

Reviews

Living Archaeology. By Philip Rahtz. 17 × 25 cm. 288 pp., 130 figs. Stroud: Tempus, 2001. ISBN 0-7524-1925-0. Price: £17.99, \$29.99 pb.

This autobiography chronicles the life of one of Britain's most influential medieval archaeologists, covering a period of 60 years, and ranging from his first encounters with archaeology in the early 1940s, up to his current and ongoing research at age 81. This engaging volume reveals the intellectual and personal inspirations behind Rahtz's passion for archaeology, but in so doing it presents a disciplinary biography of medieval archaeology itself. The reader is introduced to the key medieval sites that were excavated from the 1950s to 90s, and the importance of work by prominent figures including Leslie Alcock, Philip Barker, Martin Biddle, Martin Carver, Peter Fowler, Brian Hope-Taylor and Graham Webster, amongst many others. We learn of the circumstances surrounding Rahtz's own excavations, reading like a roll-call of prestigious medieval sites — Pagans Hill, Whitby, Cheddar, Glastonbury, Old Sarum, Upton, King John's Hunting Lodge (Writtle), Cannington, Tamworth, Deerhurst, Bordesley Abbey, Wharram Percy, Maryle-Port (Bristol) and Kirkdale. His primary and enduring interest has been in the early-medieval archaeology of the south-west of Britain, the region of his own origins.

I first met Rahtz when I was an undergraduate at York in the early 1980s, where students quickly became acquainted with rumours concerning his scandalous sexual past — rumours perpetuated predominantly by the professor himself, and accepted with good humour by the students. This volume is not an autobiography dealing with his personal relationships. While he is typically candid in referring to individuals and companions who influenced and assisted his archaeological work, he retains a sense of discretion concerning his personal life.

Rahtz was drawn to archaeology in the 1940s, when there was no standard training or professional structure for archaeology. Having been introduced to the subject by a colleague in the RAF (Ernest Greenfield), Rahtz more or less taught himself methods of recording, approaches to post-excavation analysis, and eventually the framework of early-medieval history. After the war, he had taken up a post as a school teacher, a position which he loathed. His amateur interest in archaeology finally provided an alternative means of making a living, since, he claims, 'anything was better than school teaching'! During the excavation of the Chew Valley, John Hurst persuaded him of the importance of medieval archaeology. Rahtz embarked on the life of an itinerant field archaeologist, refining his intellectual apparatus as each successive site demanded. In this period of his life, from c. 1950–63, Rahtz might best be described as an 'archaeologist-adventurer', during a carefree and bygone period of the discipline's adolescence.

In 1963, Rahtz was appointed to an assistant lectureship at the University of Birmingham, teaching medieval archaeology to history students. University teaching seems also to have been picked up by trial and error, but he soon realised that he was pushing his students to perform better than others. He recounts how one diligent student (Christopher Dyer), handed him a reading list at the end of his degree, saying, 'I think you might find this rather useful for next year's students'. Fieldwork remained his great motivation, and nothing could keep him out of the field, including university administration and injuries. In 1971, he participated at Cadbury Congresbury from a stretcher. The

chapters dealing with Rahtz's first decades in archaeology convey his infectious enthusiasm for the subject. His appointment in 1978 as the University of York's first professor of archaeology may have marked the pinnacle of his career, but this phase occupies only a brief chapter of the book, a period in which new archaeological adventures were relatively constrained (until his retirement in 1986). The politics and bureaucracy of the academic life were not his forte, even in the relative freedom of the 1970s and '80s. Who today could match (or justify) his sabbatical term from Birmingham in 1976, when he and Lorna Watts hopped the 'magic bus' to Crete and combined eight weeks of naturism with an ethno-archaeological study of horizontal-wheeled water mills?

This is an autobiography distinguished by its humility, as Rahtz carefully sets out his intellectual debts to those encountered along the way. He summarises himself as a 'data-accumulator', whose contribution has been made more through the excavation of landmark sites than in theoretical interpretation or synthesis. And yet his contribution to the development of a distinctive identity for medieval archaeology is clear. In addition to his c. 200 major publications, Rahtz has played a critical role in developing inter-disciplinary research, through collaborative projects with historians such as Rodney Hilton and architectural historians such as Harold Taylor. He trained many of the medieval archaeologists of the current generation, who are distinguished by this inter-disciplinary approach, among them Grenville Astill, Christopher Dyer and Mick Aston. He instilled in his students three main imperatives: to publish the results of archaeological research, to disseminate archaeology to a wider public audience, and to approach all things in life (particularly archaeology) with a sense of humour and enjoyment.

ROBERTA GILCHRIST

Archaeology and Text. (Duckworth Debates in Archaeology). By John Moreland. 14 × 22 cm. 144 pp., 7 figs. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 2001. ISBN 0-7156-2998-0. Price: £9.99 pb.

In this short book John Moreland advances an exciting and provocative argument about how we should bring together documents and archaeology. His central point is that we have traditionally seen both artefacts and documents as sources of evidence about the past. As such, different scholarly traditions have emphasised either document or artefact as 'primary', or each as having its own sphere in which it can provide information on different aspects of the past — most obviously, documents on ideology and the elite, and artefacts on economics, technology and the poor. All such views, however, are based on a fundamental misconception.

Moreland traces the philosophical origins of such views back to medieval conceptions of the primacy of the Word over the world of matter. His discussion of the development of such ideas through the changes of the Renaissance, in particular the impact of Protestantism and the printing press, is the best and most original part of the book. Moreland shows how ideas of what different classes of 'evidence' can tell us, far from being obvious and commonsensical, are actually embedded in very deep-seated philosophical traditions. He also shows how views that have set themselves up as alternatives to the traditional model, such as those of the New Archaeology, nevertheless conspire in maintaining such classifications.

Instead, Moreland posits a radically different view. Instead of documents and artefacts being seen as different classes of evidence for the past, he suggests that both must be seen as instruments of social action in the past, as technologies of power and resistance. Such a view, which this reviewer is largely in agreement with, holds implications for the practice of traditional history and archaeology which are both disturbing and exciting, and opens up some new and stimulating fields of enquiry.

Moreland then goes on first to question the conceptual underpinnings of North American historical archaeology, so often cited as a possible model for British scholars, and to reflect on the potential dangers of postmodernism for the discipline. These two sections are not as successful as the first. Many of Moreland's comments on individual North American scholars are quite apposite; his critique of Orser is particularly sharp if slightly intemperate. However, I feel that Moreland overlooks two important points here. First, North American historical archaeology is unfairly portrayed as a quite monolithic school. Moreland underestimates important differences between North American schools (for example between Marxist-inspired work and the structural tradition of Deetz and Glassie). Second, whatever their failings, Leone, Orser et al. are fundamentally allies rather than opponents, in that they are committed to a theoretically informed, social interpretation of the material — a position infinitely preferable to an unreflective empiricism that still characterises much North American work, work that is less well known on this side of the Atlantic. When seen in a broader context, Moreland's theoretical position shares more with these authors than he chooses to admit.

The brevity of the book is extremely frustrating, because so many points are interesting and valuable ones that one would like to see developed. Idea after idea flashes past the reader, each one pertinent and exciting; but we are on to the next point before we have properly explored the last one. No case studies are developed in any depth — we are given tantalising glimpses of 7th-century burials and Protestant iconoclasm, but no sustained analysis. Though it is well-written and a pleasure to read, at times the style of the book is almost telegraphic. One has to supply elements of the argument oneself, elements that Moreland is clearly aware of but chooses not to supply, presumably due to pressure of space. This undue brevity is especially true of Moreland's critique of 'postmodernist multivocality' (118). Much of this critique is accurate, but the reader is left wondering which forms of postmodernism Moreland has in mind (the work of Geertz, Ricoeur, Foucault and others is cited with approval, so there are clearly some postmodern writers he approves of; conversely, Leone and Orser are lumped in with the 'bad' postmodernists despite both owing much to Marxism; multivocality is good, but postmodern multivocality is bad — though Moreland does not specify what makes one species differ from the other). This maelström of snap judgments needs untangling; Moreland clearly has a forceful and complex thesis to propound here, but it is a thesis that simply cannot be squeezed into the seven pages it gets.

Archaeology and Text is the final nail in the coffin of the history-plus-artefacts approach to the archaeology of historic periods. It is also an exciting, inspiring pointer to a range of new debates and approaches for archaeologists of the medieval and other periods. This reviewer awaits with impatience the further, more substantive development of Moreland's arguments into a sustained critical thesis and application.

MATTHEW JOHNSON

Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past. By Roberta Gilchrist. 14 × 22 cm. xviii + 190 pp., 25 figs, plans and tabs. London: Routledge, 1999. ISBN 0-415-21600-1. Price: £14.99 pb.

Professor Gilchrist's purpose here is to review critically the progression of gender archaeology since its emergence from its feminist beginnings around fifteen years ago. Fifteen years is a long time, and the subject has inevitably developed and matured. However, archaeological overviews have been sadly lacking. In gender studies, archaeology as a whole lags far behind historical and literary studies (the recent international medieval conference 'Seeing Gender', organised by the Gender and Medieval Studies Group, boasted only *one* archaeological paper!). The publication of Johnson's *Archaeological Theory*

in 1999, with its section on gender theory, was a step forward. But until that year, which also saw the publication of the work reviewed here, it had been necessary to point students towards collections of papers such as Moore and Scott's commendable *Invisible People and Processes* (1997).

Gender and Archaeology is not aimed only, or even specifically, at medievalists. Nevertheless, the tremendous potential offered by the wealth of archaeological and documentary evidence inherent in historical archaeology is frequently highlighted. This is hardly surprising since Professor Gilchrist — probably the most influential British gender archaeologist to emerge during the fifteen years covered — specialises in the later medieval period. Above all, it is a valuable textbook written with clarity. Each chapter begins with a summary of its aims and ends with a 'signpost' to the next. There is a comprehensive, up-to-date glossary and a select bibliography/further reading list, from which Gilchrist's *Gender and Material Culture* (1994) might have benefited in view of the impressive number of themes it addressed.

Yet *Gender and Archaeology* is more than a textbook. It is a valuable overview and critique of the field which stretches to often insightful analysis. The chapters testify to the diversity and concerns of gender archaeology today. Chapter one sets out its changing aims, and the challenges posed by various critiques to established perceptions. Chapters two and three examine the relationship between feminism and archaeology, and address theories on the sexual division of labour in past societies, in particular structuralist attempts at gender attribution. However, Gilchrist points out that gender archaeology is not necessarily a feminist enterprise, and will prove inconsequential 'if it merely records the dominant subject as female to a silent male "other"' (30). Indeed the subject of masculinity is raised early in the book and is re-introduced throughout, concomitant with the — often misunderstood — premise that the study of 'gender' is more than the study of women. In later chapters, Gilchrist moves on to address additional current concerns, in particular the complex idea (to the modern Western mind) that sex, as much as gender, may be socially constructed, while the ample section on old age places her at the forefront of current approaches to gender and the lifecycle (106–8). As is pointed out (90), the archaeological study of ageing has, to date, concentrated on infancy and childhood.

