

## Reviews

*Dendrochronology: Guidelines on Producing and Interpreting Dendrochronological Data.* Compiled by Jennifer Hillam. 21 × 29.5 cm. 36 pp., 19 figs. London: English Heritage, 1998. Product Code XH20082. Price: free on application to English Heritage, 23 Savile Row, London W1X 1AB.

Dendrochronology undoubtedly represents the most significant advance in dating since the advent of radiocarbon dating; indeed some would rate it as the more important technique, because of its precision, often giving dates to the year, and sometimes even to the season. Thus, these guidelines represent a valuable contribution to the practice of tree-ring dating and are to be welcomed warmly. Their production has been stimulated by the increase in English Heritage-supported dating, partly caused by the effects of PPG15 and PPG16 on the management of archaeological remains and historic buildings. The report is in two parts: an introduction to the methodology and the historical development of the technique, followed by a guide for users to the practicalities of carrying out dating, both on wood from archaeological sites and on standing buildings.

The first section covers sample preparation and measurement (including waterlogged timber), matching procedures and the construction of master chronologies. It describes visual and computer matching against these chronologies, but not the important recent development of dating against many individual site sequences; this procedure seems to improve the datability of difficult samples by identifying sequences that match the unknown most closely. Matching is presumed to be 'absolute', though in reality the fit is a statistical measure of similarity, associated with a probability of being correct; examination of cases in which this probability is less than 100% may well provide valuable information on dating difficult samples. The minimum useful number of rings seems also to need further study. Samples with fewer than 50 rings are recommended for rejection, though useful results are discussed for samples with 30–50 rings.

This first section ends with the interpretation of dated samples, including the estimation of sapwood rings, the relationship between final ring date and felling date, and that between felling and use. The technique is illustrated from three sites, Roman Carlisle, where the primary fort construction was dated to A.D. 72/73; Fiskerton, Lincolnshire, whose Iron-age causeway showed repairs at 16–18 year periods over more than 100 years, rather than the simple two-phase construction suggested archaeologically; Windsor Castle Great Kitchen, constructed in 1489, with repairs in 1577, precisely matching the documentary record. Other applications are discussed briefly, with a short mention of dendro-provenancing, the location of timber sources from the sample t-values; this is a particularly significant development, giving important information on early trade and cultural connections.

In the second part, the emphasis is on practical aspects, which might be skimmed or overlooked, including safety aspects, the need for careful provenancing and location of samples, the avoidance of sand-blasting of timbers, and the content of the tree-ring report. For buildings, it is considered valuable if the initial assessment is made with the archaeologist or building historian. Indeed this is essential in order to avoid dating samples which have no provenance or historical significance, as has happened in the past! Advice is given on the quoting of dates in reports and publication. In particular, it is urged that

falling date ranges are quoted as 'A.D. 1066-1096' not '1081 ± 15', because the distribution of sapwood rings is skewed. This seems to me to conceal genuine information. The sapwood distribution does have a peak, and it is standard scientific practice to identify skewed ranges as, for example A.D. 1076-10+20; this is particularly important when partial sapwood is present and the most probable date is near the start of the range (A.D. 1076-4+20 rather than A.D. 1072-96). The possibility is also not considered of reducing sapwood estimates in multi-sample dates, when the samples are unlikely all to have minimum or maximum numbers of sapwood rings.

The report does reveal some problems with the practice of tree-ring dating, rather more by implication than directly. Dates for British buildings are collected annually in the tree-ring lists in *Vernacular Architecture* and are summarised and indexed at intervals, with almost a thousand buildings now included in the lists. No such summary is available for archaeological or art-historical dates, so it is impossible to get an overview of what has been accomplished. Perhaps more serious for the long-term value of the subject, there is no publicly accessible archive of tree-ring data, neither of master chronologies, nor the individual sequences. Thus, unlike any other scientific technique, it is impossible to check independently the validity of the results or test improvements in procedures, nor is the long term preservation of the data ensured. In both these areas, surely English Heritage and its regional counterparts could provide a lead and a service.

N. W. ALCOCK

*Ruralia II* (Památky Archeologické — Supplementum 11). Edited by Jan Fridrich, Jan Klápště, Zdeněk Smetánka and Petr Sommer. 20 × 29 cm. 236 pp., 79 figs., 7 pls. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, 1998. ISBN 80-86124-11-8. Price: not stated pb.

This is a volume of 24 conference papers on rural settlement archaeology which has appeared promptly after a gathering held in Belgium, the second in a series, in 1997. The conference had as its theme 'Social and economic aspects of rural settlement', which should have pointed the contributors towards analysis and interpretation, but as with any collective endeavour of this type, the quality varies, and description sometimes dominates. Since *Ruralia I* the balance in contributions between different European countries has shifted, towards the French and away from the prominence of Czech and British papers. The French have written at some length about their work, and they have provided synthetic and interpretative essays.

Rural settlement studies in France have expanded greatly in the last twenty years, partly because the government's ambitious road building programmes have given the archaeologists plenty of opportunities to excavate many extensive sites. The problems of continuity of occupation, settlement shift, the organisation of settlements, nucleation and dispersal are considered here as in any other European country, and the interpretations offered have a wide significance. An important survey of sites of the first millennium in the Ile de France by Bonin identifies some coherent trends in a picture which seems at first to consist of constantly shifting settlement. The Merovingian (5th- to 8th-century) settlements and fields were often based on Gallo-Roman predecessors. A number of sites were abandoned in the 8th century, but were relocated nearby. In the 9th and 10th centuries settlement sites became larger and more numerous, but in the late 10th century came a new phase of desertions. Then followed a large scale regrouping of settlement, associated with the assertion of lordly power. In eastern France, according to another summing up of current knowledge by Faure-Boucharlat, there was some continuity between Roman settlements and those of the migration period, but a number of new sites began in the 5th and 6th centuries. Sites were abandoned in some number in the 8th and 9th centuries, and

a renaissance of rural settlement took place in the 10th and 11th centuries. A large, well-organised and nucleated village was established at Château Gaillard (in the department of Ain) in the 10th and 11th centuries.

In his preface, J.-M. Pesez, the doyen of French medieval settlement studies, cautions against archaeological thinking being dominated by the agenda of historians, and the chronologies of political history have influenced the two papers already summarised. Their authors are clearly conscious that a recession in rural settlement coincides with the rule of the Carolingian dynasty, and their 'renaissance' in settlement belongs to the new era associated with *'l'an mil'*, the year 1000. The issue of historical agendas is discussed explicitly in an important paper by Nissen-Jaubert. She argues that for a generation rural settlement studies have been dominated by an assumption of the backwardness of the Carolingian period, and consequently it has been thought that the well-organised village community did not emerge until the period around 1000. She shows that in Scandinavia and along the North Sea coast large settlements with coherent plans point to a strong collective organisation well before the millennium.

For a rather later period Fau and Hamon report on a study of upland hamlet settlements in the Massif Central, which flourished between the 11th and 13th centuries, which contain some parallels for the occupation of the moorlands in south-western England.

Other highlights of the volume include Paloczi-Horvath's survey of settlements in Hungary, which suggests that villages of the western type, with rectangular buildings and planned lay-outs, did not appear until the 14th century; Bazzana and Meulemeester report on landscape surveys of southern (Muslim) Spain, with their elaborate irrigation systems; O'Keefe interprets settlements in Ireland in the 13th century as part of a programme of deliberate colonisation and exploitation of rural resources; Lewis's survey of settlements in Hampshire (revealing a clear pattern of nucleation and dispersal) argues that in the chalkland river valleys, settlements in the first millennium did not shift as much as in other regions; and Schmaedecke analyses evidence for crafts in rural Switzerland.

CHRISTOPHER DYER

*Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. Edited by Peter G. B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen. 21 × 29.5 cm. 462 pp. of maps. Edinburgh: The Scottish Medievalists and Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, 1996. ISBN 0-9503904-1-0. Price: £30.00 pb.

*An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by David Dymond and Edward Martin. 29.5 × 21 cm. 224 pp., 86 pp. of maps, two foldout maps in pocket. Ipswich: The Archaeology Service, Suffolk County Council/The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, 1999. ISBN 0-86055-252-7. Price: £10.00 pb.

Both these volumes are new editions of previously published works, and both comprise a series of maps depicting a wide range of historical data, beginning at the end of the last glaciation (this being rather later in Scotland than in Suffolk, of course).

Of the two, the *Scottish* is clearly the one which has been most extensively revised; indeed, it would not be unfair to say that it is effectively a new volume. The original, published in 1975, spanned the period A.D. 400-1600 and was the work of around 30 contributors, published as two volumes with the maps in one and the accompanying lengthy descriptive texts in the other. The revised/new publication is a single volume, with shorter texts printed adjacent to each map, a much more satisfactory arrangement. The number of contributors has risen to around 80, the number of maps comfortably exceeds 500 and the chronological span has widened considerably. There are three main chronological chapters, the period up to A.D. 850, 850-1460 and 1460-1707, each with

approximately equal numbers of maps. However, the later chapters, on administration, economic development, the church, 'social and cultural' and 'regional and local' are all almost exclusively of medieval or immediate post-medieval interest, so the bulk of the volume is very much within the ambit of this journal.

The sheer amount of information presented in this volume is breathtaking in both its broad scope and its fine detail, and this has been skilfully edited and depicted so that it is remarkably easy to digest, although the quantity and range might advise against attempting too much at one sitting. The captions to each black and white map (colour was rejected in order to keep costs down), read successively, provide a useful outline of much of Scotland's social and political history, and themselves are in many cases supplemented by tables and diagrams. Many taxation returns, for example, are shown as maps, tables, pie charts and graphs. Other maps are quite visionary, in particular the first few which give impressions of 'Scotland's place in the world' from different perspectives, showing how the country was marginal to Roman world, but absolutely focal to that of the Viking world, or how different was the view of Scotland from the 'Celtic west', to that of the 'feudalising east'.

There is enough in this volume to keep the reader mesmerised for months, and as a source of reference for anyone working on the Scottish medieval it will be invaluable. Its creation is a mammoth achievement, one that, as one is not surprised to see sadly acknowledged in the introduction, was far too much for one person to carry alone. In such circumstances, to suggest that an index would have been useful seems simply churlish.

