be the chapter on Land and People *c.* 1300 by R. E. Glasscock. This is a valuable multi-disciplinary essay integrating a broad spectrum of evidence from pollen to manorial documents. The range of settlement forms is thoroughly discussed and some of the geographic variation between different parts of Ireland and between town and country is established. Divergent views and the need for more evidence are well summarized.

D. B. Quinn in his analysis of the closing years of medieval Ireland between 1520 and 1534 describes this as a period in which feudal autonomy and aristocratic licence were about to give place to the prosaic workings of the expanding bureaucratic English nation state. 'Our knowledge of the social context in which these political events took place is still very limited (p. 687)'. For this period as for others covered in this volume archaeological research has a major contribution to make towards a fuller understanding of the context in which political events occurred and their repercussions.

BRUCE PROUDFOOT

Clarendon Palace. The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Palace and Hunting Lodge near Salisbury, Wiltshire. (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. XLV, 1988). By T. B. James and A. M. Robinson. 22 × 28 cm. 279 pp., 66 pls., 98 figs. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1988. Price: £84.00.

Clarendon was one of the many houses built by the medieval kings of England to accommodate their itinerant court. Typically, these houses were situated in or close to a tract of royal forest, so that hunting could be enjoyed as a relaxation from government. Such were Clipston (Notts.), Feckenham (Worcs.), Gillingham (Dorset), Havering (Essex), Kingscliffe (Northants.), and Woodstock (Oxon.). Clarendon was not only one of the more important of these houses, but one which, having been abandoned by the Tudors, offered an opportunity for archaeological investigation uncompromised by later alterations. Moreover the publication from 1916 onwards of the *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* made it apparent that Clarendon was one of those houses upon which King Henry III's artistic patronage had been most fully exercised. Henry's writs were full of peremptory orders to build and carve, to paint and glaze, and references to specific cycles of paintings and to tile-pavements indicated that this was a site that might yield interesting traces of 13th-century art. Although the outline of the major part of the plan had been recovered by Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1821, it was Dr Tancred Borenius, Professor of Fine Art at London University, who in the 1930s first had the idea of a serious exploration of the site. As his archaeological collaborator Borenius obtained the services of Mr John Charlton, then a member of the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. Work began in 1933 with financial support from the Society of Antiquaries, and continued every summer until the Second World War put a stop to it in 1939.

By 1939 what was obviously the principal range of buildings — a hall and two sets of royal apartments, one for the king, the other for the queen, had been identified, and the discovery of a magnificent tile pavement, various fragments of stone carving of high quality, and even of painted plaster, fully justified Borenius's hope that it would be possible not only

to reconstruct the architectural framework of Henry III's palace, but also to recover some actual fragments of the works of art that he commissioned. Then the war supervened, Borenius died in 1948, and the duties of an Inspector of Historic Buildings in the Ministry of Works gave John Charlton little time to devote to Clarendon. An interim report had appeared in 1936, and in the 1960s the tile-pavements (now in the British Museum) were subjected to an expert analysis by Elizabeth Eames. Much, however, that had been excavated in the 1930s was recorded only in notes and photographs, and this pioneering venture in British medieval archaeology would probably have remained for ever unpublished but for the enterprise of T. B. James and A. M. Robinson in collating all the surviving evidence and producing the present report.

To compile, from other people's notes and recollections, a record of an excavation that was not only carried out over 50 years ago, but in accordance with standards of archaeological practice long since overtaken by the constantly-developing techniques of the post-war period, is a remarkable feat, and both the authors and the Society of Antiquaries are to be warmly congratulated on a unique achievement. Here at last we have all the information that we are ever likely to have about the site as it was revealed in 1933–39, plus the evidence of further limited investigations carried out by Elizabeth Eames and John Musty between 1957 and 1965. Particular care has been taken with the plan, every version of which (save the sketch-plan of Sir Thomas Phillipps's 1821 excavations reproduced in *Antiquaries' Journal* XVI (1936), pl. XIII, which is not the same as the one now in the Bodleian Library here reproduced as Fig. 3) is illustrated, and a numbered key to the various structures makes for easy reference throughout the book. No striking new interpretation emerges, but the convenience of having everything to do with Clarendon in one volume is immense, and all the surviving finds (some of the fragments of wall-painting have been lost since 1939) are fully described and illustrated in an exemplary manner.

The difficult business of correlating the excavated remains with the contemporary records of Chancery and Exchequer is tackled with proper caution, and some outstanding problems in the layout of the royal apartments are authoritatively discussed by Elizabeth Eames in an appendix. The authors have very understandably fought shy of the formidable task of re-examining the very voluminous documentary evidence in the Public Records. This means that they have relied very largely on the information from these sources brought together in existing publications, including the *History of the King's Works*. It must, however, be pointed out that the use of documentary sources for a history of the royal works is rather different from the use of the same sources for the architectural history of a specific building. For the historian of the royal works it is, for instance, sufficient to establish that a royal house like Clarendon was or was not being maintained during a given period. But for the historian of that building even the expenditure of a few shillings may yield significant information. Thus the fact that in an account of 1399 (E 101/502/15) the wall of the Clarendon kitchen (then under repair) is stated to be 9 ft. high might have been useful to the author of the excellent perspective reconstructions (Figs. 14, 15), while the making in 1445–46 of three lattices for the preservation of three glazed windows in the King's chapel, each 6 ft. long and 30 in. wide, might suggest that the building was still lit by 13th-century lancets (E 101/460/10). It must also be said that not all the information available in the *History of the King's Work* has been fully used. Reference to the lists of Clerks of the King's Works and their subordinates, the Clerks or Purveyors of the Works at Clarendon (*H.K.W.*, II, pp. 1045–46) would have prevented these two officers from being confused on p. 42. Nor are the financial difficulties that the clerks encountered in maintaining the palace understood. So, far from 'securing £2,000' for repair of the royal residences in 1447, William Cleve managed to lay his hands on precisely £136 13*s.* 4*d.* (*H.K.W.*, I, p. 198). These are, however, lapses of a kind which will scarcely affect the value of this book as an archaeological record. To have patiently put together this comprehensive and instructive account of an excavation in which they themselves had no hand is indeed an act of scholarly altruism to which there can be few parallels in the history of British archaeology.