Perhaps of most interest to medieval archaeologists is Chapter six, 'The Contested Garden: Gender, Space and Metaphor in the Medieval English Castle' (109–45), which examines medieval attitudes to spatial segregation through case studies of the castles of Carisbrooke, Chepstow, Pickering, Portchester, Castle Rising and Clarendon Palace. Clarendon, of course, was never a castle but rather an undefended royal residence, as Gilchrist herself allows (131). Yet seigneurial apartments were to all intents and purposes 'palaces' within castles, and since castle studies have been dominated by military, to the exclusion of domestic concerns, the difference is probably more marked in modern than in medieval minds.

Gilchrist concludes that far from denoting women's lower status, sexual segregation was employed in order to represent gender difference and the social order. It is acknowledged that there can have been no simple 'male' and 'female' space, since noblewomen's households would have been more socially and sexually mixed than that of their male kin. Moreover, the power such women exercised from their relative isolation is highlighted (124, 144) — a point often overlooked in the desire to demonstrate clearly delineated gender domains.

The medieval case studies and examples are used alongside others running from prehistory to the 19th century, revealing an impressive amount of anthropological, archaeological and historical research in turn set against the backdrop of wider scientific analyses. Here is the only weakness in the book. Gilchrist argues convincingly that sociobiology reduces all human behaviour to one (reproductive) cause, and rightly exposes it as inherently political (10). However, quite how the 'statistically significant but very

subtle' differences in male and female brain patterns fit with the premise that sex as much as gender is culturally constructed is never adequately explained (11, 56). This is hardly surprising in a field currently grappling with such thorny issues, and Gilchrist does highlight the wide overlap in male and female performances of cognitive skills. Moreover, as she points out (13), it is the cultural interpretation of biological and/or cognitive difference and the questions it raises that are the issue, rather than the old nature *versus* culture paradox.

The primary aim of *Gender and Archaeology* — to assess the place of gender studies within archaeology — is ably achieved. The book belongs in every university library, and its low price is to be commended. Moreover there is much food for thought throughout for medieval archaeologists in terms of new approaches and avenues, and it is to be hoped that, as a result, they will be increasingly visible in the field of gender archaeology through its next fifteen years.

AMANDA RICHARDSON

Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development. By John Hatcher and Mark Bailey. 14 × 22 cm. xiv + 254 pp., 3 figs, 1 tab. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. ISBN 0-19-924412-X. Price: £13.99 pb.

The aim of this book is to present 'a short and readily intelligible introduction to medieval economic history, an up-to-date critique of established models, and a succinct treatise on historiographical method' (back cover). *Modelling the Middle Ages* succeeds admirably in its first aim, is partly successful in its second, and largely fails in the third.

Hatcher and Bailey divide existing accounts of the medieval English economy into three grand explanatory models: 'population and resources', derived from the work of Malthus and Ricardo, 'class power and property relations' deriving from Marx, and 'commercialisation, markets, and technology', a more recent interest (though its origins are traced to Adam Smith). Their discussions of each school are concise yet thorough. There are some surprising omissions: Polanyi, Tawney, Hoskins and Beresford come to mind. The prose is clear, if a little dry; if the text is sometimes difficult to follow, this is because the arguments being presented are necessarily difficult. As a one-stop book for archaeologists seeking to understand the intellectual debates that lurk implicitly behind so much historical writing on the medieval economy, this is excellent.

As a critique of established models, *Modelling the Middle Ages* is only partly successful. There are some valuable critical comments on the interrelationships between different schools of thought, and powerful accounts are given of the support given to different schools by the evidence. Hatcher and Bailey are in their element here — they have a detailed understanding and appreciation of the documentary evidence and of the intellectual makeup of individual historians, and they bring this understanding to bear on the three 'supermodels' in an incisive yet balanced way. While they stick to what they call 'a mixture of empirical evidence and commonsense' all is well, and this close reasoning leads them to the inescapable conclusion that 'broad theoretical and philosophical considerations' (210) must be brought into play. And it is at this point that the problems begin.

The book is weak in its understanding of contemporary theory and therefore largely fails in its treatment of historiographical method. 'Theory' as defined here is coterminous with 'grand economic models'. Such a view is 30 years out of date. Hatcher and Bailey do include a brief, ritualistic denunciation of the extremes of postmodernism that serves only to demonstrate their limited knowledge of the subject (218–21); their claim that 'whatever lessons may be legitimately be drawn from postmodernism, they do not include the bizarre contention that all explanations are equally valid' is not a claim made by any postmodernist

that I have ever read, and is no substitute for serious consideration of what the other lessons might be — particularly when such lessons might well hold alarming implications for their chosen historical method. One such implication might be a questioning of the assumed boundaries between society, economics, and culture in the medieval world. 'The social dimension in economic development' is mentioned (197), but the treatment of 'the economic' as a discrete category is assumed rather than argued for; and the argument that behind both 'economic' and 'the social' lies 'culture' is never mentioned. Chaos and complexity theory are mentioned as possible future avenues of thinking without mention of a single possible application or any awareness of the history of systems thinking in the social sciences; structuration and agency theory, feminist approaches, questions of the nature of power are simply ignored — astonishing omissions for a book that claims to deal with topics such as property relations, the activities of peasant families, social inequality, and the nature of historical change.

Modelling the Middle Ages is a profoundly depressing book for an archaeologist to read, as it suggests that much of our effort over the last 50 years has been a waste of time. Plenty of documentary evidence is matched against the theories on offer; indeed, one of the strengths of the book is the meticulous way in which evidence in the form of particular documentary studies is matched against the abstracted supermodels. However, not a single mention of a deserted village, an excavation, an assemblage, or an artefact sullies the prose. More broadly, topics such as village layout, desertion, the physical form of houses and of material culture are not discussed and are presumably considered irrelevant. These are 'clean-booted historians' still flourishing almost 50 years after Crawford's denunciation of that breed.¹ Is this the fault of Hatcher and Bailey, and of medieval economic historians in general, for not paying more attention to the now voluminous archaeological literature? Or should archaeologists ponder more self-critically and in more depth archaeologists' continuing failure to impinge on historical debates?

As a medieval archaeologist who takes theory seriously, this book made me very cross, but I shall be recommending it to my students as a readable, concise guide to the way the majority of medieval economic historians are thinking today. It unwittingly paints an accurate, but unflattering, portrait of the state of medieval economic history: standing on a strong empirical tradition, and encompassing a series of classic debates that have dominated the historical scene for many decades, but increasingly insular and out-of-date, and in desperate need of theoretical reform.

MATTHEW JOHNSON

Utilis est lapis in structura: Mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre. (Mémoires de la section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 9). Edited by Martine François and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam. 21 × 27 cm. 492 pp., many figs, maps, pls and tabs. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2000. ISBN 2-7355-0439-5. Price: €57.9 pb.

This large and enjoyable *Festschrift* honours Léon Pressouyre, an important figure in the world of architectural and sculpture conservation both in France and across the world, through his work at UNESCO. The scope of his interests is immediately apparent from these 33 papers, which range from naval architecture to statistical petrology and from the Touraine to T'ang China. The various sections start with one on stone sculpture, including Denis Cailleaux's celebration of Pressouyre's 1969 initiative in establishing an inventory of loose sculptural fragments in walls and rockeries in Sens — a type of initiative we have been slow to imitate in this country. Other papers here include work on the fabric of Notre

¹ O. G. S. Crawford, *Archaeology in the Field* (London, 1953), 198.

Dame at Olchy-le-Château, sculptures at St Arnoult-en-Yvelines, St Pierre de Lagny, Sens Cathedral, St Ayoul de Provins and the medieval sculpture of Provence. The important paper by Garrigou Grandchamp in this section stands out as an accessible synthesis of surveys of 12th- and 13th-century domestic architecture in the towns of Burgundy.

A subsequent, though not consecutive, section contains further studies on architectural details. A valuable paper by Annie Pralong documents how the capitals in the former crusader cathedral at Beirut are mostly re-used Roman examples, although whether they were really brought from Italy or Byzantium, rather than from local Roman buildings, will remain a matter for discussion. A paper by Esther Grabiner makes the case that a peculiar corbel type, which diverts the shaft below the capital into the wall behind, derived from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and was popularised in western Europe by the Cistercians. These are two of several papers which reflect on Frankish architecture in the Holy Land; another topic in which Pressouyre has been involved.

Pressouyre himself will also be interested in the section on monastic archaeology in western Europe. This includes a valuable account of recent work on the claustral ranges of St Denis, on Cistercian grange buildings at Austerbos (Normandy), buildings of the order of St Lazare, a collegiate building which originated in a college founded by Moissac Abbey at Toulouse University, the buildings of the Trinitarian order at Burgos and an important new study of the Templar chapel at Limasol 'castle'. In this section, also, are two more studies of monastic estates in the Soissonnais (of the Cistercian house of Igny and the Premonstratensian house of Val-Secret). These follow a format already deployed to great effect at Chaalis, St Jean-des-Vignes and elsewhere. Val-Secret is discussed by François Blary, who has been particularly associated with this type of study, and the close interrelationship between developments at the abbey site and those in the economy of the monastic landscape are skilfully interrelated. We could certainly benefit from Blary's approach in England.

Papers largely on manuscript art and *ars sacra* follow, including work on the Codex d'Eginon, a Romanesque enamel plaque in the Louvre, two ivories in Amiens Library, images of punishment in books on the Roman Law, Viollet-le-Duc's understanding (and subsequent use) of medieval bestiaries, and an interesting paper by Claire Maître on the rationale behind the use of different colours for different initial letters in a late 12th-century Lectionary. A lively paper on some stunning late 15th- and 16th-century stained glass from Coulommiers by Françoise Perrot has wandered down the contents list to appear amongst the 'crafts' later on. A small group of text-based studies, on the transmission of a 15th-century Italian manuscript, on the construction of galleys, on late medieval ship graffiti and on the *libro dell'arte* of Cennino Cennini, complete our study of the written word and associated images.

The volume closes with a group of papers on medieval 'crafts'. These include a useful account of the iron-work grilles at Conques (deriving from recent restoration work), an interesting paper on groups of late-medieval historiated floor tiles from seventeen parish churches around Chateau-Thierry, a paper on pottery production in the Île-de-France by Fabienne Ravoire, which looks fundamental to the non-specialist (establishing type-series etc.) and a remarkable piece of work by Daniel Prigent on the sizes of quarried blocks used for walling stone in Anjou and Tourraine. This paper presumes both standardisation at the quarry and also that such standards will vary over time. Even so, extensive measurement of block sizes in local buildings seems to support both contentions (especially for a local type of calcareous tufa). This paper might represent an important starting-point in our understanding of medieval quarrying, but clearly, convincing cases can only result from stupendous campaigns of measurement.

It is not possible to do justice to the quality of papers contained here, but this really is a volume with interest for everyone, and it accurately reflects the breadth of Pressouyre's interests evident in his personal bibliography. The editors remark in the Preface, that this

'flegmatic, elegant charming man' with his 'well-groomed hair, natty moustache and serious demeanour' *présente de prime abord un aspect tout britannique*. We should take this as a great compliment.

DAVID STOCKER

Byzantine Pottery. By Ken Dark. 17 × 25 cm. 160 pp., 58 colour pls, 70 figs. Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2001. ISBN 0-7524-1942-0. Price: £19.99, \$32.50 pb.

Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Art of Sgraffito. Edited by Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi. 23 × 29 cm. 270 pp., 307 colour pls, 31 figs. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1999. ISBN 960-214-261-8. Price: not stated hb.