To turn from the Scottish behemoth to the smaller, tamer lands of Suffolk might risk making the latter volume seem underwhelming by comparison. And while direct comparison, in terms of the scale and endeavour of undertaking would obviously be unfair, neither volume suffers by general comparison. Like the Scottish atlas, the Suffolk volume also succeeds admirably in its primary aim: that of placing a great range of historical information easily within reach by presenting it in map form accompanied by lucid and concise captions. The first edition of the Suffolk maps was one of the first county atlases to be produced, and it has paved the way for others which have appeared since. The new edition was produced to bring a popular and useful publication back into print in an updated form. Twenty-six out of the 86 subjects in this edition are completely new, and the number of contributors has risen from 27 to 39. The 86 maps are simpler, and generally highly consistent in scale and appearance, following the stated aim of the editors and the additional use of red in many maps is successful without apparently compromising the volume price. Around one-third fall within the broader spectrum of the medieval period and will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. Some of the maps cover obvious subjects, such as moated sites or castles, and have presumably been taken directly from the county SMR. However, the availability of these maps in published form in a volume which allows immediate comparison with the distribution of heavy clay soils or Late Saxon sites is valuable to those working in the region, and, perhaps even greater use to those working outside the area looking for easily accessible analogies for their own research, and the stimulus to thought which such evidence invariably provides. Less easily 'lifted' from the SMR are maps showing the extent of greens and commons (map 26) or woods (map 27) which must have involved a considerable amount of work, but which are invaluable for showing the nature of the medieval and early post-medieval landscape.

Other maps are more imaginative, but also of considerable interest. One example is map 36 which considers 14th-century population mobility and urban immigration: the 1327 lay subsidy for Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich has been searched for all locative surnames indicating a place of origin outside the town. Mapping these provides compelling graphic evidence of a familiar historical phenomenon — it shows not only the approximate distance which most families has come, but also the remarkable lack of overlap in 'pulling power' of these two towns, themselves little more than 20 miles apart.

Both volumes are useful and stimulating, and are impressive achievements. Both were produced without the aid of G.I.S., which will inevitably revolutionise publication of this type of material in the future. One can only hope that the ability to wield ever greater and more variable quantities of information does not lead to any loss of clarity in their presentation and interpretation, in which lies the greatest merit of both of these volumes.

CARENZA LEWIS

*Leather and Fur: Aspects of Early Medieval Trade and Technology.* Edited by Esther Cameron. 15 × 23 cm. 101 pp., 26 figs., 1 map and 1 table. London: Archetype Publications, 1998. ISBN 1-873132-51-4. Price: £16.50 pb.

It is a healthy sign, intellectually, when an object-based body like the Archaeological Leather Group explores beyond the obvious limits of its subject, drawing in historians from other disciplines to explain what light can be shed on the uses and trading in leather and fur in the early medieval period (i.e. mainly post-Roman to 11th-century). Healthier still is the Group's decision to publish to ensure that this new information reaches a wider audience. Seven of the eight papers which make up this handy book formed the central core of the symposium 'Early Medieval Leather and Fur' held by the Group in Oxford in 1995.

'Leather Working Processes' (Roy Thomson) clearly provided a useful introduction to the symposium itself, but is perhaps a little diminished in print. A technical overview of the stages by which skins were processed to become serviceable leather or parchment, it draws upon studies of historical methods and applications already in print. Disappointingly it rather eschews discussion of the processing of pelts for the sizeable fur trade which was growing up in northern Europe. 'Trading in fur, from Classical Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages' (James Howard-Johnston) complements Elspeth Veale's invaluable study of furs and fur-trading in the later middle ages, it is an immensely valuable gathering of references unknown to those of us whose reading might not stretch to the writings of Caesar, Ovid or Tacitus. 'The Search for Anglo-Saxon Skin Garments and the Documentary Evidence' (Gale R. Owen-Crocker) is a similar compilation of references from literature and documentary sources welcome as supplementary information by object-based historians. Both of these papers are written by experts in their fields who discuss complex issues of terminology and interpretation with authority and clarity. These resources are valuable adjuncts to archaeology where evidence can be slight or, in the case of furs, has almost completely disappeared.

Another approach, drawing upon archaeological and documentary evidence, is found in 'The British Beaver — Fur, Fact and Fantasy' (James Spriggs). This promised to throw light on an aspect of my own research into medieval clothing where beaver cloaks and linings continued in use at the highest level in 14th-century England, but I was to be disappointed. Completely ignored is the fact that beaver pelts were excellent wet weather furs, specially constructed to throw off moisture. No wonder, therefore, that the poor beast was hunted to extinction in Britain and was sought abroad. An introductory section describing the animal physically, including its size and the size of a treated pelt, would have been appropriate and useful. 'Henry' Chaucer (p. 99)? Surely Geoffrey Chaucer was the author of 'The Canterbury Tales'?

A second group of papers present information about finds, a vital activity for archaeologists and conservators, and one which is too often overlooked by historians. 'Animal Bones from the Viking Town of Birka' (Bengt Wigh) combines a classic study of excavated bone material with a consideration of the implications behind such finds and the inferences which can be drawn from them. Birka's textile finds are well known, but this study helps to expand our understanding of the furs available, and possibly traded, for

clothing. 'The Leather Finds from Rouen and Saint Denis, France' (Veronique Montebault) makes available details of two important groups of shoes, whilst 'Pre-conquest Leather on English Bookbindings, Arms and Armour, A.D. 400-1100' (Esther Cameron) surveys the evidence of leather still intact on bindings as well as on cuirass clasps, scabbards, sheaths and shields.

'Hides, Horns and Bones: Animals and Interdependent Industries in the Early Urban Context' (Arthur MacGregor) was not delivered at the symposium but has been included because of the relevance of its subject matter. This is a long, detailed and meaty contribution which will be of considerable assistance to archaeologists in the interpretation of their material. An interesting discussion about the link between such industries as horn working and tanning is included, archaeological and documentary evidence are brought together to provide an account of the tanning industry.

This interdisciplinary approach to symposia and their associated published papers are producing valuable contributions to literature and it is to be hoped that further publications of this kind will be forthcoming.

KAY STANILAND

*Die Sachsen des frühen Mittelalters.* By Torsten Capelle. 14 × 22 cm. vii + 160 pp., 60 figs. and 8 colour pls. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, and Stuttgart: Theiss, 1998. Wiss. Buchges. order no. 13392-7, ISBN 3-8062-1384-4. Price: DM 39.80 hb.

This handy little book on the Continental Saxons is the latest offering from Professor Capelle, of Münster University. It continues the series of his earlier books on the Vikings (1986) and the Anglo-Saxons (1990), also published by Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

The format is clear and straightforward; the book takes a largely chronological approach, beginning with the first historical reference to Saxons in the 2nd century A.D., and ending with their forced incorporation into the Carolingian Empire in the late 8th century. In between, it interweaves historical and archaeological evidence, presenting the different source categories (texts, settlements, cemeteries etc.) and specific historical events or processes (like the emigration to Britain) in separate chapters. The clear separation of the different types of evidence is a fundamental plank of German methodology; some purists will even balk at Capelle's alternating of historical and archaeological chapters because it does not separate strictly enough these two types of evidence.

Both the use of a wide range of data and the creation of a coherent narrative amply demonstrate the author's expertise and broad knowledge. The book does not, however, contain many new ideas; the ones that are claimed as such are little more than minor differences of opinion within the group of Saxon specialists. Most British readers will also see the author's notions of the nature of the evidence as belonging to a previous generation: historical sources are represented as unreliable and distorted by their writers' intentions, in contrast to the fragmentary, but undistorted nature of the archaeological evidence (p. 6). While this is entirely in keeping with established opinion in the German school of medieval archaeology (Günter Fehring's textbook of *The Archaeology of Medieval Germany* (Routledge, 1991), 235) presents exactly the same perspective), Capelle appears to change his mind later: on p. 33, cemetery evidence is described as having been 'intentionally' produced.

But then, this volume has clearly not been written to present theoretical perspectives, but to fill an obvious gap: except for some older museum guides, there is no general textbook on the subject in any language, neither from an historical nor an archaeological perspective. The 'Old Saxons' (as the Venerable Bede called them) are virtually ignored in general surveys of the period where the emphasis is on historically better documented peoples such as the Franks, the Goths and the Lombards. This gap has become more glaring in recent years as the debate on the Anglo-Saxon immigration and the origins of

the English has been revived in England. Only a small number of specialists who can follow the German-language literature on matters Continental are able to offer an informed opinion on the question of Anglo-Saxon origins — and as a result, the debate has been conducted as if the Continent had, *a priori*, nothing to do with it. Success, therefore, would appear to be guaranteed for any book that could help to democratise the debate by providing those without direct access to the German scholarly literature with sufficiently detailed information on the historical and archaeological situation in the supposed emigration areas of the Anglo-Saxons on the Continent.

It is, however, doubtful if this book can fit that bill because it is neither a textbook nor a popular book in the British sense of these terms. Being published by the *Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft* (Scholarly Book Club) as well as the popular archaeology specialists Theiss, its market is identified as the academic scene (though not the specialists) and the *Bildungsbürgertum* (the section of the German middle class which derives satisfaction and status from further education and learning). The book has been adapted to this market by publication without any text references or footnotes. And because the seven-page bibliography at the end is not classified (by topics or chapters), the identification of further reading is very difficult, which eliminates this volume as a serious textbook.

The second problem (unkind though this might sound) is the academic background of its author: German academics fear nothing quite as much as being suspected by their peers of dumbing down — *populär* is still one of the dirtiest words in German academia. In keeping with this tradition, the book makes few concessions to the ignorance of non-specialists, let alone foreigners; among other things, it presupposes an extensive knowledge of North German geography because there is no map showing the locations of key sites and regions. Also in keeping with German academic tradition, the book is written in *Wissenschaftsdeutsch*, the complicated and convoluted style of German scholarly writing. That alone will make it inaccessible to many, possibly most foreign readers.

This problem is only partly offset by the useful range of 60 black-and-white illustrations, mostly maps, plans and finds drawings, and eight colour plates in the middle of the book. For all those who can cope with German scholarly style and do not mind the absence of references, this book fills the gap identified above — others will have to wait for an English-language book on the Old Saxons.

HEINRICH HÄRKE

*The Tomb of Christ.* By Martin Biddle. 20 × 27 cm. xii + 172 pp. 103 figs. and pls., some in colour. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. ISBN 0-7509-1926-4. Price: £25.00 hb.

This is an excellently illustrated study of the Tomb of Christ. There is a vast amount of evidence, and Professor Martin Biddle copes with it very well.

The place believed to be Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, was venerated by Christians before the time of Constantine. This is where, during his reign, a rock tomb was discovered, presumably the one from which Christ rose again from the dead. Emperor Constantine made it into a chapel, and added an open columned porch. Biddle believes that this chapel (or edicule) went on in roughly its Constantinian form until 1009. He does so by correctly redating Jachinthus, over whose date I and others had been mistaken.

In 1009 Caliph Hakim's envoy 'hewed and rooted up the greater part' of the edicule. Restorations soon began and William of Tyre believed that they were completed by Emperor Constantine Monomachus. Biddle uses Byzantine sources to correct this mistake. The restoration was in fact finished by Emperor Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (reigned 1034-41). The open porch was replaced by a small room, an arrangement which still exists. The Crusaders took control in 1099, and the Greek clergy soon went away. But the new Latin Kingdom altered the edicule very little.