HOWARD COLVIN

Guides to Ancient Monuments, in various formats. From English Heritage: *Castle Acre Castle*; *Dover Castle*; *Wall Roman Site*; *Dunstanburgh Castle*; *Launceston Castle*; *Wenlock Priory*; *Stonehenge*; *Framlingham* and *Orford Castles*; *Rievaulx Abbey*; and *Rochester Castle*. From Cadw: *Weobley Castle*; *Chepstow Castle*; *Beaumaris Castle*; *Valle Crucis Abbey*; *Harlech Castle*; and *Tintern Abbey*.

Most of us, even the oldest of us, cannot remember the years before the Blue Guides — my copy of Kidwelly Castle was first published in 1933 and reprinted unchanged in 1968. The Guides were models of their kind: succinct, scholarly, sometimes conceding the need for a glossary, but often assuming in everyone the vocabulary of an architectural historian. They were illustrated with a sprinkling of impeccable photographs and, usually, a folding plan at the back. But they were almost impossible to use on the site itself. The fold-out plan, on flimsy paper, became uncontrollable in the slightest breeze and the text, though lucid, could rarely be used as an accompaniment to the site tour, especially as it was very rare for a route round the monument, married to the text, to be suggested on the plan. Too often it was only later, at home, that we realized what we had missed.

There is now much less cause for such complaints. The guides are being republished, in a variety of formats, ranging from A4 and large quarto to the more usual A5. Most are in colour, with many colour and black and white illustrations on every page, though some of the major monuments, for example, Dover Castle and Wenlock Priory, remain in black and white.

The series from Cadw is more uniform than that from English Heritage. The Welsh guides are A5 in size with many illustrations on every page and some, though not all include a summary of the text in Welsh. A great advance is a semi-rigid fold-out back cover containing the site plan, usually in colours corresponding to the site's phases. The plan of Tintern Abbey, for example, is extraordinarily complex yet its nine phases can be read clearly, every room is labelled and it incorporates a suggested route. It is rather confusing, though, to find that the numbered sequence on the centrefold illustration is not the same as that on the fold-out plan, though it is cross-referenced to the 'Tour of the Buildings' between pages 26 and 51. The puzzled reader has therefore two sets of numbered buildings, plus an extended tour which refers to neither. To take this guide to Tintern as typical of the Cadw series, it is very comprehensively illustrated with drawings, photographs, manuscript illustrations and reconstructions. The text, by David Robinson, is new, as are most of the texts in the other guides, though Arnold Taylor's accounts of the north Welsh Castles, which could hardly be bettered, are retained.

The Tintern guide is very comprehensive — the first part is a history of the Abbey from the foundation to the dissolution; Part 2 is entitled 'Masons at Work; the Development of the Buildings'; Part 3, called 'The Abbey at Work', is a tour of the buildings and Part 4, an interesting coda, is called 'Resurrection: Tourists discover Tintern' and brings the story down to the present. It is followed by a list of books for further reading. The illustrations are well chosen, though some are so small (e.g. the photograph on p. 22) that the details referred to are hard to see. On the other hand, the reconstruction drawing on the same page of the building of the 13th-century church is an imaginative *tour de force* which is certainly as good as a thousand words.

By contrast, the English Heritage's guides reviewed here are in a diversity of formats. For example, the Rievaulx Abbey guide forms an interesting contrast to that of Tintern, a very similar monument. The Rievaulx guide is in A4 size, has very fine illustrations including a stunning cover, and many reproductions in colour of medieval manuscripts but, surprisingly, has no plan of the abbey's architectural development. Instead, a series of simplified plans suggests a route through the ruins but gives the unwitting impression that the whole complex was built at one time, though the text, of course, distinguishes between the differing dates of different parts of the building. The opportunity has been lost here to show the visitor how to distinguish between the Norman and Early English styles.

On the other hand, the Rievaulx guide is easier to use in one respect since it begins with a guided tour in which the text is opposite its matching plan, with each cross-referenced in bold typeface. This is followed by 'The History of the Abbey', 'Who were the Cistercians?'.

'Cistercian Daily Life', 'St Ailred', and 'Rievaulx and the Dissolution' before we go back to the 'History of the Buildings' with a cut-away drawing. Clearly part of the guide is for immediate use on site, and part for background reading — the distinction is left for the reader to discover.

There is a similar mixture in the guide to a quite different monument, Stonehenge. At first sight it is a very attractive booklet, large quarto in size, beautifully illustrated in colour throughout with Constable's splendid watercolour drawing of 1835 as centrefold. The text is, properly, by Professor Richard Atkinson, and it is sponsored (brave new world) by Gateway Foodmarkets Ltd. However, although the book opens with a 'Tour of Stonehenge', accompanied by a labelled perspective drawing, the suggested route is not marked and the various features, highlighted in bold on the following pages, are not cross-referenced to the drawing or to the plan on p. 11. Photographs or perspective drawings of the monument as the visitor sees it from optimum view points round the route, cross-referenced to the text would be a simple way of being very helpful here. The section on the 'Prehistoric Peoples' is illustrated with colourful artists impressions but Stonehenge is so far in the background as to be nearly invisible — it certainly gives no impression of dominating the landscape — perhaps it did not?

English Heritage's guide to Rochester Castle comes closest to fulfilling the needs of a site guide, together with sections called 'Rochester Castle at War' and 'Castle and Community'. The 'Tour of the Keep' and the 'Tour of the Bailey' with which the book begins are very clear and well cross-referenced to small marginal plans, and there is a cut-away drawing of the keep which takes the place of a series of elevations. But I am old-fashioned enough to miss a detailed plan of the whole site including the bailey and the site's context in the town, which is not quite met by a reproduction of Bridge Warden's map of 1717. But all in all this comes close to the ideal booklet.