Byzantine archaeology has seen notable developments since David Talbot Rice's guide to Byzantine pottery appeared some 70 years ago.¹ Thus these two new books on Byzantine ceramics are fully justified, being able to take into account many new discoveries, scientific pottery characterisation, stratigraphic evidence and current thoughts regarding Byzantine history, economy and culture processes.

Dark's ambitious guide 'aims to draw together what we know about Byzantine pottery as a whole' (11–12). Papanikola-Bakirtzi's book, which accompanied an exhibition at Thessaloniki, has the more limited scope of illustrating glazed ceramics, and more specifically those found in Greece. Whilst the first book was written by one author, the second calls into play various specialists and many collaborators.

The two works examine slightly different time ranges. Papanikola-Bakirtzi's book covers the 11th to the 17th century, whilst Dark's runs from the 5th century to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. However, his study is far stronger when it considers late Antique and early Byzantine ceramics than when it attempts to illustrate the story after the 6th century. This is especially clear when he plays down the great changes that come about in pottery manufacture and use between the 6th and 7th centuries, arguing for continuity rather than transformation (43, 47, for instance). This is a particularly important point.

There appears to have been a greater measure of continuity in production in the few large and successful towns and major entrepôts, than in the rest of the Empire. This holds true particularly for Constantinople where it may be argued that some of the first Glazed White Ware ceramic forms derived from the latest fine (*sigillata*) and coarse wares of late antiquity. Perhaps this reflects continuity in both eating habits and in the families of potters. In much of the remaining territory things changed quite dramatically. At *Hierapolis* in Phrygia, for instance, large pottery workshops by the *agorà* did not survive the early 7th century. Pottery styles that followed were far more heterogeneous. My interpretation of this is that the ceramic data bears witness to the breakdown of estates and centralised production within the context of a declining market economy. Save in the case of the few surviving towns or large estates (particularly state-run, ecclesiastical or monastic), ceramics were produced less for profit or as adjuncts to surplus agrarian production and more for the self-sufficiency of small subsistence-level population groups. Full-time professional potters could no longer be maintained as a category, save in a few towns where demand remained high, and many may have turned their hands to subsistence agriculture, producing only the most fundamental ceramics as a sideline. This ties in well with the view of restricted economic vitality of the early Middle Ages. Transport amphorae tell a similar story. Dark states that 'Middle Byzantine amphorae remain superficially similar to Early Byzantine examples, but show more 'extremes' of design and decoration' (47) and that

¹ D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford, 1930).

they were 'often larger, or conversely much smaller, than Early Byzantine vessels' (49). However, later 7th- to 9th-century Byzantine amphorae usually show a reduction in size and anything but extremes in design and decoration (e.g. Bozburun wreck, off South-West Turkey, excavations at Emporio (Chios), Rome and the Crimea, and kiln wasters from *Misenum*, near Naples, and Otranto). It would seem that innovative forms only start to appear in quantity by the later 9th or 10th centuries, when trade once again began to blossom across the Mediterranean and beyond.

As in Rome and Naples, a certain measure of continuity in pottery production through the latter half of the first millennium may be argued for major settlements where there was a sufficient population to support the activity of professional workshops. This may be seen in Constantinople. The disappearance of red (*sigillata*) table-wares by the end of the 7th century may represent both a disruption of long distance trade with traditional centres of supply as well as political or economic disruption of the production centres themselves (mainly Tunisia and Çandarlı in Turkey). The appearance of Glazed White Ware, which substitute red table-wares only in areas closely linked to Constantinople, may, instead, represent the growth of alternative areas of supply, closer to the capital, that happened to possess light-coloured clays. These were also eminently suited to making the most of coloured lead glazes. The technique of glazing may have arrived in Constantinople from the Danube frontier, where the technique was well known since the later 4th or 5th century (see Dark 60–1).

Dark's study would have been much improved had he taken into consideration the large body of work that has taken place in certain peripheral areas of the Empire. The numerous studies of Byzantine ceramics from the Crimea, for instance, are not even considered, though *Chersonesos* has yielded amongst the most spectacular examples of glazed pottery to be found to date, well illustrated in the pioneering studies of A. L. Yakobsen.² The Crimean towns were important staging-posts for exchange between Constantinople and the north, as finds show that Byzantine pottery travelled up the Dnieper to Kiev, to Novgorod and even to Lund and Sigtuna in central Sweden.

Byzantine Italy is also hardly taken into account, though many studies over the last twenty years have helped to clarify archaeological sequences through early-medieval times, in both Calabria and Apulia as well as in Byzantine-influenced Rome and Naples. Excavations at the Adriatic port-town of Otranto, in Byzantine hands up to the Norman conquest of 1068, has yielded both a kiln complex dating from the 8th to 10th centuries, producing pottery similar to that of Corinth, and a sequence extending into the 15th century.³ Rome may be likened to Constantinople through the use of early-medieval glazed wares, including the characteristic chafing-dish, common also to Corinth, and distributed widely through the Mediterranean. Though David Whitehouse's seminal studies are cited, no mention is made of Lidia Paroli's equally important studies, or of the excavations at the Crypta Balbi, in the heart of Rome, where contacts with the Eastern Empire can be shown to have continued well into the 7th century and beyond.⁴ Remaining briefly in Italy, it is equally surprising that no mention is made of the studies in honour of John Hayes that present a panorama of early Byzantine wares in Italy and beyond.⁵

The Byzantine heartlands of Asia Minor, where post-classical deposits are no longer easily shovelled away, has also produced a host of studies on Byzantine and later ceramics

² For instance A. L. Yakobsen, *Keramika i keramiceskoe proizvodstvo srednevekovoj tekhniki* (Leningrad, 1979).

³ H. Patterson and D. B. Whitehouse, 'Medieval domestic pottery', 87–195 in F. D'Andria and D. B. Whitehouse (eds.), *Excavations at Otranto. Vol. II: The Finds* (Galatina, 1992).

⁴ See now D. Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi: Archeologia e Storia di un Paesaggio Urbano* (Milan, 2001), with full bibliography.

⁵ L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo, Atti del Convegno in onore di John W. Hayes — Roma, 11–13 maggio 1995* (Florence, 1998).

concerning such important sites such as *Ephesus*, *Iznik*, *Izmir*, *Pergamum* and *Hierapolis*, which could have been used.

Amongst the most thought-provoking parts of Dark's book is chapter 5 on 'Ceramics as a source for reconstructing Byzantine culture'. This is a welcome essay, as pottery can tell us much about a society if correctly read. The chafing-dishes (97–8), for instance, are a very particular Byzantine form that may merit particular study as a sign of cultural-specific eating habits. Byzantine dress, often represented on sgraffito plates, is also discussed, and it would be interesting to compare the representations with clothing depicted in other media. Dark suggests, for instance, that Byzantine fashion was heavily influenced by western practices from the 13th century. Much could also be made of military attire, which appear on ceramics depicting the hero Digenis Akritas or soldier-saints and warriors (see Papanikola-Bakirtzi cat. nos. 203–6).

Dark's book concludes with a 'Catalogue of pottery types', which is perhaps the most useful section for a beginner to the subject. Early Byzantine painted wares are, however, almost totally ignored, despite many examples now known from Italy, Greece, Crete, the Crimea and North Africa. There is also little mention of *pithoi* or large storage jars, which were common in Byzantine territory and which, like amphorae, were probably also used as commercial transport containers. In towns, apart from their use in storage, they were sometimes placed along roads, presumably to be filled with water, replacing the defunct fountains common to Roman towns. They thus recall the nomadic Arab habit of siting water jars along desert routes.

Classes of glazed wares are covered, though more comprehensively illustrated in Papanikola-Bakirtzi's volume. Both maintain the term Zeuxippus ware for a class of sgraffito ware without dwelling on the abundant 'derivatives' (termed RZD wares or Regional Zeuxippus Derivatives by John Hayes) now widely attested in the literature. The variety of ceramics that have been called Zeuxippus have put into serious doubt the existence of a single homogeneous production, so much so that it is perhaps best to consider the various pieces as having stylistic affinities, rather than belonging to a single class of pottery.

For the glazed wares one must turn to Papanikola-Bakirtzi's book, which outlines their history from what she calls the 'age of experimentation and aspiration (11th–middle of 13th century)', through the 'age of eclecticism and colour (13th–14th century)', to the 'age of repetition and survival (15th–17th century)'. I believe these broadly represent the trends. The entire study is clearly presented and illustrated with numerous examples of glazed pottery, including particularly valuable sections on eight ceramic workshops located in Greece. These are supplemented with two closed groups of vessels from the 12th to early 13th century shipwrecks of Alonessos and Kastellorizo.

Both volumes might have benefited through a greater use of distribution maps, particularly in illustrating the diffusion of types and styles. As regards illustrations, Dark's colour plates rely mainly on Morgan's Corinth publication or on the selection of Byzantine pottery held by museums in London. Papanikola-Bakirtzi's volume, on the other hand, makes abundant use of new and high quality colour photographs, which include many previously unpublished vessels, useful for identification.

Though both have an extensive bibliography, Dark often ignores references to page numbers, which, in the case of references to Morgan's 370-plus page Corinth volume, is particularly frustrating. Dark's work also presents various typographic errors and some errors in fact. Figure 31, of the very particular Constantine bowl, is unfortunately missing in my copy of the book. In one Italian reference there are three spelling mistakes, whilst the 'eminent Turkish archaeologist', actually the General Director of Antiquities and Museums of Turkey, is not Aplay but Alpay Pasinli. The class of Italian glazed pottery known as RMR ware is indicated as being significant for dating Byzantine contexts. Quite

so, but Dark (28) gives its date range as c. 1250–1350, whilst it was, in fact, produced up until the end of the 15th century.

Papanikola-Bakirtzi's book, whilst not intended to cover all types of Byzantine pottery, is the best current guide to the principal classes of glazed pottery. It would be marvellous to see a similar volume including the abundant material from other parts of the Byzantine Empire. Instead, Dark's book is a bit of a lost opportunity, to be adopted with caution and is unlikely to 'be used by specialists to provide a more closely defined and consistent terminology for describing Byzantine pottery' (12). Its main function will be to provide basic information to people seeking a first approach to the material. Whoever wants to further research in this field should, nonetheless, have both books to hand.

PAUL ARTHUR

City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective. (Studies in Comparative Early Modern History). Edited by James D. Tracy. 16 × 23 cm. xix + 697 pp., 146 figs. and pls. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-521-65221-0. Price: £50.00 hb.

Les Enceintes Urbaines (XIII^e–XVI^e Siècle). (121^e Congrès des Sociétés Historiques et Scientifiques, Nice, 26–31 Octobre, 1996). Edited by Gilles Blicq, Philippe Contamine, Nicolas Faucherre and Jean Mesqui. 21 × 27 cm. 357 pp., 212 figs., pls. and tabs. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1999. ISBN 2-7355-0378-X. Price: €30.49 pb.

Walls are generally recognised as components often representing the single greatest investment of resources (human, material and financial) made by a town: they ordered and dictated an urban interior and shaped relations with the outside world; they were statements of authority yet also reflections of a need to protect that authority. Strength in that authority contributed to an ability to respond to external changes such as innovations in warfare. And in all cases the population within were central to the value of these urban defences. Too often only cursorily discussed, or analysed purely from a military viewpoint, the two volumes reviewed here signify a growing interest in town enceintes as structural and social features worthy of greater consideration.