Four centuries later the edicule was suffering from age. It was taken apart and reassembled in 1555 by the Custos of the Holy Land, Boniface of Ragusa, but, as many pictures attest, its general appearance changed very little. The change came in 1808 with a fire. The Church of the Resurrection surrounded the Tomb of Christ. The lantern roof of the church fell on to the edicule. As Nikolaus Komnenos rebuilt it, he completely changed the exterior of the edicule. But the structure turns out to be a mixture. Biddle believes that the seats outside the edicule and some of the interior facings still go back to Boniface, or even earlier. And of course behind the facings there are some remnants of the original rock tomb. Until the edicule is restored we cannot tell how much is left of it.

*The Tomb of Christ* takes a disciplined step in forwarding research on the monument. Its illustrations and photographs are far the best in the world. But Biddle himself regards this book as incomplete, and plans another volume on the way the Tomb of Christ was used.

I would like to pass on some suggestions for what this second volume might contain. I had mistakenly thought that the Narbonne model was part of the earliest visual evidence for the appearance of the edicule (see also Biddle, p. 69). But after discussing the model, and particularly its roof, with Professor Lieselotte Kötzsche I now believe that the collections of pewter flasks at Monza and Bobbio represent an earlier version of the edicule than the model. These flasks are likely to have some links with what could be seen in the Church of the Resurrection in the 6th century, since they were made in Jerusalem. The look of the edicule may well have been changed after 614. The edicule had a gold roof, and the Persians then took gold and silver away from Jerusalem. And they set the Church of the Resurrection on fire. So if at this stage it was repaired the new version may have been represented by the Narbonne model.

Historians who deal with the Church of the Resurrection are often forced to rely on the accounts of pilgrims, or those who reported on their journeys. But as a pilgrim said to Photius (d. 895), the edicule formed part of the sanctuary of the Church of the Resurrection. The local clergy held daily services there. The sanctuary was still at the west, and the sanctuary rails (not shown on the plan on p. 67) ran across the same level as the edicule's porch. The 11th-century church had its altar towards the east, so the rails had to be changed.

In the next volume Biddle might include some pictures of the edicule in Armenian manuscripts produced between 1200 and 1500. They give boundaries between various qualities of holiness of the different parts of the edicule, and share the notion that the Holy Spirit comes through the lantern on the roof.

Nikolaos Komnenos designed the present edicule after the fire of 1808, and his work, as Biddle says, 'has not commended itself to non-Orthodox critics'. Biddle gives a very fair account of him. From the point of view of aesthetics it would have been useful to have illustrations of some of his work in Istanbul. Perhaps indeed Komnenos made mistakes, but without his first aid to the whole building, the Church of the Resurrection would soon have been in ruins.

JOHN WILKINSON

*Grégoire de Tours et l'Espace Gaulois: Actes du Congrès Internationale Tours, 3-5 Novembre 1994* (13<sup>e</sup> supplément à la Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France). Edited by N. Gauthier and H. Galinié. 366 pp. 54 figs. and maps. Tours: La Simarre, 1997. ISBN 2-9511419-0-4. Price: 210 FF + FF 35 (France), FF 50 (Europe) post & packing, pb.

These 26 papers stem from one of the four conferences held in 1994, the 1,400th anniversary of the presumed date of Gregory of Tours' death. We still await the proceedings of the Oxford, Leeds and Kalamazoo conferences. Unfortunately, the bibliography of the

papers published here remains fixed in 1994, meaning that more recent work on the topics discussed has not been taken into account and, as this collection makes clear, late antique Gaul is a dynamic field of research, particularly in the archaeological sphere. A specific theme was chosen deliberately to mark the Tours *congrès* out from the other Gregorian anniversary conferences. *L'Espace Gaulois* translates with difficulty into English, as '*l'espace*' means something more than the English word 'space', covering the 'area' or perhaps 'spaces' of Gaul. The papers are grouped into four sections: Gregory and the perception of space; real space, imagined space; political and administrative space; religious space; and Gregory and the national 'space' of France.

The researchers published here represent the French Merovingian historical and archaeological establishment (Charles Bonnet, Jean Durliat, Henri Galinié, Nancy Gauthier, Patrick Périn etc.) and younger scholars, as well as a sprinkling of foreign researchers (Martin Heinzelmann, Ian Wood, Barbara Rosenwein, Bailey Young, William Clark). This all bears witness to a growing 'internationalism' of French Merovingian scholarship. The *Atlas des Arts Paléochrétiens*, which appeared only two years before the Tours conference could be (and was) justly criticised for its francocentrism, but the charge could not validly be levelled at this volume. Luce Pietri, one of the most venerable of the 'old guard' of French Merovingian studies, persists valiantly with the idea of Gregory as a Gallic historian: 'to use a modern expression, one could say that the bishop of Tours seems to have a "hexagonal" vision of history' (p. 20). This view is neatly undercut by many other papers, notably that by Michel-Yves Perrin on 'Gregorian Gallocentrism revisited'. Gregory saw himself as a universal historian and, if his access to information restricted his knowledge of places like Spain, Britain, Italy or the east, this was no less true (as other papers in the volume make clear) of parts of Gaul. Between the glow of the information he sheds on central Gaul and the sparse and sometimes dubious comments he has to make on Italy or Byzantium, or the almost complete darkness of his knowledge of Britain, lies a spectrum in which the frontiers of Gaul play no delineating role, conceptual or otherwise.

Some papers are a little bland, and, given their brevity, could have been omitted without loss. Nevertheless, there is much to be learnt, and much which will provoke thought. Périn and Lorren give a very useful overview of the archaeology of Merovingian rural settlement, as it stood in 1994, and Paul Van Ossel presents characteristically stimulating ideas about the origins of post-Roman architectural forms, notably the 'sunken featured building', moving far beyond crude 'ethnic' explanations, which ought to give Anglo-Saxon archaeologists pause for thought. On the other hand it is disappointing to see Charles Bonnet evoke similar 'Germanic' 'ethnic' factors to explain the wooden churches in Switzerland and northern Gaul. Durliat is, as ever, thought-provoking on Gregory's military usage of the word *populus*, and Magnou Nortier presents interesting views on cross-currents of views of episcopal and royal power, whilst Bourgain and Heinzelmann give a most valuable overview of the diffusion of the manuscripts of all of Gregory's works. The volume ends with a series of papers looking at the use of the Merovingian past in later medieval French history. The 'use of the past' has subsequently become a popular one in British early medieval history; the Tours *congrès* was somewhat ahead of the game in this regard.

The editing of the volume sometimes leaves something to be desired. Footnotes frequently appear at the bottom of the page after that on which the reference was made. Inconsistencies appear between and within papers, notably in whether names are given in their Latin or French form. In Biarne's paper on monasticism, we have (on p. 120) Niziers and Thierry for Nicetius and Theuderic, but Aredius and Vulfolaicus instead of Yriex and Walfroy; Lupicinus becomes Lupicin (p. 130), but later reverts to his Latin name (p. 136); Aredius acquires an acute accent but then loses it again (all on p. 137). Biarne's reference to a holy man called Caluppanis is a mistranslation; the holy man in question was called Caluppa (Caluppanis is the genitive form, as in Krusch and Levison's foot-notes). More

interventionist editing might have saved him from this error, as it might also have saved him from the embarrassment of referring (p. 115) to Gregory's *Vita Patrum* (the Life of the Fathers) as the *Vitae Patrum* (Lives of the Fathers); Gregory himself, in the preface of this work, discusses at some length why we should speak of the single Life shared by these holy men.

All in all, however, this is a very useful volume. Given that there are at least five special subjects on Gregory of Tours running within British universities, this volume deserves, and will doubtless receive, a wide English readership; it provides information opening up new perspectives on late 6th-century Gaul, especially on the archaeological side. Those students who do not have sufficient French to read these papers should be encouraged to acquire it! The volume serves notice that French Merovingian studies are rapidly emerging from their old insularity.

GUY HALSALL

*The St Andrews Sarcophagus: A Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections.* Edited by Sally M. Foster. 18.5 × 24.5 cm. 287 pp. 78 figs., 12 colour pls. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998. ISBN 1-85182-415-4. Price: £ 14.95 pb.

This volume provides incontrovertible evidence for justifying the publication of Conference proceedings. The Conference in question was held to coincide with the return of the St Andrews Sarcophagus to Scotland, after its display in the British Museum Exhibition 'The Heirs of Rome' and the succeeding conservation undertaken for its re-display in the Cathedral Museum in St Andrews. Hitherto recognised as a barbaric and idiosyncratic relic of St Andrews' early Pictish past, the Sarcophagus was an anomaly in the chronology of Scotland's early-medieval sculptural treasures. Its date and function, its meaning and message were disputed and obscure. The highly successful Conference organised by Historic Scotland and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland revealed just how little we understood and how much there was to learn about this single monument. The assembled historians, art-historians and archaeologists provided new interpretations about the monument itself, its context, influences and meaning, and the date and likely dynastic connections of its creation. Now that these contributions are available for reading their real significance for our understanding of Scotland's 'greatest Dark-Age monument' can be fully appreciated.

The fine volume which incorporates these contributions, and some extra chapters, was produced very rapidly by the editor, Sally Foster, whose energy and vision lay behind much of Historic Scotland's programme for the better display and public appreciation of the sarcophagus. She examines the problems surrounding the discovery of the fragments in the Cathedral graveyard in 1833, and their subsequent history. Isabel Henderson's previous contributions to our understanding of the Sarcophagus' iconographic significance have been immense, and her chapter forms the culmination of these scholarly discussions of all the different surviving elements, most particularly the majestic surviving side panel. She provides a descriptive 'Catalogue of the surviving parts of the monument', as well as a fully considered discussion of its place as *Primus inter pares* among Pictish sculpture. Charles Thomas looks at its 'Form and function' as an example of a composite stone shrine; Dauvit Broun considers what was happening in the Pictish kingdom from 769-839, at the time of its creation. Douglas Mac Lean, Steven Plunkett, Nancy Edwards and Edward James focus on the Northumbrian, Mercian, Irish and Continental perspective/connection/context respectively. Richard Welander looks at the practical aspects of 'Recent developments in conservation and presentation' and last but not least Steve Driscoll uses the sarcophagus as a medium for considering ceremonialism in the early medieval Church's political discourse.