This raises two fundamental questions: who are the guides for, and what is their purpose? It has always seemed to me that the Blue Guides were written for the pre-war middle-aged reader of Chesterton and Belloc and collector of Batsford books. The world, however, has changed and the new guides are meant to meet the needs of the modern and much larger visiting public. In this they certainly succeed partially — they are all fully and beautifully illustrated, and the texts are, by and large, straightforward with a minimum of jargon. But in attempting to combine a site guide with background reading and a souvenir booklet I believe they are trying to do too much, since the result is often confusing and difficult to follow.

It would be enlightening to take a group of visitors, interested but completely new to the site, and ask them to use one of these guides on their tour and note their reactions — do we ever ask visitors what they really need?

I wonder if the solution might not be to separate the parts in a folder, like a teachers' pack. The site guide, a development of the admirable card guides which are sometimes available, could be up to A4 in size, printed on strong card and, if necessary, have a number of pages. It could be detached and used on the site tour, even in poor weather, while the accompanying booklet or booklets are kept for reading later (or, ideally, before).

At the same time, I think there is scope for guides at varying levels of expertise. Some monuments do have guides specifically written for children and with so many families now visiting sites, every site should have them. And while it goes without saying that the scholarship of the simplest card guide should be impeccable, there is, I believe, also a need at the other end of the scale for fuller, more detailed accounts of the monuments — I have in mind the *Guides Archeologiques de la France* which run to between 80 and 120 pages, A5 in size and selling for between 35 F and 50 F. By the use of high quality printing and a variety of small typefaces, a great deal of information together with highly detailed archaeological and architectural plans are packed into these small volumes. We have nothing comparable.

However, we must not cavil too much, and both English Heritage and Cadw are to be congratulated on modernizing their guides and making them infinitely more attractive. I

simply suggest that they should ask their visitors what they really want when they visit our ancient monuments.

PHILIP BARKER

Surrey Whitewares (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Special Paper 10). By Jacqueline Pearce and Alan Vince with Anne Jenner, Michael Cowell and Jeremy Haslam. 19 × 24 cm., 92 pp., 127 figs. and pls., 4 tables. London: L. & M.A.S., 1988. Price: £14.95.

In 1940 the late and much-loved Gerald Dunning published a synthesis of London's medieval pottery in the still useful *Medieval Catalogue* produced by the London Museum (at some ridiculous price measured in shillings). Dunning's synthesis extended for 19 pages and was written with only minimal help from the archaeological recording of pottery in stratified groups. Only in the last two decades or so has a coherent and detailed view of the medieval pottery used in London become a possibility as a result of excavations by the Department of Archaeology at the Museum of London. The growth of the corpus of medieval pottery from London in the half-century since Dunning was writing is demonstrated by the programme of analysis of medieval pottery from the City now being undertaken by the staff of the museum. This has now reached its fourth substantial part with some way to go.

The work is so much to be desired and has been undertaken with such attention to detail and published with such thoroughness that one would wish to be equally unstinting with praise. And, indeed, there is not overmuch to prevent this in respect of the substantial, well-illustrated volume under review, which has been published with H.B.M.C grant-aid.

The title almost seems pre-emptive for, given that the source of white-firing clay used has been accepted for many years as being the Reading Beds, there would seem to be no reason why medieval potters should not have found white-firing clay in the same beds in Berkshire or Buckinghamshire. But no pottery kiln site has yet come to light in these counties although the clay may have been used by tile-makers at Penn for their white-on-red patterns.

The Museum of London inherited collections of complete jugs and a smaller number of other vessels such as cooking pots from the old London and Guildhall museums. Although they were only poorly provenanced, they can now be placed in a confidently dated order by comparison with sherds from the D.U.A.'s many excavations — particularly those of the medieval waterfronts where dendrochronology allowed precise dates to be given to the placement of substantial dumps of rubbish. The complete vessels from earlier generations of collecting help to give confidence in the reconstructions made from archaeologically recovered sherds. As a result, the corpus of whiteware vessels the authors have been able to bring together is truly impressive. For this alone, the volume is well worth while but the publication would have been even more useful if references into the text could have been provided for the nearly 600 vessels and sherds drawn.

The ordered and dated sequence that the authors have assembled is of the highest value. Presented in a series of clear diagrams, it is particularly illuminating with respect to the changing fashions in vessel types, shapes and decoration over the years. The diagrams are, in fact, today's equivalents of Gerald Dunning's encapsulated synthesis. The synthesis will need some fine (possibly even some coarse) tuning as new information becomes available but it can be accepted as the best that can be achieved at present and we can be truly grateful to the authors and the Museum of London.

The authors have divided the material into four classes: Kingston-type ware; Coarse Border ware (the Surrey–Hampshire border is meant); Cheam ware; and Tudor Green. The first three imply something of the geographical origin, the last recognizes the fact that the category of ware so classed seems to represent a fashion being satisfied by many kiln centres.

The classification of pottery from consumer sites according to the names of possible kiln-locations is not without risk unless completely objective criteria can be applied equally

to kiln and consumer groups. In the case of the wares considered in this volume there is a little doubt about the validity of the groupings and their names — doubt that the authors fuel with their honest account of their material. For example, they refer to the comparatively recent discovery of a waster deposit of 'Kingston-type' ware in Southwark. Furthermore, the authors state at the outset that it is difficult to distinguish the products of the various kilns and that there are essential similarities between the industries. They seem to accept that their division contains an element of subjectivity.

Kingston-type ware is named after two known kiln sites in Kingston-upon-Thames. The Kingston kiln material has not yet been fully published but it would appear that the ware categorized in this volume as Kingston-type covers a slightly wider range of white-wares than that known from the Kingston kilns. Wares from the Cheam kiln have been partly published more than once. There is 'white' and 'red' ware from Cheam and the white ware vessels from the City which the authors class as Cheam have a sound basis in this published material.

Coarse Border ware is a different matter. The industry seems to have been a widespread one and the kilns and waster heaps so far known have only been partly published. The distribution of comparable products is notably wider than that of Kingston-type or Cheam wares. We will have to wait for further research and publication in the production area before we can be wholly confident that this category is valid or does not need to be subdivided.