City Walls gathers together a series of geographically and temporally wide-ranging papers and seeks through these to offer scope for global comparison of the act and symbolism of fortifying and defining town- and cityscapes. Whilst the majority of papers explore European town walls of the historic era (with a predominance of post-A.D. 1000 timeframes), Islam, China and America are also considered (two papers each), and there are single examinations of India and tropical Africa. Three issues frame the contributions: the circumstances for creating an enceinte; the relationship to warfare and its evolution; and socio-cultural meanings behind construction of walls or created by these. The latter papers are especially valuable in modifying the (western) view that walls were simply functional affairs, there to defend and define. For instance, Shatzman Steinhardt (419–60) and Farmer (461–87) demonstrate the depth of symbolism expressed in China in the varied representations of city walls, whether on maps, plans, gazetteers (local histories), in books or as paintings. Walls were integral to Chinese urbanism — the character *cheng* means both wall and city — symbolising order; accordingly they figure strongly in art extending back into the first millennium B.C. and seek to show standard, idealised configurations. In Ming China (A.D. 1368–1644), thousands of walled cities existed; these had a specific temple to the wall and moat; gates had charged names; and extramural altars to gods of the landscape and of the soil and its products provided further divine protection to the well-being of the inhabitants. Cities were classified and portrayed in terms of the governmental units they held; on maps the uniformity in portrayal was to reinforce the concept of a culturally unified world.

Blair (488–529) examines textual decoration on the well preserved walls, towers and gates of Islamic Diyarbekir (former Roman Amida): a corpus of 44 inscriptions covering the 10th to 16th centuries (thus passing through various dynastic rules), part accompanied by figured (usually animal) decoration. Unlike the terse Roman text ascribing rebuilding of the defences to emperors in A.D. 375, six 10th-century gate and wall (relief) inscriptions fully praise the ruling caliph and God and state how the work glorifies religion and protects Muslims; the work supervisor/architect and financial agents are also named. Names, titles and visibility stressed sovereignty in an uncertain period — a formula matched in the thirteen texts of the 11th-century Marwanids, who also placed some facing into the city. At Fatimid Cairo, expansive inscriptions are full of faith and propaganda; one extends for 59 m — recommended reading matter whilst waiting in the queue to pass through the busy gates!

Siege warfare dominates various papers, if from varied angles: van Emden (530–72) observes literary representations and Pollak (605–46) 17th-century pictorial images of sieges; for Renaissance Europe, Pepper (573–604) discusses the protocols of siege warfare and of surrender and the role of mock sieges in both court and urban pageantry. Reactions to artillery technologies and the need to ‘modernise’ walls to counter such sieges are also considered, such as by Elbl (349–85) on the Portuguese in Morocco, where cost and a fragile hold hindered take-up. Few papers actually consider walled towns and fortifications as tools of conquest and colonial expansion, although Parker (386–416) offers an excellent survey of the context of the artillery fortress; interestingly, however, Kagan (117–52) demonstrates how in colonial Spanish America physical walls were rejected in favour of the ‘spiritual walls’ as interpreted literally from the Old Testament’s Book of Isaiah and provided by urban religious houses, by the orderliness of the townscape, and by rings of Christian villages: here the power to build, to convert and to leave open a large settlement were the means to impress and to distil any external threat.

A valuable bridge between *City Walls* and the second volume under review is Wolfe’s (317–48) mainly documentary analysis of 16th-century walled towns (the *bonnes villes*) in the French Wars of Religion in which he argues for the burghers co-operating with the Crown and themselves creating the new defences. He identifies the origins of this strategy in the outbreak of the Hundred Years’ War, which marked the first major spate of town fortification in France since the late Roman epoch: the war and preservation of urban independence prompted extensive defence measures acknowledged by the Crown through tax concessions; the ongoing conflicts saw town governments secure greater control over populations and economies to gain resources to develop both structural and human defences — but undertaken largely in submission to the king. Urban growth and stability after the Black Death for a while countered a need for defensive renewal except in royal towns, but the 16th-century wars and their new technologies created a revised suite of town defences. These ‘scientific fortifications’ were expensive affairs, however, often requiring expert Italian architect engineers, but as artillery sieges became key features of the Wars of Religion so towns were forced to adapt and enlarge. Wolfe shows that for a ‘rebel’ Calvinist town like Montauban accounting records reveal the burden placed on the citizens, many of whom paid their contributions in kind through clothing, cooking wares, scrap iron and the like; the accounts here also detail work on bastions, on the materials gathered, on work musters (with male and female work gangs), and they timetable the lengthy process of clearance (of many private residences), cutting, building and finishing. Such detail brings to life the very human input of these municipal projects.

For this reviewer, Wolfe’s article was vital in framing the contributions presented in *Les Enceintes Urbaines*, for which Mesqui’s brief historiographical review (7–12) and summary of the papers offered no adequate historical scene-setting for the three-century timespan covered. Indeed, a good number of the contributions (deriving from a conference held in 1996) deal specifically with the transitions to geometric Italian-style defences. The

majority provides case studies from across France in particular, but including Luxembourg, Holland and Belgium; most discuss the combined resources of structural survivals, early plans and even architects' designs, plus archaeological discoveries. The volume is divided into five thematic sections which, as with *City Walls*, inevitably have some overlap. Part I places papers on the small towns of Parthenay, Dinan and Cordes under the heading of architectural surveys of standing circuits; Part II considers key archaeological contributions and ranges from Strasbourg to Luxembourg, and includes an excellent review of the defensive sequences at Maastricht (Dijkman, 101–15); Part III focuses on construction and materials and of the three papers here, Lardin (181–95) demonstrates the detailed documentation for the supply and use of wood in defences in eastern Normandy; Part IV links walls with the broad theme of 'urban topography' (basically development of town plans), in which the examples of Perpignan and the well-known La Rochelle are discussed in terms of adaptation to artillery, whilst Elter and Sautai-Dossin (261–8) provide an extremely useful synthesis of the varied sources available to show evolution at Nancy; Part V, has contributions dealing with military conflicts and towns and includes Contamine's (331–43) analysis of the 1428–9 siege of Orléans.

In terms of formats, both volumes are well presented and illustrated (*Les Enceintes Urbaines* has the crisper photographs), and neither is weighed down by excessive references. At almost 700 pages *City Walls* succeeds in presenting a wide and informative range of analyses with much new material to many readers, not just medievalists; Tracy's Introduction also assists, going beyond simple summaries of the contributions. At half the thickness, *Les Enceintes Urbaines* may cover a much tighter timespan and geographical range but here too the varied case studies offer much to digest and particularly demonstrate the rich potential of integrated research.

NEIL CHRISTIE

A History of Settlement in Ireland. Edited by Terry Barry. 16 × 24 pp., 37 figs, 6 pls. London: Routledge, 2000. ISBN 0-415-18208-5. Price: £45.00 hb.

This collection of ten papers results from the twentieth anniversary conference of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement held in Dublin in 1989, an event held to review progress and celebrate achievements over the two decades of the group's existence. The decision to publish these papers was only formally made at the conference, but the subjects and periods covered have been carefully selected in order to provide an overview of settlement spanning 11,000 years from the Mesolithic to the modern day. As such it constitutes a very welcome general multi-period summary and review.

The foreword by Robin Glasscock, founder of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, pays homage to those who have made particular contributions to the study of the Irish historic landscape, professional and amateur alike, and sets the role the group has played in its wider context.

The first period paper by Gabriel Cooney admirably covers the whole of the prehistoric period in a limited space. The paper is an excellent summary of past research combined with the author's own evaluations of current thinking, all up-to-date to the later 1990s, and as such is a very useful overview of the complexities of a period of Ireland's past which is now receiving more attention.

The next paper, by Charles Docherty, seems very different in both approach and source material used, and highlights the disjunction between prehistory and history, commencing as it does with a discussion of the semantics of settlement terms in early Christian written sources, such as the use of 'urbs' to describe settlements in the 6th century. This develops, however, into a cogent discussion of the problems of characterising settlement in the early Christian period and challenges the established views of those such

as Binchy (who championed the Norse) regarding the nature and causes of early Irish settlement nucleation. Stout's paper, also on the early Christian period, calls, like Docherty, for a multi-disciplinary approach to such an opaquely visible period where written law tracts and saints' lives must be used alongside archaeological evidence, but reminds us of the flack that is often faced by those who attempt such study. A review of various historical and archaeological research is followed by the author's own study of the settlement pattern associated with ring-forts.

Terry Barry's paper, like the preceding two, addresses the later first millenium A.D. but also moves the focus forward in time, encompassing as well the Anglo-Norman period. In this clear and cogent paper, he reviews recent archaeological evidence to question the extent to which settlement was widely nucleated even in the Anglo-Norman period, and highlights the varied nature of the largely dispersed Gaelic settlement pattern. The next paper again moves the chronological focus smartly forward (and smartly too up the settlement hierarchical scale), examining the nature and development of urban settlement in the high Middle Ages (here 1100–1350). Brian Graham covers a range of issues, including the processes behind Anglo-Norman urbanisation in Ireland and the form, function and social geography of the resulting towns and boroughs, before reflecting on the enigma of the apparently steadfastly non-urbanised Gaelic regions.

A slight jump in time brings the reader to the paper by John Andrews on the English plantation settlements of the 16th and 17th centuries, when, to somewhat palpable relief, the documentary sources are copious and no longer seemingly at odds with the archaeological. Although hardly something to be proud of, the Anglo-Irish plantation policy has left behind intriguing evidence for settlement planning, and this paper considers the full range of planted settlements from the more familiar towns to the less well-known villages and farms. The next paper, by William Smyth, covers the same period, but focuses on the transformations of the existing settlement pattern and institutions resulting from the English administration, focusing primarily on military, urban and ecclesiastical aspects.

Following papers covering the 18th century down to the present, finally, Anngret Simms provides a thoughtful overview of the changing themes of Irish settlement studies over the preceding three decades and considers the priorities for future research. She identifies the need to seek the meaning behind the pattern of the settlement landscape, rather than merely to study the history of individual settlements in isolation; the problem of identifying continuity and change in the Irish landscape; the need to increase understanding of Gaelic Ireland; to set Irish studies within wider international contexts and to focus on environmental archaeology. Such aims, as she rightly points out, will keep the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement 'busy for a long time to come'. The final pages comprise the bibliography, which has most usefully been collated for the entire volume while, crucially, leaving the individual bibliographies intact at the end of each chapter, allowing maximum use to be made of the reference source they represent. The publisher is to be congratulated on allowing such apparent duplication which expands the book by 35 pages.

Overall, this volume is an excellent review of past work and current outlooks which will be of value both to those who know Irish settlement archaeology well, and to those who wish to acquire a working knowledge of the nature and enigmas of the subject. The way in which it skates rapidly across some periods, in particular prehistory, and dwells lingeringly on others namely the early Christian period and the 16th and 17th centuries is an unavoidable consequence of the work that has been carried out, and does not detract from the volume so much as serve the useful purpose of highlighting lacunae for future attention. The editor is to be congratulated on his perseverance in bringing such a long-overdue publication to press (and one can only imagine the nightmares which must have accompanied this task), and particularly on ensuring that the papers were thoroughly

updated for publication. As such this volume constitutes not so much the proceedings of the original inspirational conference, but an updating of it.