How do all these contributions change our perceptions of what this extraordinary monument is, and how do they help our understanding of the early Pictish state as revealed by it? The dearth of historical record of the Pictish period is well known — the lack of written sources, the unreliability of later historical record, the opacity of the ogham inscriptions. The crucial historical issues concern the nature of the Pictish kingdom, its relationship with the Scots of DalRiada, the ebb and flow of Gaelic and Northumbrian cultural influence, particularly in ecclesiastical matters. The perennial puzzles of the Pictish language, Pictish matriliney, Pictish symbol stones still remain very much alive in popular historiography and on societies' lecture syllabuses, and this study of the sarcophagus will perhaps not satisfy the popular appetite for the inexplicable, the arcane and the fringe cultural perceptions. There is no Pictish symbol on the surviving parts of the sarcophagus, indeed no symbol stones have ever been found at St Andrews.

Symbolism is there in plenty (but of a different sort), in the snake-headed bosses, the cats and the monkeys, the scenes of hunting and native and exotic animals preying on victims. These images were meaningful to the patron and the abundant David iconography tells us that this must be a monument to a king, even though this sort of composite stone shrine is usually associated with the relics of saints: no other composite stone shrine matches up to the sarcophagus in size or magnificence. Henderson's refining of the dating brackets to the mid-8th century points to the warrior Pictish king Oengus, son of Fergus, who may have been in alliance with Aethelbald of Mercia in 750. His name in fact appears in the much later St Andrews Foundation Legend as the king to whom Regulus brought the relics of St Andrew at Ceannrigmonaid/Kinrimund. That little mystery is not much clearer, for there is no sign of St Andrew on the famous side panel, nor indeed is there any New Testament iconography; only the Old Testament figure of David magnificently rending the jaws of the lion in a 'floating' composition of royal hunt and animal endeavour.

We now better understand the aspirations and the ambitions of a Pictish king, whether Oengus or another, who commissioned this monument, ambitions which are explained by the contemporary historical parallels and alliances. The consideration of the wider links reveals much about the place of Pictish kingship within a European background. Plunkett, for instance, shows how the propagandist use of enshrinement in Mercia can help us to see the same principles at work in 8th-century Pictland. But none of the contemporary tribal warlords had a tomb on this sort of scale that we know of, and the process of parallel linking which these Conference papers have set in train will also work in a reverse direction, and give historians and archaeologists of better-documented southern kingdoms an example of the sculptural achievement which a northern 8th-century dynasty was capable of producing. As James shows, it is quite exceptional compared with Continental parallels, both in shape/form and in iconography. This achievement can now be seen in a contemporary context, which reveals its own idiosyncratic elements, and demonstrates its own particular Pictish character in many respects. This excellent volume provides everything that is required to learn about the St Andrews sarcophagus, illustrated in the fullest detail and with a comprehensive bibliography on early-medieval sculpture in the northern kingdoms (which employs a most useful device of highlighting in bold type all the publications which in any way concern the sarcophagus and its sculptural panels).

BARBARA E. CRAWFORD

*Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age.* Edited by Howard B. Clarke, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Ragnall Ó Floinn. 16 × 24 cm. xxiii + 468 pp., 64 figs., 9 tables. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998. ISBN 1-85182-235-6. Price: IR£25.00 hb.

The 1,200th anniversary of the first recorded Viking raid on Ireland was marked by a conference at Dublin Castle in 1995. This book is the outcome, and its chronological scope

extends from the end of the 8th century to about the year 1000. The subject matter is not confined to Ireland and Scandinavia, despite the title, for Britain, and more especially Scotland, receives explicit coverage; neither is Iceland neglected.

Bjørn Myhre and Knut Helle deal respectively with the archaeology and history of the early Viking Age in Norway. Myhre sees the causes of the Viking Age in political terms and refers to the new capacity of petty kingdoms for overseas adventure. Helle, unlike Myhre, invokes population expansion but recognises the role of kings. The idea that petty kingdoms were fed by Viking expeditions is endorsed by Egon Wamers in treating of insular finds in Scandinavia. He notes the incidence of Insular loot in south-western Norway and sees a correlation with local centres of power. His findings raise the question of the sources of such material, and it remains to be established whether concentrations in Norway correspond to specific insular catchments, distributions and styles. Björn Ambrosiani, like Myhre, is exercised by the question of the inception of the Viking Age, and by the implications of 'Viking' types turning up in mid-8th-century contexts. But the debate is surely a non-issue, since the Viking Age is best defined not in terms of material culture but in terms of population movement and (traumatic) acculturation. Ambrosiani subscribes to the 'surplus population' theory in accounting for Viking activity and identifies the protagonists as 'groups of young men under the leadership of chiefs . . . who chose to engage in piracy or in organized military expeditions' (p. 408). Ireland had long been familiar with its own bands of *dibergaig*, young men of free birth who had not yet inherited and who in sundry ways helped themselves.

James Graham-Campbell considers the early Viking Age in the Irish Sea area and gives reasons for dating the Viking settlement of the Isle of Man no earlier than 900. Ragnall Ó Floinn demonstrates a dispersed pattern of Liffey-side cemeteries in Dublin, so that the primary Viking settlement(s) need not have been beside Kilmainham and Islandbridge, as often supposed, and may have been located downstream. Elizabeth O'Brien, sifting 19th-century records, shows that Kilmainham and Islandbridge, so often coupled, were the sites of two separate cemeteries and suggests minimum numbers of burials for each. She holds that the original Áth Cliath or 'hurdle ford' was beside Kilmainham and that a *longphort*, or defended vantage point, was built nearby. Like Ó Floinn and Graham-Campbell, O'Brien refers to the essential dating framework of the Irish annals. Thus Ó Floinn mentions the Viking raids recorded in 841/2 and carried out from bases at Dublin and Linn Dúachail, then just newly established. He points to alliances and intermarriage as factors in the establishment of bases; the same integration is attested by the source he quotes, inasmuch as the chronicler knows the places of origin of the raiding parties. That Viking bases and Viking leaders are often named in the annals thereafter bespeaks an acquaintance between the plunderer and the plundered.

It is a minor point, but worth mentioning, that all three authors — Ó Floinn, Graham-Campbell and O'Brien — refer by turns to shield-bosses, axe-heads and spear-heads as grave-goods. But let us not lose sight of the reality that these are but remnants of the shields, spears and axes which the Vikings knew. Moreover the burial of shields will have had implications for the width of individual graves.

John Sheehan deals with early Viking-age silver hoards from Ireland and their Scandinavian elements. An interesting distribution emerges in which coinless hoards are fairly widespread, if thinly west of the Shannon, while coin hoards and mixed hoards are unknown west of the Shannon and a largely midland phenomenon. This leads Sheehan to endorse earlier suggestions that silver passed in quantity into Irish hands in the 10th century and was concentrated in the kingdom of Mide.

Sheehan is versed in the Scandinavian background and is able to identify the sources of certain imports and to plot their transmission via Denmark. The unexpected Danish connection (on which see also Wamers, pp. 49–51) is reinforced by his convincing case for the origin of the Hiberno-Viking broad-band arm-ring in 9th-century Danish types. A

useful check-list of hoards follows, although a notable omission is the Shanmullagh, Co. Armagh, hoard (mentioned elsewhere in the book), which contains arm-rings of three different kinds and recalls Gausel in its composition.

Aidan Walsh provides a taste of a promised fuller study of Viking-age swords in Ireland. Petersen Type H, with 25 examples, emerges as the most common class; its date-range is c. 800–950 and the weight of its distribution in western Norway bears out the connection evidenced by insular loot. Walsh's total of some ninety weapons should be increased to more than 100, when account is taken of a complete sword and several fragments (unpublished) acquired by the Ulster Museum in the early 1990s. These derive from a 15-km stretch of the River Blackwater in Cos. Armagh and Tyrone and form the largest concentration of Viking swords in Ireland outside Dublin.

The Scottish evidence is illustrated by Christopher Morris, who notes the lack of an absolute chronology for the earliest Viking settlement such as exists for Ireland by virtue of the annalistic sources. I am sceptical of characterising an iron bell as 'Pictish' (p. 81), or of applying that ethnic label to one or more tomb-shaped reliquaries, despite the case made by Blindheim to which Morris refers (p. 82).

In a historical review of the Vikings in Ireland Charles Doherty traces the origins of social change — specifically dynastic aggrandizement — to the pre-Viking age. He offers an interesting assessment of the Christian king of Dublin Amláib (Óláfr) Cúarán, and suggests that his kingship was modelled on Irish lines. Doherty's further suggestion that the *Ping* mound of Dublin was the *forad* of the local Irish kings is tantalising, if incapable of proof (for the site was levelled in 1685), and touches on the archaeology of Irish kingship.

Howard Clarke considers the nuances of Irish urban origins and draws a contrast with the contemporary English scene. He condemns the term 'city' as inappropriate to Dublin in the early Viking Age. In the 9th century it was equivalent to Kaupang, for commercialisation could happen without urbanisation, and was still 'an old-style emporium' in 939 (p. 357). For Clarke, *contra* O'Brien, Áth Cliath refers to the 'principal river crossing' near Usher's Island and upstream of the distinct *longphort* site at Duiblinn (p. 348). But I wonder whether the terms Áth Cliath and Duiblinn were always used with precise geographical reference as Clarke evidently believes. Clarke contrasts 'cult settlements' (i.e. Irish monasteries), with Viking proto-towns, because the former had distinguishing 'sacred cores'. But a form of sacred core was provided for Dublin in the 1130s when the king and bishop jointly founded a cathedral near the most elevated site within a radius of miles (and Dublin already had churches). Does Christ Church overlie a pagan Viking sacred core?

Matters literary are considered in several papers. Dealing with Ireland in Icelandic tradition, Jónas Kristjánsson refers to the *Íslendingabók* of Ari the Wise and the slightly later *Landnámabók* and dwells on the oft-quoted reference to the 'books, bells and croziers' of Irish *papar* which the first Norwegian settlers encountered. Jan Erik Rekdal considers St Sunniva and suggests that the legend of this reputedly Irish saint and her island hermitage off the Norwegian coast drew on Viking experience of Insular monasticism and an acquaintance with Irish voyage tales. Máire Ní Mhaonaigh shows that the marauding Viking early became a *topos* in Irish literature and continued to be such in the 11th and 12th centuries, long after the integration of the Scandinavians had been achieved. Donnchadh Ó Corráin by dint of source criticism reveals connections between Dublin and Iceland towards the end of the Viking Age.

The book contains much new material and will provide a point of departure for future study. The editing, by three of the contributors, is of the highest standard; slips and misprints are scarcely in evidence and the production is a credit to Four Courts Press. Every serious student of the Viking Age should read this book; priced at a modest IR£25 (thanks to a grant from the Nordic Cultural Fund) every serious student should buy it.

The book is dedicated, fittingly, to Tom Fanning.

*Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape.* By Andrew Reynolds. 24.5 × 16.5 cm. 192 pp., inc. 84 figs., 25 colour pls. Stroud: Tempus, 1999. ISBN 0-7524-1432-1. Price: £19.99 hb.