But what of objective classification? Here there is some disappointment. Appendices to the volume under review demonstrate that neutron activation analysis hardly separated wasters from Bankside, Cheam and Kingston. This is disappointing but seems to confirm the underlying uniformity of the clay source. The one division fully supported by this technique is, it so happens, the archaeologically obvious division between the whitewares and the Cheam redwares. Unfortunately, too few Coarse Border ware sherds seem to have been included in the exercise for any conclusion to be drawn about this source. Petrological analysis, applied to Kingston-type, Cheam and Coarse Border wares, also failed to provide any useful distinctions. It is possible that more sophisticated and more expensive techniques such as Mossbauer spectroscopy could solve the problems but archaeologists are most unlikely ever to have funds enough to give them access to this as a working tool.

On points of detail, the usefulness of the distribution map of find spots within the City can be questioned. It is also clear that the search for consumer sites outside the City could have been more thorough: the authors do not, for example, seem to have looked at (or consulted the excavators of) the mass of material recovered from Reigate over the last fifteen years — much of it published. They have contended themselves instead with a reference to a trivial and unstratified collection now in Guildford Museum and reported by myself many years ago. Whether this is a rare or typical lapse on the authors' part, I cannot say.

D. J. TURNER

Zur Keramik des Mittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit im Rheinland. Medieval and later pottery from the Rhineland and its marks (B.A.R. International Series 440). Edited by David R. M. Gaimster, Mark Redknap and Hans-Helmut Wegner. 21 × 29 cm. ix + 358 pp., 132 figs., 29 pls. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2nd edn. 1990. Price: £22.00.

Since the Roman period the Rhineland has been one of the most important regions for pottery production in central Europe. From the early Middle Ages to the 18th century Rhenish pottery was exported as a major northern European trade item. This may account for the enormous interest in Rhenish pottery of the medieval and later period outside the Rhineland itself, for example in its neighbouring countries, England, Scandinavia, and also in North Germany and the Baltic. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the state of current research in these peripheral areas, where medieval and post-medieval archaeology has developed significantly in recent years, is relatively advanced. Unfortunately, this cannot be said for the Rhineland, where medieval and post-medieval archaeology as distinct disciplines remain nominal only, and do not feature institutionally.

It is not unexpected, therefore, that the main impulse behind this symposium on Rhenish medieval and later ceramics, which took place in Koblenz in May 1987, came from outside. These proceedings, mainly papers given at the symposium, reflect this paradox.

Eleven papers are assembled under the heading 'Production', and nine under 'Distribution'. The diversity of themes and problems concerned can only be touched on here, however. Of the first eleven contributions, five (1–3, 6, 7) deal with work on Rhenish pottery production centres. H.-H. Wegner's excavations on the early to post-medieval kilns at Mayen are important for the study of Mayen wares. M. Kohnemann reports on the various attempts, covering over 40 years of excavations, to investigate the extensive medieval and later production at Raeren. A. Jürgens highlights the technologically interesting finds from the medieval to 19th-century kilns at Langerwehe, Brühl and Frechen. M. Redknap and A. Kluge-Pinsker present the results of kiln waste analyses at Mayen and Duisburg respectively. Above all, Redknap's study of Mayen production and its distribution is of inter-regional importance. Justifiably according to Redknap, several problems remain to be solved. His observations on the current state of research and his stimulation of further work are to be welcomed for other Rhenish production and consumer sites. From his experience in Flanders, F. Verhaeghe suggests a similar but more comprehensive 'research strategy' in his contribution on 'Flemish Medieval Pottery Studies'. The author makes a request for Rhenish pottery to be researched on a mutually comparative basis. D. Gaimster surveys the Rhenish pottery of the 15th to 18th centuries based on the urban consumer site of Duisburg, straddling the confluence of the Rhur and Rhine. For the first time in the region the Duisburg excavations have enabled both qualitative and quantitative studies to take place. The analysis has provided a relative sequence of ceramic development and use from late Antiquity to the present day.

Baron L. Döry supplies a practical guide to ceramic research problems for the period of the 16th to 18th century in the Rhine–Main area. Roughly the same timespan is covered by H. Stoepker for the Netherlands. In his study for the account book of Heinrich Nobis of Sonsbeck, C. Wolters provides an insight not only into the daily life of a 19th-century Lower Rhine potter, but also the working practices of earlier non-documented periods. H.-G. Stephan concerns himself with the classification of medieval German stonewares and their dating. The author lays a solid foundation for the identification of fabric types. Of primary interest for this reviewer is Stephan's hint that with its low porosity Siegburg *proto-stoneware* (*Faststeinzeug*) can be regarded as a true stoneware (p. 91), i.e. that there are actually two types of stoneware, a chronologically earlier and later fabric. Finally, H. L. Janssen, in his contribution in section two of the volume, characterizes the chronologically and typologically earliest Siegburg stoneware in the Netherlands as 'real stoneware' (p. 134). However, it appears that fully fused stoneware, resembling the fabric of Siegburg *proto-stoneware* (Stephan, pp. 91, 107), is being produced during later 13th century, as the unpublished Duisburg sequence seems to confirm. Presumably it was with the introduction of higher firing temperatures that fully fused wares were achieved, along with the use of finely textured clays for wheel-turning as Stephan (p. 107) and Janssen (p. 134) have identified as following shortly thereafter. Clearly additional analyses of the material composition of Siegburg stoneware from closely dated sequences are necessary to clarify the matter.