GARENZA LEWIS

Aux Marches du Palais: Qu'est-ce qu'un palais médiéval? Données historiques et archéologiques (Actes du VIIe Congrès internationale d'Archéologie Médiévale). Edited by Annie Renoux. 21 × 30 cm. 290 pp., many figs, maps and pls. Le Mans: LHAM, University of Maine, 2001. ISBN 2-9516981-0-0. Price €32.01 pb.

This series of 22 papers given at the annual International Congress of Medieval Archaeology on 9–11 September 1999, is characterised by prompt publication, uneven presentation (some illustrations are over-reduced, some footnoting does not refer to the pages) and a good deal of repetition. The theme is the vocabulary of terms: how seigniorial and princely residences in northern Europe (A.D. 800–1600) were referred to by their contemporaries. With only occasional stiffening from the archaeological record, a convincing if complicated and indeed confusing kaleidoscope of meaning emerges.

Access analysis, that is to say the spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings as pioneered by Faulkner, Emery and Fairclough in England, now seems to be in full swing in France. De Mérindol, for instance, distinguishes between spaces of 'power' and 'pleasure' reckoning that they can be readily identified from their *décor*, painting and iconography. She claims to have looked at 340 examples. France clearly has a richer corpus of decorative material to draw upon. The hierarchy of levels she notices can be paralleled in North European town halls where ground floors are given over to less prestigious commercial activities. The anxiety of noble families to produce the children necessary for carrying on the dynasty is reflected in the symbols of fertility (ranging from ripe fruit to bedwarmers!) depicted on the walls of the quarters reserved for the queen. It would seem, however, that gender studies, championed by Reading-based Roberta Gilchrist, powered by feminist ideology, has not so far impacted on these authors. Their view of the Middle Ages (as in French society) remains stubbornly man-centred. There is no study of women's quarters here. Michael Jones, in an essay, amusingly entitled 'the naming of parts' discourses on the vocabulary of terms used in largely Celtic Brittany. He thinks there was a difference between a building called a *castrum* or *castellum* and one called a *domus* or *manerium*; the terms *arx*, *palatium* or *dongio* (donjon) are rarely used. Similar problems of nomenclature have been noticed in a recent unpublished thesis by Viragos in Hungary. Here as many as 46 different terms are applied at different times to similar sites. With language so imprecise (part of the trouble is trying to translate the vernacular usage into Latin) it is unsurprising that typologies based on terms are hopeless.

Casset's paper covers 27 residences of the top ecclesiastics of Normandy and grapples with the problem that the terms in her corpus — *aula*, *camera*, *chambres*, *tinel*, *salles* — change in meaning over 300 years. Concentrating on manor houses and their urban equivalent, the hostels, she notes that by the end of the Middle Ages *chambres* (in the plural) have superseded *chambre* in the singular: what was originally the private space vis à vis the *aula* or public area, has been individualised.

Tom Beaumont James takes up the theme of vocabulary and applies it to England. For him the bishops provide the finest early palaces. After Henry I and Henry II (at Westminster and elsewhere), Richard I was too often absent to build front-rank palaces. The magnificent apartments on the upper floors of the Tower of London are compared with those occupied by the Chief Executive on the top of a city commercial tower block. This might work if we had evidence that the White Tower was actually used by the Norman kings. He points the contrast between the magnificent life-style adopted by ecclesiastical potentates in western Europe with the relative penury of the downtrodden

Byzantine episcopacy. The *familiae* of these theoretically celibate households took the place of the abundant royal families (Henry I, for example, had 21 children, two born in wedlock). James traces the increasing ubiquity of the term 'palace'; in the 16th century the term is being sprinkled around to buildings such as St Augustine's Canterbury, which in another age might have been called 'houses' (of the king).

Au contraire Beck et al., in a paper on the residences of the Dukes of Burgundy, shows that the terms *castle* and *hôtel* prevail. Parks and gardens were strategically located near centres of ducal power: after a hard day at court, the duke would rejoin his family in the country. In Anjou and Provence the term *palais* was used interchangeably with *hôtel*. The paper by Bernardi about Papal palaces confirms what one had suspected that the terms *domus*, *hospitium* and *palatium* were used equivalently to describe the same building in accounts written by clerical scribes hying from different parts of France. Plans were lacking in this paper so it was impossible to follow the complexities of the works described.

Salamagne, in his essay, put forward a plausible argument (backed up by Coulson in England) for the increasing symbolism and lack of military effectiveness of many of the 'military' features of late medieval French castles. Arrowloops vastly outnumber archers, who are in turn outnumbered by knights and men at arms. Town walls in England show similar signs: those at Norwich never had a wall walk and the loops are too high for use.

This volume is stronger on semantics than on archaeology. Maybe the French academic tradition glories in logical structure whereas the English pragmatists build slowly on particular examples. The essay by Flambard Héricher on the castle of the Counts of Meulan at Vatteville-la-Rue is of limited value because the excavation was confined to the stone building whereas this ringwork followed by a motte and bailey is likely to have had timber predecessors and/or ancillary buildings such as were found in profusion at Hen Domen but whose presence was fleeting. In a useful bit of revisionism Gai subjected Winkelmann's excavations of Paderborn (1964–77) to a fresh analysis, and concludes that a site visited by Charlemagne nine times, was progressively dominated by ecclesiastical buildings and was abandoned by the imperial court in the 9th–10th centuries.

The most enlightening paper in this packed volume is the last — the result of fruitful co-operation between French academics and English archaeologists. At Mayenne a Carolingian proto-castle, with strong symptoms of *Romanitas* has been meticulously excavated and promptly published. It is seen as a decisively political statement by the disintegrating monarchy desperately trying to rally Neustria to ward off Viking attacks in the west, symbolism allied to military might. Oxford Archaeological Unit has led the way here, it is to be hoped that further cross-channel cross-pollination will follow.

JOHN STEANE

Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries. Edited by Graham Keevill, Mick Aston and Teresa Hall. 22 × 30 cm. 202 pp., many figs, maps, plans and tabs. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001. ISBN 1-84217-047-3. Price: £35.00 hb.

Cloister, Abbot and Precinct in Medieval Monasteries. By Michael Thompson. 17 × 25 cm. 160 pp., 70 figs, maps and plans. Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2001. ISBN 0-7524-1936-6. £16.99, \$27.99 pb.

In Michael Thompson's view, the 'shortness [of these essays] may commend itself to the reader in a field where brevity is at a premium and in a subject that is perhaps best taken in small doses'. The 1994 Oxford conference on *Monastic Archaeology* has resulted in thirteen — more, or less, small — diverse contributions that have been updated to take account of subsequent publications (up to c. 1999). Brief reviews of past approaches to the archaeological study of monastic sites (Graham Keevill) and strategies for future research

and site investigation (Patrick Greene) introduce themes developed in several papers. In the context of Oxfordshire, Graham Keevill considers the extent to which assumptions of what a medieval monastic site looked like influence contemporary attitudes to their archaeological study. This and the return of trial trenching — whose purpose in the early 20th century was establishing the plan, often for display purposes, and which is now known as site evaluation — in place of the larger-scale excavations of the 1980s generate interpretative problems. 'Pieces of patterns' have their limitations; larger-scale fieldwork, particularly excavation, brings about exponential leaps in understanding and interpretability. This is echoed by Glyn Coppack in his examination of the development of archaeological research in the context of conservation and presentation at Fountains Abbey, a World Heritage site on view to 300,000+ visitors each year. Presentation, conservation and public accountability are highlighted in W. Klemperer's review of the Hulton Abbey Project, which began with excavation prior to consolidation and display and increasingly focused on 'outreach': promotion of the results and community involvement, with educational events linked to the national curriculum. Education on abbey sites and the accompanying preparatory school activities are illustrated by examples of analyses of function and plan (the 'typical' abbey again), of standing structures and their possible reconstructions, and of lifestyle (Liz Hollinshead).

Terryl Kinder reflects on the mass appeal of Cistercian sites in France and the management problems posed. Her examples of Pontigny (in a gently sloping valley in Burgundy) and Fontfroide (in the foothills of the Pyrenees) illustrate work at two very different sites, with the focus on the problems of water management and supply, then and now. Monastic water management in Great Britain (James Bond) is a consolidated and updated review of two previous appraisals. This and a second paper by Bond are substantial contributions, making up nearly half the volume. Bond's review of production and consumption of food and drink in the medieval monastery is welcome and combines documentary evidence with (more limited) archaeological evidence. Mick Aston documents the massive expansion of monastic and religious communities across Europe in a 'broad-brush' but extensive survey of the numerous, fully recognised, new orders created in the 11th to 13th centuries. These include the familiar and the less familiar (for example, the Valliscaullians or 'Brethren of Cabbage Valley'), and a case-study of North-East England (Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire) shows what can be done to chart the monastic settlement of an area and so begin to assess the regional and local impact. Since the conference, several case-studies summarised in this volume have been published in detail elsewhere: the development and interrelationship of the Benedictine nunnery and the Saxon and later settlement at Romsey (Ian Scott); the expansion of the church of St Anne's Charterhouse in Coventry (Iain Soden); the post-Dissolution transformation through demolition and/or re-use of former monastic buildings in Hertfordshire (Nick Doggett). This publication (not surprisingly) does not feature today's fashionable themes ('meaning', symbolism, etc), but with its emphasis on public dissemination and community benefit it reflects still current concerns.

Michael Thompson's book is also a collection of (naturally) brief essays: he ranges from descriptions of what today's tourist sees in modern Russia and of the early 4th-century monasteries of St Pachomius in Egypt to the origins and development of the cloister in western Europe, including the plan of St Gall. Then, confining himself to England essentially, Thompson discusses where abbots lived (both within the cloister and outside it, and in manorial residences outside the monastery) and the building of large monastic gatehouses, particularly in the 14th century. This eclectic mix is freely illustrated, but the detail of complex plans and maps reproduced from earlier publications is frequently illegible, which poorly serves the author of previous studies of the medieval hall and bishops' houses.

London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing. (Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 8). By Bruce Watson, Trevor Brigham and Tony Dyson. 21 × 30 cm. xviii + 258 pp., 157 figs, maps, plans and tabs. London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2001. ISBN 1-901992-18-7. Price: £22.00 pb.

This fine volume is really just an excavation report for the very difficult excavations, undertaken in 1983–4, on the Fennings and Toppings Wharf sites on the Southwark riverfront just to the east of the modern London Bridge abutment. It is also, however, much more than that, as its title suggests, and the volume has now become the definitive account of the archaeology and history of the most important bridge in Britain. It is, therefore, a worthy successor of Gordon Home's fine book, *Old London Bridge* (1931), published exactly 70 years earlier. As Professor Nicholas Brooks, the historian of Rochester bridge, writes in his foreword 'We are presented here with a new wonderfully researched and fully integrated interpretation'. The Museum of London Archaeology Service must be congratulated on publishing an exceptional volume, which at only £22.00 is a bargain. The volume draws together all the evidence chronologically in 14 sections, the final one being a series of specialist appendices, which range from dendrochronology and finds reports to a brief interpretation of the evidence for the bridge in the Norwegian Olaf sagas.

After a brief introduction, which summarises the structure of the report and explains the difficulty of excavating the sites in 1983–4, there are two short chapters on the fragmentary pre-Roman and Roman remains on the site and a long chapter on Roman London bridge. Trevor Brigham suggests that the southern end of the Roman bridge (unlike the northern end) was not under the late medieval bridge, but further west, under the 19th-century and modern bridge approach. I am not convinced.