This addition to the rapidly expanding Tempus stable is by the Society's secretary, Andrew Reynolds, who has become well-known for his work on early-medieval execution sites. The biography below the (not entirely flattering) photograph on the dust-wrapper reveals that his thesis was more broadly on 'Anglo-Saxon law in the landscape'. Readers seeking a summary of the current role of archaeology in analysing how 'England had become a sophisticated nation state' by 1066 (p. 14) will want to turn straight to page 75, and by the end of chapter three may be thinking that the book's sub-title should have used 'death' rather than 'life'. Before that, however, they will have been given a thought-provoking statement of Reynolds's argument that the 'entire administrative machine was tightened up' from the late 9th century onwards (p. 76), and that the reorganisation of estates is only one of the ways in which the landscape was modelled to serve the kingdom — with meeting-place mounds, thegns' towers and enclosures, and of course the *burhs* being archaeologically recognisable parts of an entity. The usually shallow, liminally placed graves with bodies that show the marks of hanging, violent blows from behind, decapitation and such-like gruesomeness provide the ultimate evidence of 'the efficiency of the administration of systems of social control by the later Anglo-Saxon kings' (p. 110). The gallows from which swung the victims of royal justice were widely visible, so that those who had been left to rot upon them could make their compensation by serving as an awful warning of what fate might bring.

The book has a wider remit, providing a useful summary of recent archaeological work. There is a welcome section on the interesting field project in north Wiltshire which the author has directed, which is relevant to his theme of the role of authority in creating the physical environment. Chapter four, on aristocratic and rural sites, brings to wider notice a number that have been published recently, in final or interim form. Chapter five, on towns, should also be read in this context, not least for the work at Steyning, which might otherwise have suffered neglect from its reports appearing in different journals. Although Simy Folds and other northern sites are discussed and illustrated, the coverage has a distinctly southern range, York receiving particularly short shrift. To some extent, that is a corrective to the reverse bias perceptible in Julian Richards's *Viking Age England*, so the two books should be seen as running in parallel.

Holes can be picked: too many linear measurements are given, at the expense of words that could have been used on coins — anyone studying law must consider the means by which fines could be paid as crime increasingly became a royal source of revenue — or on a justification of the suggestion that Wansdyke might be an 8th-century Wessex confrontation of Mercia; the discussion of Cheddar has missed Richard Holt's re-revision of the 'fowl-house' as a mill and the caption to the Portchester Watergate does not take account of Michael Hare's ascription of it to the early Norman period; and sites are more likely to be 'discrete' than 'discreet' (p. 37), although a Briton living in the 5th or 6th century might well have thought it wise to exercise discretion! For the most part, however, the book is very well-written. It is infuriating that the house style does not allow direct referencing; that '*Heriot* . . . represented the gift of weaponry made by a lord . . . returnable on the death of a man' (p. 59) is not quite what my much-thumbed copy of Henry Loyn's book says, and women also made *heriot* payments for the right to bequeath the property — so what is the source? To be fair, however, the publishers have allowed an index, and the book is also generously illustrated, Sarah Semple's reconstruction drawings having a pleasingly cartoonish mien.

Shall I recommend it to students? Indeed, and I have set some of them to writing a review of it. I wonder how our secretary will grade this one.

*Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. Vol. V: Lincolnshire.* By Paul Everson and David Stocker, with contributions by John Higgitt, D. N. Parsons and Bernard C. Worsam. 23 × 29 cm. 510 pp., 494 pls., 23 figs., 9 tables. Oxford: Oxford University Press, for The British Academy, 1999. ISBN 0-19-726188-4. Price: £130.00 hb.

The sculpture of Lincolnshire (here defined as the pre-1974 county) is little known and not much studied compared to that of the regions covered by previous Corpus volumes, and Everson and Stocker must be admired first of all for their sheer diligence and thoroughness. They have catalogued a total of 187 monuments (104 of them grave-covers) at 96 separate sites, with an additional 184 monuments listed in appendices. Many of the works included in the volume have not been previously published, and several were unknown before the work on this survey began. The book opens with a chapter on the historical background to the sculpture that serves as a general introduction to the material that follows. Subsequent chapters are devoted to the more specialised subjects of regional geology (contributed by Bernard Worsam), style and ornament, monument groupings, architectural sculpture and inscriptions (by John Higgitt). There is also a chapter on 'Overlap and the Continuing Tradition' that deals with post-Conquest works. While not strictly Anglo-Saxon, this material is important in light of the growth in production and the development of regional schools of sculpture in late Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire. It is also important because it helps to document the Anglo-Saxon contribution to the development of the Romanesque sculpture for which the area is so justly famous.

The lack of sculptural evidence from monastic sites is in marked contrast to the material published in earlier Corpus volumes, but there are some tantalising fragments and suggestions of contact with other regions. John Higgitt discusses the evidence for the influence of Northumbrian epigraphic traditions and manuscript display script on the four known inscriptions from the area (Lincoln St Mary-le-Wigford 6, Stow 6, and the now lost Caistor 1 and Unknown Provenance 1 [Appendix C]). There is also evidence of substantial Roman influence in the early period in the reuse of a number of Roman stones in Anglo-Saxon monuments. It is in the later periods, however, that the authors feel the sculpture has the most to tell us. It provides evidence of the continuity of sites (Bardney), contact with the kingdom of York via the Humber estuary and its network (Barton-upon-Humber), the revival of bishoprics in the later 10th century (Lindsey), and the overall distribution of later 10th and 11th century sculpture sheds light on the development of later medieval parish churches.

When it comes to specific monuments, however, there are problems, and several of Everson and Stocker's interpretations and definitions will be controversial. The authors have taken on board the cautions voiced by Fred Orton about the classification of monuments in Corpus scholarship (*Art History*, 21.1 (1998), 65-106), and that they are sensitive to the fact that a shaft without a cross-head may not necessarily be a cross, but state that they will continue the tradition of assuming that all shafts originally had cross-heads. There are also problems with the ambiguity of some reconstructions, and a general tendency to loose art-historical parallels throughout. How exactly, for example, can the small fragment Marton 1 (28 × 14.5 cm) be reconstructed as a 'very large ring-headed cross'? It could equally, as the authors admit, have been part of a circle-headed cross, or even part of a large shrine. Is the flask-like object held by the female figure added to the shaft of Edenham 1 enough to identify her as Mary Magdalene? Does the Magdalene make any iconographic or contextual sense on this monument or at this site? And while the collection of fragments that make up South Kyme 1 (reconstructed as a shrine or casket) does share motifs with the Gandersheim casket, it is hard to see similarities in 'overall layout' between the two monuments. Moreover, the suggestion that it and related Mercian works may have had 'a common progenitor in some spectacular local example, perhaps even that of Etheldreda described by Bede' is pure speculation. Some of the

descriptions of the monuments are also confusing. Conisholme 1 is described as a 'cross-shaft' on page 28, while it is actually a cross-head, and is discussed as such in the catalogue. The authors then continue the confusion by stating that 'the enigmatic standing figure at Great Hale might represent a cross-shaft of analogous type', though they prefer to see it as 'the figure of St Mary from a major rood'. That said, there are also some valuable new insights and identifications. The authors have done a great service in identifying a group of mid-Kesteven sculptures as grave-covers rather than cross-shafts as they were previously assumed to be. One final word of caution: the first gathering of plates in the volume received by this reviewer was bound completely out of order.

In a study of this magnitude, however, there are bound to be errors, and there will always be a degree of subjectivity in the interpretation of the monuments. Whatever its flaws, the Lincolnshire volume is a valuable and much awaited research tool, and an excellent example of the way in which the evidence of sculpture can contribute to our understanding of the development of a region.

Rosemary Cramp's *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, which serves as a general introduction to the series, is included with the volume free of charge, and illustrates the classifications of monument type, form and ornament followed by Everson and Stocker.

CATHERINE E. KARKOV

*Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England*. By Jane Geddes. 20 × 26 cm. xv + 411 pp., 6 maps, 19 tables, over 600 pls. and illustrations. London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1999. ISBN 0-85431-273-0. Price: £75.00 hb.

This splendid volume should be on the shelves of everybody who is interested in medieval archaeology. It covers the whole period from c. 1050 to 1500 (and a little bit later), and will be useful to art-historians and medieval archaeologists, including those who only study 'small finds' from excavations. For over 25 years Jane Geddes has been studying medieval ironwork, and this large tome is the result of a great deal of study, and is likely to remain the definitive work for many years. It started with a Courtauld Institute M.A. report in 1974, developed into a Ph.D. four years later, and has now, after much more work, become both a catalogue and a very readable account of how the blacksmith's art developed in England, in parallel with that of the stonemason and carpenter, over the first half of the last millennium.

After a brief introduction, which shows how greatly medieval English ironwork has been neglected in the past, there are two very useful opening chapters on the 'basic principles of dating' and on 'the techniques of ironworking'. We then move to a discussion of the first appearance of ironwork, including the early use of skin or fabric to cover the door or chest before ironwork is added. There is also a brief section on paint.

Almost all the earliest ironwork in England is on wooden doors, and the next part of the book has a very useful chapter on constructing and framing techniques used in medieval doors, particularly those of the 11th and 12th centuries. There is also a chapter on the making of early chests, and this is followed by an illuminating account of the liturgical and symbolic importance of church doors.

No definitive Anglo-Saxon doors survive in England, but the famous north door at Hadstock parish church, which may have been covered in human skin (fragments survive below the ironwork), must date, with the rest of the west door, to the 1060s or 1070s. This is probably the earliest surviving door still in use in England (the ironwork has been quite heavily restored), and it leads on to a full account of all known Romanesque doors with ironwork decoration, including the well-known 'picture doors' at Old Woking, Runhall, Staplehurst, Stillingfleet and Worfield, which must all date from the 12th century. There is also a full discussion of the 'C hinge' in all its different forms — split curl, barbed strap,

etc. — and this section ends with a chapter on Romanesque grilles, all of which come from cathedrals.

We move on next to the 'foliate phase' in the 13th century, and here there is a revolutionary new account of stamped ironwork, its origins and development. This is the result of examining closely all the minute details of the stamps that have been found. Over 250 impressions of English stamps were made by the author using plasticine or plaster of Paris. The earliest stamped ironwork in England is on the magnificent west doors of Henry III's new royal chapel in Windsor Castle, and by a brilliant piece of detective work, Jane Geddes shows convincingly that the ironwork here was made in 1247–9 by a goldsmith called Gilbert of Bonnington, who was also the Archbishop of Canterbury's moneyer, responsible for Henry III's new long-cross pennies at the Canterbury mint. Later stamped work is then discussed, including the wonderful grille, made by Thomas of Leighton Buzzard, for Queen Eleanor of Castile's tomb in Westminster Abbey. There is also a very full discussion of 'cut-out' ironwork, which starts in the late 13th century, at a time when stamped ironwork was reaching its peak. Among the masterpieces in 'cut-out' work are the west doors of Lichfield Cathedral and the splendid Icklingham chest.