Further contributions in section two are concerned with Anglo-Saxon and early medieval imports into the London region and trading contacts with the Rhineland (L. Blackmore and M. Redknap); with the dating and frequency of German imported wares into 10th- to 15th-century London (A. Vince); medieval pottery from the Jutland port of Ribe with special reference to Rhenish imports (P. K. Madsen); Pingsdorf wares from the German trading settlement at Bergen (H. Lüdtke); a survey of published research into 10th- to 14th-century pottery in the Lower Rhineland (R. Friedrich); the post-excavation treatment of Rhenish imports in Lübeck and their dating (W. Erdmann); and with the problems of Rhenish stoneware in Britain with special reference to their dating, distribution and function (J. G. Hurst). In the final paper V. Vandenbulke and G. Groeneweg present an assemblage of Rhenish pottery from a rubbish deposit found in the old town ditch at Bergen-op-Zoom

(N.L.), which they associate with two traders in Rhenish stoneware, who are known from documented sources to have operated nearby. This association is by no means definite, and the presence of sprigged-leaf decorated Cologne-type vessels in the complex is at variance with the end date of *c.* 1510 assigned to this type by Hurst (p. 338).

GÜNTER KRAUSE
(*Translated by D. R. M. Gaimster*)

Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland. Edited by S. T. Driscoll and M. R. Nieke. 16 × 24 cm. 218 pp., many figs. and pls. Edinburgh: University Press, 1988. Price: £27.50.

These papers are a substantial contribution, from the archaeologists' standpoint, to the frequently debated issue of how to achieve integrated interdisciplinary study of the early historic period in the British Isles. The theme is early medieval kingship and the processes whereby kingdoms in this period were formed, structured and sustained. All the authors start with an account of their theoretical framework.

Five papers deal with Anglo-Saxon England. Cramp demonstrates how, in contrast with the rich documentation, the archaeological evidence which bears on the nature of social development in Bernicia and Deira is sparse and intractable. In passing she critically examines the ambiguity of the evidence on which Renfrew bases his view of Anglo-Saxon England as an example of post-collapse resurgence. Hodges and Moreland argue that aspects of Carolingian ideology were selected, for their own purposes, by élites in the 8th and 9th centuries. This will come as no surprise to art-historians. They review the dating of major Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical buildings in the light of their thesis and consider Biddle's dating of major building work at Winchester to be too late. There are some minor slips in this paper which suggest that the authors are not overly familiar with the art and architecture of this period.

Three papers deal with the interpretation of the evidence afforded by Anglo-Saxon burials. The message that death and burial tell us things about living society comes over very clearly. Arnold, who gives the clearest account in the collection of the difficulties of combining archaeological and historical evidence, analyses burial practices in order to define the nature of élites, and maps the location of cemeteries to see if there are indications of territorial boundaries. Fisher and Richards deal with the implications of formal differences in material culture for human behaviour. Richards's statistical analysis of groupings of assemblages of grave goods adds detail to Bede's over-simplified account of the arrival of the Germanic peoples. Fisher is prepared to accept that 'written sources provide a control on the attempt to relate archaeological patterning to sociopolitical organisation'. She runs two statistical tests on six cemeteries in order to see whether mortuary practice or the presence of dress fasteners have regional significance. It is to the authors' credit that even to a reader wholly unfamiliar with these analytical techniques their papers make absorbing reading.

Richard Warner's paper on the archaeology of the early historic Irish kingship is the only coverage of Irish material, but it is crisp on theory and an authoritative and wide-ranging review of the evidence. Warner modifies Wailes's indicators for the archaeological detection of royal sites, with the rider that he would not expect his indicators to be applicable outside Ireland except in the case of Irish colonies.

Nieke and Duncan survey the establishment and internal development of the Irish colony of Dalriada in the west of Scotland. This paper is written with less panache than the others and though it is clear that the detailed settlement studies of both writers have vastly increased our knowledge of Dalriada their synthesis is drawn-out and their use of the documentary evidence uncritical. Their interesting asides on the role of the Church in Dalriada remind one of the sometimes bitter controversy surrounding the interpretations of the early historic site of the monastery of Iona. It is this best documented early medieval site in Scotland that has highlighted most acutely the differences in approach among archaeologists themselves when dealing with such sites.

Alcock's paper on the activities of potentates throughout early historic Celtic Britain allows him to bring together his work in Wales and Scotland. His programme of excavation of the fortified and royal sites of this period in Scotland has injected new life into Scottish Dark Age archaeology. Elizabeth Alcock contributes an appendix listing 75 enclosed places in Britain, with references, and a brief but useful commentary.

Driscoll devotes sixteen pages of his paper on 'The relationship between history and archaeology: artefacts, documents and power' to theoretical issues relevant to these topics, and five to a shortened version of his previously published paper on the Pictish symbol-stones. Driscoll expounds the theory with engaging commitment and rigour and argues persuasively that historians and archaeologists of this period need to have 'a working familiarity with anthropology'. In a penetrating review of the work of a social anthropologist on the symbol-stones Driscoll rightly drew attention to the author's 'impatience' with both documentary and archaeological scholarship on the topic. It would be pusillanimous not to mention the impatience, to put it mildly, which Driscoll displays in this paper with the discipline of art-history. What he describes as the 'art-historical approach' is a travesty, and his ignorance results in basic errors — such as his belief that the symbol designs are 'exclusively Pictish'. In fact, stylistically they belong with curvilinear La Tene art. This interesting fact can be accounted for in a number of ways, including, it may be said, reasons of state formation. Driscoll appears to accept that the symbol-bearing cross-slabs show strong stylistic links with 'the decorative arts' of Northumbria and Ireland but he believes that it is only with the appearance of symbol-less sculpture that the 'regional distinctiveness' of Pictish sculpture gives way to a 'variation of Insular art'. I am not sure what this means but he seems to be implying that the symbol-bearing cross-slabs are outwith mainstream Insular art. Such a position is unsustainable. Driscoll has some interesting questions to ask and some pertinent formulations as to how the system of symbolism might reflect the dynamics of Pictish society but his speculations are controlled only by his theoretical model and an archaeological likelihood — that the symbol-stones are funerary. They need to be strengthened or weakened (either result would be healthy) by his acquiring a working knowledge of art-history with its perceptions of the nature of visual representation and of the intentions and selections implicit in style and iconography.