The story moves on to the Late Saxon bridgehead which is considered by Bruce Watson. Here there is a most useful discussion of all the sources, and the author concludes that a new bridge was first built in the very late 10th or early 11th century. He rejects the earlier suggestion that King Alfred rebuilt the bridge some time after 886 (or just possibly Edward the Elder in the early 10th century), but once again I do not find this proven, and would be surprised if Southwark was just built as a southern fort on the Surrey shore, rather than at the southern bridgehead. It is still a possibility that both London and Rochester bridge were rebuilt in timber, in the late 9th century, on the remains of the old Roman bridgepiers.

From about a thousand years ago there is the first of a series of fragmentary waterlogged timber structures that indicate that the southern end of the bridge was on the Fennings Wharf site, and it is dendrochronology that proved the most useful new dating evidence. Only with the start of the work on the new stone bridge in c. 1176, under Peter of Colechurch, is there much firmer ground. The volume then helpfully draws together the archaeological evidence and the wider documentary evidence, and this makes up the heart of the report. There is also a useful chapter on 'the buildings and spaces on the medieval bridge and their use'. This republishes all the visual evidence (as well as having reconstructions by Peter Jackson) and looks at the Stonegate, Drawbridge Gate and the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr (i.e. Becket). There is even a short section on music in the chapel in the later Middle Ages by Richard Lloyd, using the documentary evidence from the Bridge House Rentals (plainsong and polyphonic masses were sung in the chapel by a series of Clerks until it was finally closed in c. 1553). The magnificent documentary evidence from the Bridge House archive is also briefly discussed by Vanessa Harding, and then used by Bruce Watson and Tony Dyson to show how the bridge was maintained with its large workforce. There are also sections on the timber and stone supply, though in the latter section the authors are sometimes muddled about the two principal types of stone used (Kentish Ragstone and Reigate stone) and the sources of this stone. For example, it is stated that 'almost all the stone purchased in the period 1409–1509 came from Kent'. This is incorrect. All the Kentish Rag did come by water from the Maidstone area in Kent, but

the Reigate stone came overland from the underground quarries in the Upper Greensand of Surrey.

The archaeological evidence then continues with the rebuilding of the southern bridge abutment in the later 15th century. Tragically the fine Ragstone ashlar that was uncovered and recorded was then destroyed in the redevelopment.

The volume concludes with a chapter on the later history of the bridge which covers the post-medieval modifications (the famous houses on the bridge were finally demolished in 1758–62), and the final demolition of the bridge, after Rennie's new London bridge was opened in 1831. The northern arch of the old bridge survived until 1921, but then this too was sadly demolished. The last section concludes with a useful listing of all surviving fragments of the old bridge in southern England (Rennie's bridge facing, of course, went to the U.S.A.).

TIM TATTON-BROWN

London Under Ground: The Archaeology of a City. Edited by Ian Haynes, Harvey Sheldon and Lesley Hannigan. 17 × 25 cm. 327 pp., many figs, 4 tabs. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000. ISBN 1-84217-030-9. Price: £35.00 hb.

The last 25 years has seen dramatic developments in our knowledge of London's past. Based on a series of public lectures at London's Birkbeck College in the late 1990s, *London Under Ground* provides a broad survey of archaeological work in the city and its environs from 1970 to the present. Though the volume surveys work from all periods of the city's development, a significant element concentrates on the medieval period and highlights the contribution of archaeology over the last few decades to our knowledge of this formative period in the city's history.

One of the major 'discoveries' of the last few decades was that of Middle Anglo-Saxon *Lundenwic*, to the west of the Roman city. In this volume Robert Cowie considers evidence for the site of *Lundenwic* and the consequent progress of Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon archaeology in the London region to date, including the development of related pottery studies and the early monetary economy of the region. From a slightly different perspective, John Clark examines the role of the Museum of London and the former Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA) in the investigation of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman London, in particular looking at the evidence for the Alfredian city and the elusive *burh* of Southwark.

While continuing the chronological ordering, John Schofield outlines the state of current knowledge on London's secular built environment in the later medieval period and suggests how such knowledge can be built upon (no pun intended) by using a broader set of approaches to the study of such structures such as investigating how civic identity was represented and how urban trade and domestic buildings have changed over time.

Alan Vince presents a broad introduction and overview of the development of pottery studies in the city highlighting the contribution of more laboratory-based methods of pottery analysis including ceramic petrology and chemical analysis. Furthermore, he considers how the study of London's pottery relates to the study of medieval London, in particular examining the dramatic changes that occurred in the second half of the 12th century with changes in supply and pottery types.

Other papers of some relevance to medieval London are papers by Vanessa Harding on the development of mortuary archaeology from the medieval period up until the beginning of the 19th century, while Simon Blatherwick provides an insight into a particular aspect of the archaeology of London's entertainment industry, in this case excavations of the Globe and the Rose theatres. The latter provides a very useful case-study of the various political and commercial problems revolving around the excavation of

a culturally important, but unscheduled, monument. Finally, Jane Sidell considers the contribution of environmental archaeology to the study of London's past, in particular highlighting the role of dendrochronology in the construction of a medieval chronology for the city.

Apart from providing a broad survey of recent archaeological work in London, what these papers also serve to illustrate is the major contribution of commercial archaeological units and the Museum of London in particular. Such valuable work has contributed much to our understanding of the past, though with the rise of competing units (and the increasing 'workhouse environment' of poor wages and insecurity provided for their staff), there are many essential problems. For example, one of the problems highlighted by Vince is the relationship between these essentially competing commercial units; providing an environment of exclusivity where, as yet, there is 'no formal mechanism for ensuring comparability of their data'. This is a particularly testing time for some of the more established units but it is hoped that as such fledgling problems are becoming highlighted they can be dealt with in time, especially with the dramatic evolution of the internet as a resource facility.

In conclusion, these papers present a very good overview of recent work in the study of medieval London's past. My only slight criticism is the lack of any real discussion of London's ecclesiastical past. In the medieval period London had well over a hundred churches in the city alone and perhaps as many as 50 religious houses in the region. Recent excavations and studies have been carried out at some of these sites, in particular St Bride's, Bermondsey Abbey, St Mary Spital, Christchurch Spitalfields, Merton Priory and Holy Trinity Aldgate, to name but a few. This omission aside, this book certainly highlights the major contribution of the last 25 years to the study of London's past and provides a relevant and up to date overview of our current state of knowledge.

SIMON ROFFEY

Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages. (The Transformation of the Roman World 6).

Edited by Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws with Carine van Rhijn. x + 609 pp., some figs, maps, plans and tabs. Leiden: Brill, 2001. ISBN 90-04-11734-2, ISSN 1386-4165. Price: £97.50, €141.00, \$164.00.

The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand. (The Transformation of the

Roman World 11). Edited by Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham. x + 388 pp., 18 maps, plans and pls. Leiden: Brill, 2000. ISBN 90-04-11723-7, ISSN 1386-4165. Price: €99.00, \$122.00 hb.

These substantial collections of articles are further products of the long-running series of workshops organised under the umbrella of The Transformation of the Roman World project. Both books represent the second published output of each research group, with *Topographies* marking a conceptual shift from its predecessor *Rituals of Power* (edited by Theuws and Nelson, 2000), while *The Long Eighth Century* extends chronologically from the *The Sixth Century* (edited by Hodges and Bowden, 1998). Given the length of the present volumes and the number of papers that they contain (19 and 12 respectively), it is only possible to touch upon certain of the archaeological contributions with passing reference to a few of the other papers. At this juncture, it must be said that the overall conceptual value of these books to archaeologists is considerable, especially given the truly interdisciplinary nature of many of the contributions and the varying degree of cross-fertilisation of approaches and ideas that has occurred. Some comments on *Topographies* are offered first. Physical topographies of power, as Chris Wickham notes in his Introduction, are one of the areas where archaeology has dominated and the principal conceptual aim of

the volume has been to forge a link with the documented contemporary 'mentalities' studied by historians. Heinrich Härke considers 'Cemeteries as places of power', which represents a new approach to long studied material and one that other scholars are also currently engaging with (for example, Howard Williams). Härke concentrates on cemeteries, noting that isolated burials are rare, although radiocarbon dating and other discoveries are beginning to indicate that the late 6th and 7th centuries, in England at least, are rather more complex than previously thought in terms of the range and character of the burial repertoire. A number of insightful observations are made, including a reminder that cemeteries do not necessarily *create* 'power of place' but that they may be located at pre-existing powerful sites (a theme current in prehistoric archaeology). Later in the volume Bonnie Effros provides a most interesting series of perspectives on early-medieval reactions to ancient remains in Gaul which has much wider theoretical applications. Students of territorial patterns and, in particular, boundary clauses in Anglo-Saxon charters will find Matthew Innes's contribution on issues Carolingian territoriality of considerable interest and value, particularly his discussion of the 'mark' of Heppenheim and its bounds. Lotte Hedeager's paper on the cosmology of the remarkable site of Gudme on the Danish Island of Funen and its landscape setting should be waved in front of those who work on other periods who consider medieval archaeology to be theoretically dead. While more traditional scholars will find Hedeager's approach a little much to take, it is highly stimulating. Urbańczyk's paper on the Lower Vistula region in the Baltic also provides interesting insights into the patterning and meaning of material culture in that region and beyond.

Moving on to *The Long Eighth Century* there is more of immediate appeal to archaeologists. John Moreland contributes two papers to the book, including a substantial introduction that both reviews and questions characterisations of early-medieval economic structures. He suggests that a broader approach, which takes account of additional media and contexts of exchange, is necessary, along with a good helping of anthropological theory. In a characteristically insightful synthesis, Ulf Näsman focuses on the peripheral nature of the Scandinavian world as a sensitive thermometer of economic change. After a detailed review of the economic pathways involved in long-distance trade, he provides a valuable summary of the current state of knowledge of urban development in Scandinavia before drawing even wider conclusions. Simon Loseby provides a detailed account of the economic history of Marseille through the 7th and 8th centuries based largely on archaeological evidence, although there is a hiatus in the port itself of deposits dating to between the mid-7th century and as late as the 13th century. Loseby also notes the paucity of 7th- to 10th-century archaeology in Provence as a whole, and that refinement in pottery typology may begin to narrow the gap. Alan Walmsley reassesses the nature of trade in the Islamic East Mediterranean, in an attempt to examine the effects of the Islamic dominance of a region formerly on the fringes of the eastern Roman Empire. The failure of many excavation projects to adequately publish Islamic period levels is regretful to say the least. At 80 pages in length, Walmsley's review is a major synthesis of particular value to those who are not familiar with the archaeology of the region, but aware of its role, however distant, from a western European perspective.

In summary, this is an impressive series that more than justifies the workshop approach and shows what can be achieved when scholars actually talk to each other in a frank and open exchange of ideas. Further volumes are eagerly awaited.

Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early-medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp. Edited by Helena Hamerow and Arthur MacGregor. 18 × 25 cm. xii + 180 pp., many figs, maps and pls. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001. ISBN 0-84217-051-1. Price: £35.00 hb.