The final section of the book covers ironwork in the late Middle Ages, including door and chest fittings (hinges, ring plates, lock-plates etc.), tomb railings, grilles and gates. By this time the main decoration on doors was in timber (blind tracery, etc.), but some fittings of the period, like the three-dimensional lock-plates in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, are miniature masterpieces. St George's Chapel, Windsor, contains, without doubt, the finest collection of late medieval ironwork in Britain, and pride of place must go to the miraculous iron gates to King Edward IV's unfinished tomb. Once again Jane Geddes has produced a definitive account and has cleared up the 'Quentin Metsys' mythology. Her study of the documentary evidence relating to John Tresilian, the maker of these wonderful gates, is also particularly enlightening.

The last one hundred pages of the book is then given over to a first-rate catalogue of all significant decorative medieval ironwork in England. It describes all known ironwork for doors, chests and grilles made in England between c. 1050 and 1350, before listing and fully describing all major examples of ironwork in the later styles. There is also a very full bibliography.

All in all this is a magnificent work, which has straightaway become the 'Bible' for English medieval ironwork, a great achievement for an author who has lived in Scotland for many years! I need hardly add that the book is also profusely illustrated with many fine black-and-white photographs (and quite a few line drawings), and that the Society of Antiquaries of London should be congratulated for publishing such a fine 'research report'.

TIM TATTON-BROWN

*Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East.* By Adrian Boas. 16 × 24 cm. xxi + 267 pp. 2 maps, 21 figs., 79 pls. London and New York: Routledge, 1999. ISBN 0-415-17361-2. Price: £30.00, hb.

To do full justice to the material culture of the whole Latin East in a book of 267 pages would be no mean feat. It is therefore no surprise to find that this book is somewhat less than it claims to be. In fact, while making due acknowledgement to some of the major castles and churches in the County of Tripoli and Principality of Antioch (i.e. Syria and northern Lebanon), it deals almost exclusively with the Kingdom of Jerusalem (the area covered by present-day Israel, Palestine, Jordan and southern Lebanon). The inclusion of Cyprus, while welcome in principle, may confuse in practice, since some of the sites mentioned (e.g. the city and cathedral of Famagusta, the sugar-mills at Kouklia, the abbey of Bellapais and the castle at Kolossi) date from the 14th and 15th centuries, well after the

Frankish possessions on the mainland had been lost. As a result, the geographical and chronological focus of the book is somewhat blurred.

The range of subjects treated, however, is broad. The principal chapters deal with the cultural and ethnic background to the inhabitants of the Frankish East, cities and urban life, the rural landscape, defence and castles, ecclesiastical architecture, crafts and minor arts, and fine arts; these are followed by two shorter chapters on building techniques and materials, and burials.

Some of these chapters are more successful than others. In the case of castles, for example, the author's strictly typological approach proves to be a severe limitation, as the seemingly pointless distinction drawn between 'spur' and 'hilltop castles' aptly illustrates: *Crac des Chevaliers* is thus classed as a 'spur castle', rather than a 'hilltop', 'enclosure' or 'concentric' one. The continued use of the term '*castrum*' to denote specifically a square or rectangular enclosure castle, on the spurious basis of this type having been 'a Roman invention' (p. 92), also seems inappropriate, since to the Romans themselves, as to medieval writers, the word could be applied to a variety of different types of fortified places; the use of 'double *castrum*' for a 'rectangular concentric castle' such as *Belvoir* simply compounds the confusion. The lack of scales for the castle plans shown on page 94 also makes any comparison between them difficult. In all the discussion of castles, however, the functions that they served, whether military or non-military, receive little comment.

More successful are the sections on rural life and on crafts, including pottery, glass, textiles and metalwork (though it should be noted that the chain-mail 'hauberk' illustrated on page 171 is more likely to be of Ottoman date).

Although the author has evidently given some thought to the problem of place-names (p. xvii), some of the forms chosen may simply add to the confusion that he hoped to avoid. 'Beit She'an' and 'Beit Govrin', for instance, represent mixtures of Arabic and Hebrew forms. Elsewhere we find 'Ain Boqek', in place of either 'En Boqeq' (Hebrew) or 'Umm Baghag' (Arabic). For good measure, on page 105 we also find 'Beit Govrin (Beit Govrin)'. Among other curious errors, which can probably be put down to faulty copy-editing, may be noted: a 'church known as St Cosmos' (p. 24); 'Juddin (Qal'at Jiddin)' (p. 117), but 'Judin (Yehi'am)' (p. 109); and '*Mons Gaudi*', for '*Gaudi*' (p. 137).

Inevitably a book of this scope is likely to contain a number of factual errors or points that are questionable. Among the more obvious such points noticed by this reviewer are the following:

- Archaeological and documentary sources indicate (*pace* p. 17) that the Tower of David in Jerusalem already had a bailey wall before 1099; the term 'Tower of David', like 'Tower of London', was applied in any case to the whole castle, not just to its principal tower.
- The Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities in the 1930s was E. T. Richmond, who was succeeded by R. W. Hamilton in 1937; C. N. Johns was Field Archaeologist, latterly serving as Assistant Director in the Department (cf. p. 19).
- The barbican at St Stephen's (Damascus) Gate as reconstructed on page 20 is indefensible.
- The location of the Latin patriarch's palace is actually well known (*pace* p. 22). After 1187, Saladin converted it into the Khanqa as-Salahiyya, a building which still exists, incorporating substantial elements from the earlier Frankish building.
- The church of St Mary Latin in Jerusalem was not the same as St Mary Minor (*pace* pp. 24 and 128); in the 12th century, the terms 'Minor' and 'Major' were applied by different sources to the church of St Mary Magdalene (for Benedictine nuns), apparently to distinguish it from St Mary Latin (for Benedictine monks) near by.
- There can be no doubt that the so-called 'Bosta' in Acre represents the undercroft of the church of St John the Baptist (cf. p. 37). Part of the superstructure of this building was still standing in the 1680s, when it was clearly designated *Eglise St Jean* on an engraving

made for Louis XIV of France by the Gravier d'Orcières; and in the early 20th century the feast of St John was still celebrated in the crypt by local Christians.

- There are indeed considerable remains of Frankish work in the Citadel of Antioch (p. 42). The cathedral, however, lay in the town centre, probably on the site now occupied by the great mosque; it should not be confused with the cave church of St Peter.

- The claim (p. 60) that 235 villages in the kingdom of Jerusalem were 'Frankish settlements' requires clarification, since it seems highly improbable that all their inhabitants were Franks.

- Tithes on agricultural produce were normally paid by only by Latin Christian landowners before 1215, and thereafter by oriental Christians as well; they were not paid by Muslims (pace p. 61).

- The additions made by Louis IX of France to the castle of Safitha (cf. p. 96) were most probably concentrated on the outer east gatehouse, as Paul Deschamps observed.

- H. Kalayan's analysis has shown that the Sea Castle at Sidon was most certainly not of the so-called *castrum* type (cf. p. 103).

- Kyrenia Castle is Middle Byzantine, or possibly earlier, in origin, not Frankish (pace p. 104); this no doubt accounts for its regular plan.

- At Marqab Castle (p. 115), the outer rounded tower on the south represents part of the Mamluk refortification. As this was a Hospitaller castle, the chapel would have been the monastic chapel of the knights; the 13th-century pro-cathedral of the bishop of Banyas must therefore have been elsewhere, presumably in the walled *faubourg*.

- At Sahyun (Qal'at Salah al-Din) the isolation of the mural towers from the curtain wall is not a usual Byzantine feature (pace p. 116); in any case, much of the wall-walk appears to belong to the Ayyubid reconstruction after 1187.

- Regarding the postern gates at *le Chastelez* (p. 119), it seems likely that, as elsewhere, these may simply have been intended for the convenience of those building the castle; it may have been their intention to wall them up when the building work was completed. At the same time it also seems likely that the earth 'scaffolding', which is documented so clearly in this unfinished castle (pp. 119–20), would have been removed, in order to expose the wall-face behind it.

- The church in Ramla was not a cathedral (pace p. 124), but more probably simply the parish church; although the bishop of Lydda often styled himself bishop of Ramla in the early 12th century, his cathedral church was that of St George in Lydda.

- The churches at Abu Ghosh and Ramla have no transepts (pace p. 134).

- The fortification around the church of St Samuel (cf. p. 137) dates originally from the time of Justinian, when it is mentioned by Procopius.

- Jacques de Vitry was bishop of Acre, not of Tyre (cf. p. 151).

- The special pleading for the eastern production of Syro-Frankish enamelled glass, made on pages 152–3, seems less than convincing in view of the predominantly western concentration of the find spots.

- The association of the church in Abu Ghosh (Qaryat al-'Inab) with the prophet Jeremiah (cf. p. 206) dates from no earlier than the 16th century, when the village was mistakenly identified as Anathoth. In the 12th century it was identified as Emmaus; this no doubt explains the Resurrection scene painted in the central apse.

- The building in the Temple Area described by Theoderic in 1169/72 (p. 221) lay next to the 'Aqsa Mosque (*palatium Salomonis*), not the Dome of the Rock (*Templum Domini*).

The author's apparent desire to include as much information as possible means that in some places the book reads somewhat like a guidebook or exhibition catalogue. There is of course some value in this approach, especially as the text is supported by some excellent illustrations and by a detailed and up-to-date bibliography. However, few general conclusions are drawn and little new information is presented, apart from the mention of a number of recent unpublished excavations (e.g. *Blanchegarde* (pp. 105–6), *le Chastelez* (*Vadum*

*Jacob* (pp. 118–20), Khirbat Ka'akul (p. 62), Petah Tikva (p. 62), Har Hozevim (pp. 70–2) and al-Haramiya (pp. 65–6, 80, pls. 3.2, 3.8). The book cannot therefore be said to have advanced the study of Crusader material culture to any large degree. But while a more selective and synthetic approach might perhaps have made for more compelling reading, the convenience of having such a range of material brought together between two covers will doubtless ensure that it retains a place in undergraduate reading lists for some time to come.

DENYS PRINGLE

*There by Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 267). Edited by Paul Pattison. 21 × 30 cm. viii + 82 pp., 44 figs. Oxford: Archaeopress, 1998. ISBN 0-86054-880-5. Price: £24.00 pb.

The ten papers published here form the bulk of those presented at a 1996 joint conference of the Garden History Society and the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England. The generally high quality of the contributions make it a more useful and stimulating collection than many, while the numerous survey drawings emanating from the latter body (and its Welsh sibling) which illustrate the volume give it a visual coherence. However, Chris Taylor (of all people) opens the volume with some cautionary words, blaming in part the complexity of such plots ('lines of regimented tadpoles') and the lengthy and turgid (my word) descriptive glosses which usually accompany them, for the failure of more traditional garden historians to embrace wholeheartedly archaeology's new discoveries. A priority, Taylor claims, is for archaeologists to create simpler illustrations and less involved descriptions, and cites as an example of good practice schematic interpretations of the surroundings of Shotwick Castle (Cheshire) here published by Paul Everson.