Spearman's business-like paper on the origins and economy of early Scottish towns argues that much of what has been attributed to David I in the field of urban settlement was in fact the consequence of economic and social processes occurring over many previous centuries. David, and the kings who preceded him, back to the potentates of Dalriada, albeit at differing levels of sophistication, shared the problem of controlling surpluses in order to reward retainers and maintain political power, and the focusing of these activities are at work throughout the early medieval period.

From a number of papers in the collection it is clear that some archaeologists and historians are listening to each other, provided the topic is one that can be addressed at a compatible level of generalization. The editors are to be congratulated on having achieved their aim of providing a focus for further discussion.

ISABEL HENDERSON

Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Early Christian Ireland in Honour of Helen M. Roe. Edited by Etienne Rynne. 21 × 30 cm. 328 pp., 177 figs. Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press for Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1987. Price: £29.95.

This rich *mélange* of papers on Irish representational art results from a seminar to celebrate Helen Roe's 90th birthday, organized by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of

Ireland of which she was the first lady President. The various contributions made on that occasion are evidence both of Miss Roe's pioneering work in many fields and her role as a source of inspiration to subsequent generations of scholars. Her publications for national and local societies included the first major studies of the regional high cross groups together with various aspects of their symbolism; among her many other interests were medieval tomb sculpture and fonts.

There are two main sections, Early Christian and Romanesque, with eleven papers, and medieval and post-medieval, with ten papers. These are preceded by a copious bibliography of Miss Roe's publications from 1928 and 1983, ranging from prehistoric excavations down to the 19th-century survival of the cult of St Michael. The papers achieve a good balance between the presentation of new or recently excavated material, discussion of undeservedly neglected pieces and the reassessment of some more familiar subjects.

Discussing new material are Wallace and Timoney on the Carrowntemple, Co. Sligo, ecclesiastical enclosure with its carved slabs; Ryan on the influence of late Roman silver on the figural panels of the Derrynaflan paten and stressing the undoubtedly cosmopolitan nature of Ireland in the 7th and 8th centuries; and Swan on the architectural context for a Romanesque head from Co. Clare. In the later section, Mac Leod and Bradley separately discuss two important 15th-century carvings of the Madonna and Child, the graceful oak figure from Askeaton and the stone statue from Ballyhale, with a full examination of the related iconography in France, England and Ireland.

Some underestimated examples of figural art are put into a better perspective for example by Stalley, who manages to prove convincingly that the Gothic tomb effigy from Cantwell is not provincial or archaic but reflecting contemporary developments at Wells and Salisbury. Ó hÉalidhe examines the iconography of the Oldcourt cross base and relates it to the Moone group with a date of *c.* 800. Sheela-na-gigs are traced back by Rynne to the cross-legged figures of pagan and early Christian art while Johnson in his study of a carved amphisbaena from Co. Galway, cites a fascinating range of parallels for the tail which ends in another head. A group of 17th-century effigial monuments from north Meath are shown by King to be examples of archaic survival in the type of tomb sculpture but depicting the latest, London-influenced fashions.

The continuous reassessment of crosses is familiar territory in Irish medieval archaeology and three papers in particular tread this well-trodden ground with some conflicting chronological conclusions. Harbison finds 9th- and 10th-century Carolingian parallels for the Crucifixion imagery on two Mayo slabs, with the resulting late dating of the Donegal and other 'early' monuments. In contrast, De Paor in his study of the Tihilly and Kinnitty crosses accepts the Kinnitty inscription as referring to Maelsechnaill, the mid 9th-century High King, with consequently earlier dating for the cross of Patrick & Columba at Kells, as a manifestation of political and artistic links with the Iona community from the late 8th century. He establishes important principles for the comparison and development of the high cross sequence, and stresses the artistic autonomy of the various regional groups. Herity looks at the Castledermot crosses and places them later in the 10th century than Durrow and the other scripture crosses, but still dates Moone to 800.

These varied studies show how badly a full corpus of Irish carving is needed and how it would carry on much of the work established by Miss Roe. The illustrations are generous although some of the plates lack definition. The stone carvings are drawn or reconstructed in several different styles and would benefit from one consistent formula, again to be established by such a corpus. An index would have been helpful. Figural ornament is a major component of Irish early Christian and medieval carving; many of the papers stress the wide-ranging sources of such ornament showing that Ireland was in contact with the latest developments in the rest of Britain and on the Continent. Such points have always been made by Miss Roe in her own studies of Irish sculpture.

CAROLA HICKS

The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings. Edited by Ian Hodder. 22 × 28 cm. vii + 144 pp., 71 figs. Cambridge: C.U.P., 1987. Price: £27.50.

Archaeology as Long-term History. Edited by Ian Hodder. 22 × 28 cm. vii + 145 pp., 44 figs., 12 tables. Cambridge: C.U.P., 1987. Price: £27.00.

The importance of these two volumes to students of medieval archaeology lies not in the detailed material covered in the case studies but in the general theoretical developments which these illustrate. Both follow the standard New Directions in Archaeology series format although the paper seems of lower quality than earlier volumes which, for the price charged, is a pity. Each volume is provided with a clear and well-written first chapter which elaborates the theory of contextualism (*Meanings*), and the relationship of material culture and history (*Long-term history*). Medieval archaeologists are always, to a greater or lesser extent, involved in the use and creation of history, but Hodder considers that even in prehistory the material record can be read to produce history of a kind. It is therefore important that archaeologists within the historic period understand this idea, and some may wish to use medieval material culture to write such history. It is an object-centred approach to archaeological enquiry, but one relying greatly on the context of artefacts. The use of the term context does not refer to the field archaeologist's context — a deposit — but to the place of an object in its culture. The more functional aspects of an object, including symbolic use when this is to carry information about, say, status or ethnic affiliation, is not the main interest of these books; nor is the structuralist concern with deep-seated pattern and code within the material culture world of a particular group. Hodder and his colleagues are concerned rather with the historical developments that led to a culture's use of particular symbols, and how these are then manipulated and their meanings changed either in short-term individual cases or over the long-term. There is a return, in inspiration at least, to the culture historical aspirations of Collingwood.