A work in which a number of the contributors draw attention to the different interpretations that can be given to archaeological material depending on its context prompts the observation that the same may be true of essay collections as well. A *Festschrift* is a rather specialised example of the genre in which the primary impulse is the desire to celebrate the achievements of the honorand. The papers under review were delivered at a gathering in Durham on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Professor Rosemary Cramp and, as they are all written by former pupils who have followed their mentor in becoming specialists on the early Middle Ages, they can be said to have succeeded in drawing attention to the importance of her own contribution to the profession. This is underlined further by the bibliography of Rosemary Cramp's writings compiled by Derek Craig and an affectionate review of her career from Christopher Morris.

But how does this volume fill the broader function of all essay collections — especially from the point of view of consumers — that is the promotion of new knowledge? Here the achievements are not so immediately obvious as only two of the papers draw on material that has not been published before: those of Catherine Hills on ivory rings from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and Nancy Edwards on the early-medieval sculpture of St David's, both very useful and authoritative papers. The others either draw together material previously published in a number of different places (Martin Carver on the politics of early-medieval monumentality), or are further thoughts on sites that have been published already or for which various interim studies have appeared (Peter Hill on Whithorn, Deirdre O'Sullivan on Lindisfarne and Chris Loveluck on Flixborough). Some of the authors express apprehension about how their work will be received by the dedicatee, and recall embarrassing tutorials from the past. But perhaps they need not be too concerned as, although some of the papers may lack the thrill of the completely new, it is valuable to have accounts of so many important early-medieval sites drawn together in one volume, and for authors to have the chance to reflect upon previous studies in the light of new work. Deirdre O'Sullivan has some interesting comments on possible spiritual interpretations of the Lindisfarne landscape following on from recent studies of Iona and St Columba, and Chris Loveluck provides the fullest unravelling to date of the complicated interaction of settlement phases and the deposition of artefacts and faunal remains at Flixborough. However, Peter Hill's second thoughts which see Whithorn as founded by dispossessed Pelagians from the south might earn him a sharp rebuke for being rather too speculative.

Various reflections arise from reading the volume as a whole. One is the emphasis from recent archaeological studies on how diverse early-medieval British culture could be and the demonstration that this was a diversity that did not run just along broad ethnic or political lines, but was the result of more complex local circumstances as Martin Carver discusses in his paper. It was a diversity fed by a wide range of foreign contacts, including links with Gaul and the Mediterranean in the early phases of St David's and a trade route to eastern England via the Rhine from the 6th century that enabled its inhabitants to acquire ivory rings from the tusks of Ethiopian elephants. These are all things that may not be immediately apparent from the written sources, but ultimately the key to understanding early-medieval Britain has to come through a reconciliation of written and archaeological material as Rosemary Cramp has championed and demonstrated through her own work. There are some exciting examples in this volume of where the two disciplines coincide. Lindisfarne has produced evidence for the calves reared to provide the vellum of its surviving manuscripts, while a brief monastic phase, perhaps of a double community, has been identified at Flixborough in the early 9th century — possibly just the type of short-lived arrangement for female religious that historians have recently begun to recognise in

the written record. Interesting hypotheses built upon meticulous archaeological study in a variety of disciplines is the legacy that is presented to us through Rosemary Cramp's former students, and it seems an appropriate testimony to her own high standards of work and to her major contributions to the study of the early-medieval past.

BARBARA YORKE

Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain. By Tim Eaton. 17 × 25 cm. 160 pp., 77 figs, 25 colour pls. Stroud: Tempus, 2000. ISBN 0-7524-1903-X. Price: £15.99, \$27.50 pb.

When should a thesis be published as a widely distributed book? Tim Eaton's new book on the use of Roman *spolia* in the medieval period provides some clues. The successful book-from-a-thesis needs to tackle a problem. In this case Eaton has problematised our desultory discussion about the re-use of Roman stone in the pre-Conquest and pointed to the widely prevalent confusion about the nature of any pre-Conquest quarrying industry. Provocatively, but quite sustainably, he concludes that there is probably no new quarrying at all prior to the late 10th century (133) — all stone he suggests was hitherto derived from Roman ruins.

The good book-from-a-thesis also needs new data, and here Eaton provides us with a really useful, though not complete, list of the locations of re-use of Roman inscriptions (fig. 26). He calls on this list for support throughout the book, and effective he is too, but what a shame that his publisher made such a poor job of laying this long table out for us. Similarly the round-up of examples of Romano-British sculpture re-used in church fabrics, is also most useful — although again incomplete.

A book-from-a-thesis also needs to include new case studies, and Eaton does not let us down here either. There is an excellent study of the acquisition of stone for FitzOsbern's great hall of Chepstow Castle. This is just the sort of study I will be recommending to future students. Previous assessments of the likelihood of stone being brought here from former Roman sites look amateur by comparison and here we are shown how to make such a calculation properly. A similarly impressive trick is turned when demonstrating an almost certain origin of the stone for St Wilfrid's monastery at Hexham at Roman Corbridge. We are even invited to speculate which buildings were being robbed and in what frame of mind — for Eaton is always alive to the symbolism of re-use as well as to functional explanations. Eaton's work at Hexham is clearly only the starting point, however. Evidently there is enough material here for another monograph that will tell us much about Middle-Saxon construction, estate management and Roman Corbridge.

Finally one would wish the book-from-a-thesis to re-assess the established theoretical framework and move the subject on. Eaton does this with an earnest relish. He pulls together a case, which some of us have been making for a considerable time, that Roman stone was not only re-used in the Anglo-Saxon period because it was useful, but also because the stone itself spoke of the appropriation of the Roman past. This is well done, and I have no doubt this is true of many cases. But, no doubt because I represent the prevailing orthodoxy, Eaton feels he has to attack a paper Paul Everson and I produced in the mid-1980s problematising this issue (cited incorrectly in the bibliography, I hesitate to point out). I think Eaton misrepresents what we say about the 'casual' re-use of stone and that, actually, there is little difference between what he is saying and what we said then. Indeed although he claims novel insights into the symbolic re-use of Roman inscriptions in lintels, his argument is exactly paralleled by our (1990) discussion of the symbolic re-use of Anglo-Saxon stones as lintels in later medieval doorways. Even so Eaton has rethought the problem of the mentality of re-use, he has correctly divided function from intention, and produced a more robust theoretical model for our use in future. It think it unlikely,

however, that he will persuade medievalists that *all* re-uses of Roman stone carry with them a symbolic intention.

So is this volume simply a precocious triumph? Well, it is certainly an extremely valuable piece of work and fully justifies publication in this widely accessible format, but there are several worrying scholarly slips. Malton never had an Anglo-Saxon 'Priory' (caption to fig. 12), the place-name *Grimstone* (Dorset) is almost certainly Grim's *tūn*, rather than a reflection of local petrology (110); and I certainly never said that Lincolnshire was a county without good quality building stone (106 — how could I?). A more serious lapse is the credibility Eaton accords (115 etc.) to the problematic article on medieval river navigability by Edwards and Hindle (1991). This paper is a serious stumbling-block to those interested in stone distribution because of its narrow definition of 'navigability' and lack of account of portage, punts or river management through weirs etc. Stone was being moved around the Fenland in punts drawing less than 20 cm, in channels less than 2 m wide, into this century and this must always have been an important method of stone transport. And whilst I'm carping, is the bibliography laid out by chapter solely to irritate, or does it serve some purpose? This seems particularly gratuitous in a book that is tightly written and in which the argument flows comfortably from start to finish.

Such lapses may represent inexperience, clearly a hazard of the book-from-a-thesis, but, as a whole, Eaton's is clear evidence that theses can be successfully published in widely accessible formats. After all, the second edition can always be used to tidy-up minor infelicities.

DAVID STOCKER

San Michele di Trino (VC): Dal villaggio romano al castello medievale. (Ricerche di Archeologia Altomedievale e Medievale 25–26). Edited by M. M. Negro Ponzi Mancini. 3 volumes. 21 × 29 cm. 853 pp., 230 figs & pls.; 5 colour pls; 79 tabs; 16 folded plans. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1999. ISBN 88–7814–153–4. Price: €66.60 pb.

Trino flanks the Po river in the province of Vercelli in NW. Italy (Piedmont). The published excavations concerned the area of the Romanesque church of San Michele, east of Trino (the medieval borgo of *Tridinum*, attested from the 11th century and with 12th- to 15th-century defences), whose location coincides with *Rigomagus*, a road station or *mansio* listed in Roman itineraries, whose toponym persists into the 10th century. The dedication to S. Michele and attestation of a 10th-century parish recommended an early-medieval origin, whilst the site's distinctive polygonal shape (of c. 120 × 90 m), could be related to a defensive cordon documented by 13th-century references to the *castellum Sancti Michaelis* (seemingly in decay from the 1250s).

Therefore, the excavation campaigns of 1980–1 and 1984–94 (building on earlier finds and poorly published trenching between 1965–74) sought to identify a continuous Roman to medieval settlement and material sequence, and to question late-antique changes, early-medieval parish foundation and rural fortification (*incastellamento*). The results are indeed extremely valuable, even if some questions remain only partially answered. The first settlement phases (Phases IIa–IIb) are Roman, extending to the 5th century A.D.; a polyfunctional but productive role is argued, duly connected with a *mansio*. Phase III is preceded by alluvial deposits and marked by 6th- to 7th/8th-century renewal of certain buildings, a new porticoed structure under S. Michele, plus (chiefly infant) burials (implying a first church). Potentially, the excavators argue, this marks a transition to a private rural residence or estate centre with chapel. Far more tangible were Phases IVa–b (from the 8th to 11th centuries A.D.): although stratigraphies were problematic, the excavations revealed a late 10th-/11th-century church and cemetery, domestic and productive structures in stone, tile and timber, plus a defensive enclosure wall with

occasional towers. The wall replaced a palisaded ditch of possible later 10th-century date; two wall phases are noted (although no details were presented on the previously excavated Phase IVb wall on the west flank), with the second period (Phase Va) of 12th-century date — it was unclear if timber and stone defences co-existed. The wall (whose dimensions are not provided, but whose thickness was 0.9–1.1 m) had internal buttresses c. 3 m apart, designed to support a wall-walk (these are discussed on pp. 515–17). In Phase Vb (V.2 in the text) timber buildings were built up against the inner wall face. The format has parallels elsewhere (but not as well studied as Trino) and suggests a sequence of fortification of a seigneurial residence with chapel and workers, to an extended parish role (507–8). The context of fortification is linked less to external threats (e.g. Hungarian incursions) than to struggles between competing local elites and displays of private strength.

The vast bulk of the ceramics recovered were coarse/functional, local wares, prompting detailed fabric analyses (macroscopic, x-ray, chemical). Peculiarly, whilst coverage of the Roman wares is extensive (207–361), the medieval section (363–76) is barely longer than far less relevant late/post-medieval material (377–84). The metalwork reinforces the image of a largely functional (productive/agricultural) medieval site (as opposed to military), with tools, blades, and a full fourteen keys; other finds show weaving as a significant domestic activity.