Everson's paper (pp. 32–8), 'Field Evidence for Medieval Gardens in England', develops themes already aired in a number of recent studies, notably that by the High Middle Ages landscapes designed to carry meaning and symbolism were being created around great houses and castles. Remains of these survive in palpable form, and the list of known examples is growing rapidly; as well as Shotwick, Whorlton (North Yorkshire) and Great Oxenbold (Shropshire) are here illustrated, while many others are described more briefly. Everson is right, however, in saying that recognition and recording are the easy parts. More difficult is understanding the symbolism of these watery settings with their convoluted approach routes, and how they reflected contemporary belief systems. Here, more than anywhere, is there the need for cross-disciplinary co-operation.

The value of parks as reservoirs of relatively well-preserved field archaeology is the theme, at least implicit, in several of the papers. Mark Bowden looks at Temple Grounds at Richmond and Stanwick in North Yorkshire; Graham Brown at Highclere, Hampshire; Paul Pattison at London's parks (including Nonsuch); Robert Wilson-North at Witham and Low Ham in Somerset; and C. Stephen Briggs at several Welsh sites including Haverfordwest Priory where Sian Rees has found medieval garden plots. Geophysical surveys also feature in several of the studies, including that by Graham D. Keevill and Neil Linford of Hampstead Marshall, Berkshire.

What for me is the highlight of the collection is Johnny Phibbs's impish 'Recording what isn't there: three difficulties with 18th-century landscapes' (pp. 27–31). He makes the point that the field archaeology of parks and gardens appears straightforward because of the predictability (cf. Roman villas) of so many of the designs, especially those made during the periods when formality was in vogue. The example of Wimpole (Cambs.) is used to demonstrate the logic of one great designed landscape, here heavily influenced by an earlier, agricultural, one, with avenues following headlands, ha-has constructed in old

roads and ornamental clumps laid out around medieval trees. Nevertheless, difficulties remain, for instance with ridge and furrow, which is normally filed away as 'relict field system' with the map shaded accordingly. Phibbs brings together an impressive array of later 18th- and early 19th-century agricultural writers who all advocate the ridging of ground, either as a means of managing arable land or as a way of increasing the area of a grass field or of draining it. Clearly we must be more cautious when faced with ridge and furrow, and instead of assuming it to be of essentially medieval or early modern date instead test this by the usual critical methods: what is its relationship, for instance, with features of known date? Phibbs also touches in passing on something which has puzzled me, which is why ridge and furrow and other earthworks were routinely left in close and visible proximity to great houses. Were they, as is argued to be the case with the medieval landscapes, imbued with meaning and symbolism, a deliberate echo of times past, and of the family's ancestral tenure of the estate and of its power which enabled tenants to be turned off and corn lands put down to an Arcadian pasture? Or perhaps it was simply that contemporaries did not care sufficiently about the corrugations to think it worth the while spending money on their eradication? Conversely, some earth moving in parks, notably by Brown, was on a heroic scale, leaving 'vast prostrate sculptures' on the ground, albeit of very considerable subtlety. These are among the high points of 18th-century landscape design, integral to some of the greatest schemes. As Phibbs says, they merit far greater study than they have yet received, probably with a refined survey methodology. Certainly we should no longer consider them merely as irritants which have swept away or covered up the real archaeology.

Gradually park and garden archaeology is gaining intellectual maturity, and beginning to draw alongside older and better established archaeological subsets. Tom Williamson's piece on Norfolk landscapes (pp. 47–55) well demonstrates this. However, as he acknowledges, we need to go further, and to follow the lead of prehistorians like John Barrett in developing some explicit theory to examine the meaning (if any) invested in designed landscapes by their creators. Garden archaeology is becoming very interesting indeed.

PAUL STAMPER

*German Stoneware 1200–1900: Archaeology and Cultural History.* By David Gaimster. 27.5 × 22 cm, 430pp., 457 figs. and pls., 32 in colour, 5 maps. London: British Museum Press, 1997. ISBN 0-71410-571-6. Price: £45.00 hb.

This is a substantial and lavishly illustrated book which chronicles the development of the stoneware industry from its beginnings in the 13th century to 1900. The first part of the title is something of a misnomer, as this book covers not only the German industries, but those now in Belgium, and the industries in the Czech Republic, France and England as well. It is the second part of the book title *Archaeology and Cultural History* which sums up the approach taken in this publication, making it far more than either a catalogue of some impressive museum collections, or a review of archaeological evidence. It looks at the archaeological and social context of an important class of ceramics, and the historical evidence it provides, and for the first time presents the whole as an integrated overview combined with new research.

The book is divided into an introduction, followed by six chapters, a substantial catalogue arranged by geographic area, and five appendices. At the beginning of the Introduction Gaimster sets the scene, briefly describing the approach he has taken, and why, particularly in the 16th to 18th centuries, stoneware had such a wide geographical and social distribution. Chapter 1, 'An Outline History of Collecting and Research', demonstrates the longevity of both artistic and commercial interest in this type of pottery,

starting with a group of collectors on the Continent in the early 19th century. Two figures are presented from the catalogue of the collection of Jean d'Huyvetter which was published in 1829. Gaimster covers briefly the evolution of collecting and study both on the Continent and in England, with comments on the contributions made by a wide range of scholars, from the publication by Dornbusch of a type-series of Siegburg wasters in 1873 to the publication of important museum collections in the 1990s. The chapter continues with a review of the more modern research and publications covering the increased amount of work and knowledge acquired from archaeological excavations, ship wrecks and scientific studies.

Chapter 2 covers 'Stoneware Production in Medieval and Early Modern Germany'. The chapter is subdivided into sections covering every aspect of production from raw materials, development of the stoneware body, throwing and forming, plastic decoration, surface treatment, firing and glazing, and workshop organisation and working practices. The depth and detail in this chapter is admirable, from technological aspects of making the decorative sprigs to the social implications and the implications of the use and consumption of raw materials. For instance, the effects on other consumers, domestic users, builders and farmers who used woodland to keep pigs, of the vast amounts of wood needed to fire the Siegburg kilns, and how the need for wood affected the production costs and retail prices in the Westerwald, through to the problems of saltglazing within towns. The section on plastic decoration shows a number of negative matrices used for making the medallions, and the text details the stages of manufacture from the first cutting on the design in stone through to the final fired clay matrix. It also offers an insight into how long these moulds were in use, based on the evidence from the Knutgen family workshop in Siegburg. In the penultimate section a mixture of old site plans, photographs of salt glaze firings from the 1950s, and schematic drawings of stacked pots, are used to illustrate firing and glazing. This part also covers the evidence for the introduction of systematic salt glazing in the 16th century. The surviving documents from Siegburg give fascinating information about the organisation of the industry; how, by restricting apprenticeships to legitimate or adopted sons, the secrets of the industry were kept within the family; and the frequency and seasonality of kiln firings in the 1570 and 1580s. This is compared with the more modern centres at Scania, Sweden, and Waldenburg, Saxony.

Chapter 3, Imports and Exports in six sections is an extensive account of the trade in the Lower Rhineland, Germany, the Hanseatic market in northern Germany, Scandinavia and the Baltic, and the trade with Britain. It then goes on to review stonewares in the New World and the maritime evidence from wrecks. As Gaimster says, it is one of the earliest European domestic products to make an impact on a global scale. The section on wrecks provides a good insight into the uses of stoneware jugs, for medicines on the *Mary Rose* and the transportation of mercury by the Dutch East India Company. Chapter 4, 'Stoneware as a Utilitarian and Social Medium' is illustrated with pictures and engravings demonstrating the social context and role of stonewares. It covers the symbolism of the images depicted on the relief panels and medallions, and the social status of stonewares and its interaction with other materials, such as glass.

Gaimster in Chapter 5 shows how the advent of wood block printing and metal plate engraving in the 15th century, and the 'Little Masters' in the 16th century had a profound impact on the dissemination of images, and subsequently on the relief decoration of stonewares. The influences, sources and symbolisms of the different motifs and panels are revealed. Chapter 6, by John Goodall, is a significant contribution to the understanding of the heraldry used on German jugs. Along with Appendix iv Armory and Ordinary of Armorial Designs, Goodall presents the origins and significance of the heraldry, and includes items from private collections in the interest of completeness.

The catalogue of the collections in the British Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum, and Museum of London, extends to over 200 pages. Because of differing acquisition

policies, these collections complement rather than duplicate each other, though all three in combination have few examples of some industries, such as Langerwehe. Each entry has a detailed description and bibliography covering both the item itself and parallels. More importantly, each item is also illustrated with a photograph plus additional detailed photographs of medallions, and occasionally the possible original inspiration for the medallion is also shown. The catalogue itself is divided into the principle geographic areas producing stoneware, from Germany, Belgium, France, and the Czech Republic, through to England, reminding the reader that stonewares were not just confined to Germany. Within each geographic area the catalogue of the pots from individual industries is preceded by a summary of that industry. The catalogue concludes with sections on Historicism, Jugendstil, and Reproductions and Forgeries, bringing the study of stonewares up to the early 20th century.

Appendices I and II cover provenancing stoneware through neutron activation analysis by Duncan Hook, and the technology of German stoneware glazes by Ian Freestone and Mike Tite. Appendix III is a useful list of nineteen dated wrecks containing stonewares. Appendix IV by John Goodall lists Armory and Ordinary of Armorial Designs, and Appendix V, Typological Charts and Maps, presents line drawings of many of the catalogue entries (an excellent addition to recent catalogues of glass and ceramics) and six maps of production centres and sites discussed in the text.

This is an admirable book, pulling together as it does much disparate research and information accumulated on the subject for well over a hundred and fifty years, and tying it together. This has been well allied to the considerable amount of work undertaken by Gaimster himself. This reviewer picked up remarkably few errors given the sheer amount of information presented. There were no examples of Cologne mugs with botanical relief in the 1507 fire deposits from Pottergate, Norwich (p. 91), and there are certainly more than six sites with Beauvais stoneware in south-eastern England (p. 305). Other quibbles are that the lack of internal page references is occasionally irritating, and some of the photographs are rather dark, which is a pity in a book of this quality. These though are minor, and in no way detract from this impressive overview of a complex subject which has been approached in such an integrated and comprehensive fashion. David Gaimster, and the British Museum Press, are to be congratulated on the production of this volume which shows the way forward for the study of ceramics. It will be a standard requirement for students and connoisseurs of ceramics for decades, and should be read rather than just used as a source for parallels and dates.