This, in briefest outline, is what the 'new' approach is about — it relates to the traditional culture historical concerns of most medieval archaeologists but challenges them to go beyond functionalist descriptions and even explanations to question whys and hows of particular cultural developments. This can be illustrated by the only medieval case study. Greene in *Long-term history* discusses the changing meaning of the eagle and its use by the Goths. The eagle signalled associations with civilized Rome on the one hand and Hunnic culture on the other. In different contexts of use the symbol meant different things to different people at the same moment in time, and also changed its meaning through both time and space. Most studies presented are based on portable artefacts, but some apply the approach to building forms (Therkorn in *Meanings* and Moore in *Long-term history*) and even settlement patterns (Pratap in *Long-term history*).

The volumes both represent a stage in the development of new ideas, and cannot be treated as any form of final statement. However, several important problems are apparent from these studies which need to be considered. The first is the disappointingly small amount of archaeology present. Much is ethnoarchaeological and relies on seeing action and questioning the motives of those undertaking it. That material culture is being manipulated and residues formed gives an archaeological dimension, but the methods employed to obtain understanding are not relevant for extinct societies. As a result, there is disappointingly little that actually demonstrates how to do contextual archaeology and create long-term history. The other main concern is a naivity about the nature of the archaeological record and its ability to provide the kind of contextual information required for the exciting questions being posed. Most past material culture does not come from contexts of use but of discard. This is not dealt with and the numerous ethnoarchaeological studies avoid this crucial problem. The archaeological record may be a text but not one in the ordered form suggested by the analogies used in these books; rather it is a shredded and partial text. As there is underlying order to some at least of the surviving parts, even if they are no longer in their original position, there is some hope of partial reconstitution. But to expect to be able to simply read the material culture record is hopelessly optimistic; and the ways forward are not addressed here.

There is much in the ideas presented to excite medieval archaeologists, but many of the difficulties in using the material culture record are not faced. If we are to write contextual archaeology, and it seems to me feasible (at least for literate though dead societies) then much of the relevant groundwork on the data has already been done. What we need now is a battery of techniques to recover original contexts of use. Then we can write history of our own.

HAROLD MYTUM

Early Medieval Pottery from Flaxengate, Lincoln (Archaeology of Lincoln, XVII–2). By Lauren Adams Gilmour. 21 × 30 cm. 127 pp., 64 figs. and two fiches. London: Council for British Archaeology, for Trust for Lincolnshire Archaeology, 1988. Price: £18.00.

A Late Saxon Kiln Site at Silver Street, Lincoln (Archaeology of Lincoln, XVII–3). By Paul Milnes, Jane Young and John Wacher. 21 × 30 cm. 54 pp., 34 figs. and one fiche. London: Council for British Archaeology, for City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit, 1989. Price: £11.95.

As it is far more than a decade since the first of the Lincoln medieval pottery fascicules was published, it is good to have these two additions to the series, not least because they supply more information on the 9th to early 13th centuries than did their Broadgate East predecessor. The Flaxengate report contains an overview of the post-Roman town's early ceramic supplies; the kiln report gives details of a structure of considerable interest, as well as information on a particular workshop industry.

Eighty thousand sherds is a large number to process, but the Flaxengate series was fairly well stratified — although it remains worrying for dating refinement that 'much of the 10th- and early 11th-century occupation was [excavated] by spits'. T. O'Connor's excellent 1982 report on the site's animal bones has always been known to be affected by this, but is also now to be adjusted by the re-dating of the latter part of the sequence, which is taken to extend to *c.* 1210–30 rather than to *c.* 1180–1200; the introduction of stone buildings on the site was thus slightly later than originally published. Individually the most interesting sherds are the 434 associated with metal- and glass-working, which are discussed by J. Bayley; there are many crucibles, mostly in Stamford ware's refractory clays, as well as heating tray and mould fragments. They have been referred to in earlier reports and full publication is welcome. Less welcome to those of us who have cited them as examples of long-distance Anglo-Scandinavian trade is the re-interpretation of the 'Islamic' and 'Chinese' sherds from the site as being locally made, their glazes the accidental result of the fusing of fuel ash, silica and precious metals (p. 167). Other exotica to be taken with a pinch of salt are the sherds which could be post-Roman 'Dark-Age' imports; all of them are amphorae, not the bowls or dishes which distinguish the East Mediterranean 5th-/6th-century western British assemblages. The report ends with an interesting attempt to relate the types of pottery to cooking and eating practices, the decline in the number of dishes and the rise in jugs reflecting food being brought to a table rather than served direct from a hearth; unfortunately the claim that a decline in large storage containers indicates less large-scale domestic preserving and brewing (p. 178) seems to be denied by the earlier statement (p. 67) that the proportion of large containers from Flaxengate was 'steady over the late 9th to early 13th centuries'.

The Silver Street kiln came as a surprise; although its principal, stone-lined structure was described by M. McCarthy and C. Brooks in *Medieval Pottery in Britain*, I for one had not paid attention to the remarkably large dimensions cited there. As Fig. 20 here demonstrates, it has no known West European parallel: nor did it have an oval shape or any traces of a raised oven floor, unlike its smaller contemporaries at Stamford, Thetford *et al.* That this was because the Lincolnshire potters' use of quantities of shell as a filler necessitated firing in a clamp kiln seems unlikely since that would have created an extra problem if the temperature rose too high. 'Local tradition' is cited as a possibility, as it is for the shell filler itself. The

possibility that the structure was actually a lime-kiln is not totally dismissed (would the product have been needed for one of Lincoln's many stone churches?), nor is the possibility that it was a drying-oven for the pots before firing at a kiln or kilns not located in the excavation; remains of the earlier 'kiln 35', a more orthodox curving clay feature, suggest that such things could have existed. The only evidence against this is 'the degree of burning apparent on the stone lining' (p. 200). But however interpretations of individual features may vary, the report is a useful analysis of an urban craft, one which was emphatically not ousted by 'superior' technologies and products; when the Silver Street pottery closed in the early 11th century, wheel-throwing in Lincoln went with it.

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The Anglo-Saxon Achievement. By Richard Hodges. 15 × 23 cm. xi + 212 pp., 56 figs. London: Duckworth, 1989. Price: £24.00.

This is an ambitious book: an extended interpretative essay on Anglo-Saxon England, taking as its avowed central theme Alan MacFarlane's *The Origins of English Individualism*, and seeking to project this controversial thesis back into the 1st millennium A.D. There is nothing new, of course, in looking to their Anglo-Saxon heritage to explain the special character of the English, but it is surprising to find so traditional (and, some might argue, chauvinist) a historiography adopted as the core of a fundamentally processual analysis, and one cannot help but admire both Dr Hodges's faith in the simple clarity of the archaeological record and our ability to read it without ambiguity, and his courage in using it to examine issues still contentious among historians of better documented periods. The result is undeniably challenging: the potential insights offered by the peer-polity interaction and centre-periphery models should be extremely valuable to any examination of Anglo-Saxon England through its material culture, and the Marxist analysis offered perfunctorily in the concluding chapter, suggesting that late Saxon England might be characterized as a proto-capitalist society, deserves lengthier exposition. There is much to agree with, too, in the agenda of priorities and approaches discussed in the opening chapter, especially the need to define common ground with history (and in particular the structural history of the *Annales* school); the importance of considering early medieval Britain in its European context; and the supreme value of archaeology, dealing as it does primarily with largely undocumented populations, as a counterbalance to the history of élites which dominates the surviving textual sources.

Beyond these generalities, however, it is difficult to be more enthusiastic. For much of the book the stated central theme is submerged beneath more general (and often over-descriptive) discussion, surfacing only briefly for air at the end of each chapter before going down again. This calls into question the extent to which much of the archaeological evidence deployed can be used realistically to trace the role and changing status of the individual in society; surprisingly, this crucial problem is rarely addressed explicitly, and is not satisfactorily resolved. Many of the conclusions drawn, therefore, appear simplistic, and cannot be accepted uncritically. For instance, is it really possible, without corroborative evidence, to draw wider conclusions about property rights from the presence or absence of ditches or fences around individual buildings at a handful of excavated early or middle Saxon settlement sites? Not all boundaries need leave subsoil traces; barriers on rural settlements might have as much to do with controlling or constraining livestock as with demarcating personal property; and in any case fencing-off the vegetable patch need not imply control of the means of production, nor a revolution in private ownership. Conversely, some promising data are barely considered. Aspects of middle and late Saxon burial practice are adduced to illustrate changes in society and community (not always convincingly: I was surprised to learn that cemeteries newly-established in the 7th century were invariably at monasteries), but the potential of early Anglo-Saxon furnished burials (which whatever the specific

problems of interpretation reflect a burial practice which can be convincingly linked to statements of identity or affiliation) is virtually ignored.

Further criticism might be levelled at the deterministic functionalist perspective on social and economic change adopted throughout much of the book, surprising in view of its concern with individualism. Too often general theory and analogy are substituted for detailed analysis, data being used selectively to support and illustrate, rather than to test, the models proposed. There is also a tendency to attribute motivation to groups and individuals in an unhistorical way. Thus the burial of a pectoral cross with Cuthbert is not only represented as a decision by the deceased saint (a miracle not otherwise recorded), but placed in an improbable wider context of social engineering which appears to foreshadow the monetarist experiment of the 1980s: 'seemingly he [Cuthbert] was removing gifts from worldly circulation, much as pagan members of the élite had done. The advantage of controlling treasure and concomitant inheritance strategies was not lost on this saintly man any more than on the king associated with Sutton Hoo'. The impression frequently given is of Anglo-Saxon society being cranked down a pre-ordained path of development by a combination of historical inevitability, the church, and the far-sighted adaptive choices of key individuals such as Offa and Alfred, a perspective uncomfortably close to the developmental view of history as a moral success story and the 'Great Man' approach discussed and found wanting in the preface and first chapter.

Finally, it is impossible not to have reservations about the sometimes cavalier attitude to both primary archaeological data and published scholarship. This is most glaring in the discussion of the 5th and 6th centuries. It is contended that developments in southern and eastern Britain during this period owed little or nothing to Germanic groups from the Continent whose presence, if allowed, is minimized, but to the impact on post-Roman British societies (post-colonial aboriginal societies, as they are characterized) of contact with the dynamic and expanding Frankish kingdom under Clovis. Some of the observations about the nature and causes of culture change are interesting and pertinant, but taken as a simple whole the thesis as presented stands in stark contradiction to the archaeological evidence and demands a major re-assessment of 5th- and 6th-century history, both insular and Continental. It might be argued that this is a legitimate radical revision of conventional wisdom, but in that case one would expect a wider range of evidence to be taken into consideration than the selective sources cited here. The attempt to explain the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon language in Anglo-Saxon England while denying a significant Anglo-Saxon presence is feeble, contradictory and entirely ignores the extensive philological literature. Elsewhere, objections might also be raised to the rather one-dimensional characterization of economics and exchange in early and middle Saxon England; and to the discussion of the 'Middle Saxon Shuffle', which takes no account of evidence from East Anglia suggesting greater complexity and regional diversity in processes of settlement change than the model adopted here would allow. There are also elementary errors and imprecisions. Among the more obvious are the attribution of Clovis' conversion to Childeric, and the identification of the Anglo-Saxon settlement site excavated by E. T. Leeds near Sutton Courtney as Cassington, which is in fact another site 17 km distant.

It would be wrong to be unremittingly negative. I applaud the approaches advocated by Dr Hodges; and the genuine and important insights, which deserve more detailed examination. However, the good intentions are marred by over-dependence on secondary sources and the too frequent failure to interrogate either archaeological or historical evidence rigorously or in detail. Inevitably, therefore, the original and stimulating is often anecdotal and subordinated to a derivative conventional narrative. In drawing on both history and processual archaeology this frustrating book, ironically and regrettably, frequently combines the worst of both.

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