SARAH JENNINGS

*Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods.* By John G. Dunbar. 19 × 24.5 cm. xii + 263 pp., 95 figs. and pls. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, Historic Scotland, 1999. ISBN 1-86232-042-X. Price: £20.00 pb.

Interest in the royal residences of the Middle Ages shows no sign of abating, with recent surveys of medieval and early modern English palaces joined latterly on the shelves by a growing body of Continental works, and with international conferences — to which Scots participants have been among the most stimulating contributors — having been held through the 1990s. It is, therefore, surprising that this book represents the first exclusive modern survey of the residences of the Scottish Crown, particularly since their preservation in 16th-century form was to an extent ensured by their redundancy on James VI's 1603 departure to London. The resulting and impressive corpus of standing remains, combined with documentary evidence, thus offer a chance for interdisciplinary study which is perhaps unique in Europe. It is an opportunity which John Dunbar, erstwhile Secretary of

the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, is well-placed to cultivate.

The book is in two parts, stemming from the format of the author's 1998 Rhind lectures. The first describes, in meticulous detail, the evolution of individual royal residences. In the second they are brought vividly to life through full discussion of the manner in which they functioned. The layout is not without its drawbacks, chiefly the perception of being buffeted with facts in part one, and an amount of necessary cross-referencing in later chapters. However, in employing it Dunbar has achieved a work which will appeal to students of particular buildings, the general reader, and those interested in the social use of space alike. Indeed, references to public and private space reveal the work as more than descriptive, and there are frequent nods to current theoretical approaches. These are rarely developed to the extent that some scholars might prefer — methodologies currently in vogue such as spatial analysis, for example, are not employed. Yet students of a theoretical bent will find much raw material here in the many detailed ground plans and in the author's meticulous attention to detail. We are told, for instance, that during the royal wedding festivities at Holyrood in 1503, it was the queen's party, dining separately in her hall, which had to make do with used candles. Neither are the apartments of royal women and children marginalised into sections of their own, so that gender forms part of the overall narrative. This is a rare occurrence for which the writer must be congratulated, although it may stem from the specificity of the Scots academic tradition, prompted in turn by awareness of the political prominence of its queens.

It is chiefly Dunbar's sense of the limitations of his evidence which prevents him from developing the 'neat conclusions' for which more theoretical writers are sometimes criticised. And we are told at the outset that since his focus is domestic and residential function 'other aspects of the subject will not be dealt with'. Hence, presumably, the failure to integrate fully the standing remains with their often equally well preserved landscape surrounds, perhaps the greatest missed opportunity in the work. Again, however, a sensitivity to, and awareness of, such issues is evident. The discussion of Linlithgow's c. 1430 new east entrance, which 'seems to have necessitated the acquisition of . . . 35 roods of . . . land [to] the east' is used as evidence for the increasingly accepted contention that landscaping purely for visual effect was in no way confined to the post-medieval period. Moreover, such employment of references to landscape use should be a lesson to architectural historians in particular. Clearly when buildings and their environs are seen as organic wholes, much can be learned about the evolution of individual complexes. Dunbar argues, for example, that the grazing of large numbers of horses on the Linlithgow meadows reveals a major building programme of the 1470s for which no direct documentary evidence exists.

Dunbar's great strength is that he *does* treat palace complexes as organic entities rather than as isolated collections of high-status rooms. In the second part of the book, administrative and recreational buildings enjoy a rare prominence in their own chapter in which areas like the wardrobe, perhaps too often neglected for lacking a certain glamour, are covered in great detail. Such an approach affords analytical re-appraisal of both documentary and architectural/archaeological evidence in keeping with current work on the Tower of London, Windsor Castle and elsewhere, while future researchers will find the detailed exposition of the organisation of building works, where the written evidence itself is put in its codicological context, more than useful.

*Scottish Royal Palaces* is long overdue, and in a book which covers so much ground, omissions of the kind noted here are forgivable. Any remaining quibbles are minor. Due to the work's accessibility and its undoubted benefit to undergraduates, an architectural glossary would not have gone amiss ('"lying" windows' and 'prominent cap-houses'). And in view of the writer's attention to residential function, the forests acknowledged to have prompted the construction of many palaces might reasonably have been included on the

location map. All things considered, however, this is one of the best works on British royal palaces yet to emerge. Despite the nature of the remains, Dunbar has resisted the urge to deliver a narrowly descriptive narrative, keeping current academic concerns in mind throughout. More particularly, the book reclaims high-status Scots architecture from the 'baronialising' mentality of its mid-20th-century curators. Far from backward, primarily defensive structures, the residences of the Scottish Crown are here placed firmly in their wider European context and revealed as often culturally far in advance of their generally better known English counterparts.

AMANDA RICHARDSON

*The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600.* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15/Oxbow Monograph 98). Edited by David Gaimster and Paul Stamper. 18.5 × 25 cm. xiv + 266 pp. Many figs. and pls. Oxford: Oxbow 1997. ISBN 1-900188-55-4 Price: £37.50 hb.

This book presents the proceedings of a conference in November 1996 which highlighted the processes of change from the 'medieval' to the 'modern' period as seen in the archaeological record. The premise of a distinct two-hundred year period which saw immense political, economic and social change is explored by eighteen contributors with a variety of backgrounds from art history, architectural history and archaeobotany to ceramics and textile history. The impetus for the conference was to increase knowledge of a period that falls between the imposed periodisation and to examine developments into the 'modern' world. The volume begins with an overview by the editors examining why the conference was deemed necessary, centring on a general shift interest in the medieval to early modern transition. Hugh Tait then deals with the profound difference in the thought worlds of the two periods. He contrasts the religious panoply in a portrait of Richard II with the more humanistic image of James VI (I) without overt religious imagery. The depiction of Elizabeth I as a Roman goddess is even more striking; such a vision would have been literally unthinkable two hundred years earlier. Paul Courtney examines economic developments and their effects on material culture and the limitations of simplistic period labelling. He recommends a greater understanding of urban and suburban development and the impact on economic changes. He also suggests that the transition may predate the two centuries highlighted and go back to the 14th century and the severe effects of the aftermath of the Black Death.

The changes in ideology highlighted by Hugh Tait are also detailed in Helmut Hundsichler's paper which shows the changes in mentality from the traditional medieval viewpoint of everything reflecting the individual and communal appreciation of God's position to the enhancement of the position of the individual. The mentality had changed and the material culture reflects this. Franz Verhaege describes changes within the context of 16th-century Flanders and the Netherlands and suggests that these should be seen within an extended time scale with the greater impetus for change occurring in the 12th and 13th centuries. This however could be a result of the constraints of a highly complex urbanised region which had little room for any further change both geographically and socially at a later period. Christopher Dyer continues the examination of the economic changes, but focuses on rural settlements. The traditional explanations for changes in the countryside in the 15th and 16th centuries have been enclosure and agrarian capitalism. Dyer would see these expanded to include other factors such as the amalgamation of smaller holdings into larger farms (engrossing), the leasing of farmland to the 'middling sort' or the yeoman farmer, and the enclosing of open land. All of this is evident in the remains of medieval villages and holdings in the countryside which resulted from these processes.

The effects of the Renaissance and in particular Italian craftsmen are examined in Phillip Lindley's paper on tomb-sculpture. The impact of classical motifs appears to have been limited to the elite, and the changes in motifs from medieval religious imagery to secular heraldic devices are used as evidence of social change probably initiated by Reformation acts such as the abolition of chantries and religious imagery in 1548. The world of the elite is expanded further in Simon Thurley's paper on the changes in the roles and approaches to kingship evident in the medieval palace of Westminster and the Tudor palace of Whitehall, involving translocation of the executive decision-making process firmly within the palace of Whitehall. A distinct portion of the palace provided private and recreational facilities for Henry VIII. The influence of the court can be seen further down the social scale, first with the courtiers themselves in Maurice Howard's presentation and the gentry in Nicholas Cooper's paper. Howard stresses the way in which the outward appearance of a property reflected the prestige of the owner or town corporation, whether through painting of brickwork or the application of decorative terracotta. Cooper shows the gradual changes which took place before the 15th century, e.g. the amalgamation of different facets of accommodation into one cohesive whole. In the later medieval period he sees greater emphasis on hierarchical display, with a further shift toward conformity of design and improvement of amenities for genteel existence in the 16th century.

John Schofield also sees the effect of the Black Death in the urban house: shrinkage of town populations meant that a restructuring of tenements and properties into larger units was possible. The main change from 1450–1550 came in the interior organisation of houses, while the outer structure did not change drastically until the 17th–18th centuries. Matthew Johnson also discusses the reorganisation of residential inner space, highlighting the dangers of transposing our ideals of a private space and competitive emulation to an early modern period. Other papers deal with the improvements in guns, artillery and fortifications from the late 15th century (Jonathan Coad), the plethora of ceramic forms and ceramic household furnishings such as stove tiles which indicate the increased influence of trade and foreign merchants' housing on local households from the mid-15th century (David Gaimster and Beverley Nenk) and the archaeobotanical evidence for foreign trade of exotic foodstuffs from 16th-century deposits in London (John Giorgi). Smaller personal items are detailed in Geoff Egan's and Hazel Forsyth's paper on dress accessories which in spite of a limited dated corpus shows the production of cheaper buckles to extend the market further in the 16th century. The study of textiles (Kay Staniland) includes late-medieval material to show the development in tailoring techniques from 1330 onwards and emphasises that the skills of tailoring/fitting to a human figure were in place in the 14th century. John Cherry demonstrates the subordination of religious iconography in Tudor and later seals with the dominance of an individual's representation and their heraldic devices.

This well-written and comprehensively illustrated collection of papers makes stimulating reading. We are encouraged, even challenged to consider what defines medieval culture, from the mindset to the social organisation of the period, and to think of the time scale and processes involved to change this. Many of the authors clearly believe that the period of transition cannot be neatly encapsulated within a two-century block: changes in social organisation, household arrangements and land holdings began in the 14th century or earlier (e.g. Courtney, Verhaege and Schofield). This could reflect the urban/suburban bias of many contributions, where the extent of medieval development acted as a severe constraint on subsequent changes. The book also displays a significant bias towards sites and material from the south of England and London in particular. There is little coverage of other English regions, to say nothing of Scotland and Wales; the emphasis is explicit in the title of the conference and book, of course, but is surely unfortunate given the potential for wider comparisons (as Hundsbichler and Verhaege demonstrate). John Dunbar's

recent book on Scotland's royal palaces of this period provides an excellent example of the kind of comparative material available.

Despite this complaint the range of papers and breadth of material provides plenty of information to digest. Hopefully this will prompt further investigations on medieval and early-modern sites and better sampling and research strategies for the future. If this book is evidence of the possibilities then there is cause for some optimism.

CATHERINE UNDERWOOD AND GRAHAM KEEVILL