Briefly to note the contents of the reports: Volume I discusses the documentary and toponymical data for *Rigomagus* and Trino (17–55), then summarises the excavated phases (63–98) and magnetometry survey (56–9), examines the standing church and excavation of its interior (103–37), and reports on building materials (including results from mortar analyses and thermoluminescent dating (137–84)); the final section details the material finds, notably ceramics (185–451) and including the mere ten coins (six Roman, but just one late Roman, and a gap between the mid-4th and later 16th century). Volume II offers comprehensive surveys of Roman to medieval settlement sequences and types in Piedmont and beyond (453–573); finds and food are contextualised fully in sections dealing with natural resources with an extremely valuable review of palaeobotanical and sedimentological data relating to climate, woodland and agriculture (577–652); finally the cemetery and its population are examined in excellent (and readable) depth (655–755). The texts are supported by Volume III — sixteen folded drawings (most of A1/2 dimensions) of site and cemetery plans and sections. A few faults can be observed: the results of the earlier excavations are not addressed adequately (e.g. with regard to the western stretch of circuit wall, dated earlier than other sections); more (or larger and better labelled) illustrations were needed in the Excavations section in Vol. I, plus clearer, small-scale phase plans — Vol. I lacks any simplified phase plans (reliance is on the foldout plan G, or on fig. 173 in Vol. II); disappointingly, there are no efforts at reconstructions of the buildings and defences; finally, it was not always clear to this reader what Trino was, especially in the Roman, late-antique and early-medieval epochs: the discussion on rural settlement types in Vol. II included, yet sometimes obscured, the S. Michele site. These problems aside, these volumes provide a fascinating image of continuity yet change; further, they reflect the value of systematic research excavation in enhancing our knowledge of the early and later medieval Italian landscape.

Aberdeen. An In-depth View of the City's Past: Excavations at Seven Major Sites Within the Medieval Burgh. (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series 19). Edited by Alison S. Cameron and Judith A. Stones. 22 x 30 cm. vi + 336 pp., 15 colour pls, 205 figs, 29 tabs. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland with Historic Scotland and Aberdeen City Council, 2001. ISBN 0-903903-19-9. Price: £44.00 hb.

This volume brings together the results of seven excavations in Aberdeen carried out between 1978 and 1993. It is the second SAS Monograph to be devoted to Aberdeen excavations; the first was Monograph No. 2 in 1982. This monograph reports the excavations as a transect across the medieval burgh. This imaginatively maximises on the potential of drawing the sites together rather than publishing them separately which would have diluted their impact, not least because they represent development led rather than research driven opportunities. The spatial awareness displayed in connecting the sites also helps to reflect the cognitive geographies of medieval Aberdonians, who clearly understood and so exploited the geography of their environment. The report's chronological depth emphasises this further. It spans the Mesolithic to the 20th century, a sound recognition that to understand a place fully one cannot confine interest to a single period.

The monograph then has a generally integrative tone. The sites are reported individually but in a particular order, helping to reflect the development of the town. Each site report includes an excellent triptych map, combining the location map of today, beside the relevant section of the Parson Gordon map of 1661 (the earliest town plan) and then the excavated area set against the interpretation of Gordon's map. The site reports are followed by a section dealing with Aberdeen's rich medieval documentary archive, deliberately placed after the site reports in recognition that it is to be taken in tandem with the archaeology but not as a pre-determining framework. The pottery, small finds and environmental reports follow, in that order. Finally the strands are drawn together in a wide-ranging conclusion encompassing: pre-medieval land use (notably from the Mesolithic); the increased potential for understanding the earlier medieval settlement; the development of the town's districts and architectural elements; industrial activities; regional and international contacts; daily life and a look towards future developments.

The finds reports are detailed and informative but are conventionally structured by material rather than function, despite the advantages of the latter demonstrated in recent years by medieval finds work in York, London, Winchester, Norwich and Amsterdam. The conventional approach keeps apart groups of material rather than more closely integrating them to help assess aspects of life in the town. Thus a ceramic vessel and a stone mortar were both found to contain residues, analysis of which suggested use in dyeing and/or tanning operations. The report on this in the environmental section rather than more fully integrated with the relevant ceramic and stone reports. More generally, the tables summarising the archaeological and historical evidence at the end of each site report on the whole make scant reference to the finds.

The text format of the monograph is hierarchical. This is a sound approach but has perhaps led to the inclusion of some unnecessary detail. Thus the environmental report includes seven pages of tables giving plant and beetle names, perhaps better suited to an accessible archive. The monograph's general format is also a little puzzling: it is landscape rather than A4/portrait. This is a rare format in archaeological publication and one rarely popular with readers. Its use for this monograph sets it apart from archaeological books generally, SAS Monographs and the previous Aberdeen volume in particular.

The illustrations are generally excellent, insightfully combining black and white photographs, colour plates, maps (including 3-dimensional contour maps) and drawings. The series of pseudo-medieval line drawings meant to reflect people living in the town added little however and seem to be heavily skewed to male gender roles. The use of Jan Dunbar's watercolour impression of Aberdeen in the late 15th century was a useful visualisation but I counted, with difficulty, only a dozen people in its broad vista taking in

the whole town, its harbour and its surrounding countryside. Archaeology is about people and this gives the impression that 15th-century Aberdeen was deserted.

There are errors in the bibliography and the referencing, which though small still undermine the hard work that has clearly gone into the book. Thus there seems to be some confusion between 'Cameron, forthcoming' and 'Cameron, in prep.' There are also incomplete entries for 'Caldwell 1978, clay pipes' and 'Tatman 1994, clay pipes' along with a spelling, a place of publication and spacing errors.

That there are such errors is unfortunate, that I have disagreed with aspects of the monograph though is healthy and neither should detract from what is a significant and comprehensive publication of excavations in Aberdeen. It is a fitting companion to its predecessor and the two make an essential case study of a particular medieval urban environment, of Europe-wide relevance. This monograph is also laudably reflective, notably evidenced by colour plate 1 (a photograph framed by a window looking on to on-going excavations) and the concluding remarks on research and interpretation. It is made clear that the monograph has to take its place alongside archiving, conservation, on-going research, display, talks, and school-focused initiatives. In so doing it makes an eloquent plea for a permanent display space in which to present medieval Aberdeen to the public. This volume then is both a valuable record of excavations carried out and an advocacy document for a long overdue development.

MARK A. HALL

Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective. (Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology 3). Edited by Ian Wood. 18 × 25 cm. 481 pp., many figs, maps and tabs. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998. ISBN 0-85115-723-8. Price: £50.00 hb.

This was the third of the conference proceedings produced under the auspices of CIRSS, based at San Marino and organised by the anthropologist Giorgio Ausenda. Those familiar with the earlier volume on the Anglo-Saxons, edited by John Hines, will know the format: papers, sometimes of some length, followed by a verbatim reporting of the discussion between the participants. At first I found the discussion irritating: do we really need the reminders about time limits, or the weak (and at times incomprehensible) jokes, which are sometimes usefully signalled by '[laughter]'? But I soon began to appreciate the discussions as giving us a real insight into the academic discourse of early-medievalists, into the concerns and personalities of the participants, and into the very real differences of interpretation that still exist. There were nevertheless aspects of the presentation that I thought inappropriate. There were several occasions where participants made errors in their papers, which were subsequently pointed out in discussion. Those who read only Hans Hummer's introductory paper on Franks and Alamanni, for instance, might believe him when he says (12) that Anglo-Saxon type fibulae were found in the grave of the Frankish King Childeric (A.D. 481/2); it is not until page 30 that Damminger corrects him. Sometimes these errors were *not* corrected in the discussion; sometimes errors were made in discussion, or participants were recalling texts inaccurately, without, apparently, having the opportunity to correct these errors before publication. The final section, on current issues and areas of future research, was totally unreferenced, and occasionally made allusions which could and probably should have been footnoted; it would have made that section more valuable. These problems all reduce the value of this book to those who are not familiar with this period or with the Franks themselves; but perhaps all that needs to be stressed is that this is not really a book to be used by the newcomer. Those who are acquiring familiarity with the period — new Ph.D. students, for instance — and who want an ethnographic perspective on that strange tribe of barbarians known familiarly as 'early-medievalists' will however find it an invaluable guide to their customs and rituals, and

those who work in the period will find it extremely useful (and will appreciate the relatively detailed index).

Perhaps inevitably, the book did not provide, as promised, 'an ethnographic perspective'; it provided several different ones, and from a variety of different disciplines and approaches. There were only two straight archaeological contributions — Folke Damminger on settlement archaeology in South-West Germany and its environs, and Frank Siegmund on the hoary question of social structures and social relations as revealed by the cemetery evidence — both of which were welcome additions to the small but growing literature about Merovingian archaeology in English. But archaeology figured in contributions from Guy Halsall (in discussion, and in his paper on social identity, which drew on but went beyond his book on the archaeology of Metz), and Simon Loseby, whose familiarity with the urban archaeology of Gaul lent a lot of weight to his discussion of 'Gregory's cities'. What might interest archaeologists even more however — not least that little community interested in the problems of Sutton Hoo — is Matthias Hardt's paper on 'Silverware in early-medieval gift exchange: *imitatio imperii* and objects of memory'. This brings together all the literary evidence for the gift of gold and silver dishes and all the archaeological evidence, offering plenty of material for a discussion which ranged widely through the historical and anthropological study of 'the gift'. But even a paper which seems to sit rather oddly in a conference on the Franks and Alamanni, in that it dealt at some length with material from England and from Italy, is one that would interest archaeologists who are concerned with the exploration of social relations in early-medieval Europe. This is Mayke de Jong's paper on incest legislation. The incest itself, of course, is not the point of interest; it is with the legal definition of the extent of the kinship group that incest legislation is concerned: a serious bone of contention between the Church and the various post-Roman societies within which the Church operated. By the time that this series has worked its way through Europe — English and Visigothic volumes have already appeared, and the Scandinavians, the Continental Saxons, the Ostrogoths and the Langobards are all in the pipeline — this series will offer an excellent conspectus on the state of work on the post-Roman peoples of Europe.

EDWARD JAMES

Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe. (Studies in the Early History of Europe Series).

Edited by Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr. 16 × 24 cm. xiv + 386 pp., 31 figs, 10 maps. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2001. ISBN 0-7185-0231-0. Price: £75.00 hb.

Of the three key players in early-medieval England, both Wessex and Northumbria have received significant scholarly attention in recent years, yet Mercia has lacked a substantial overview since *Mercian Studies* edited by Ann Dornier was published in 1977. The importance of Mercia as an early-medieval kingdom is manifold, not least its role as the pre-eminent English kingdom during what is arguably still one of the murkiest of periods, at least in archaeological terms. Mercia's domination of much of southern and eastern England during the later 8th century, close relations with the Carolingian world and the apparently early development of towns are among its more immediately notable aspects and each of these topics is covered in the present volume alongside a wide range of further issues and debates. The approach is multidisciplinary and the contents are divided into five parts — The Mercian Polity: Church and State; Parallel Cultures; The Material Culture of Mercia; The Visual Culture of Mercia; and Mercia in Retreat — with a total of 22 papers overall, including the editors' Introduction. While the entire contents will be of relevance to those working on various aspects of the period, the archaeological contributions will be of greatest interest to readers of this journal.

David Parsons's essay in Part I is the first to deal with archaeological material in his consideration of location and character of churches, noting as he does the absence of surviving fabric from the earliest phase of Christianity in Mercia. The nature of transition from 'pagan' to Christian burial is considered, but without reference to the increasing number of unfurnished non-churchyard burial sites, which are increasingly indicative of the failure of the traditional Final Phase model as an explanation of changing patterns of burial during the conversion period. The review of the archaeological evidence for church sites is, however, timely and highlights just how much excavation could advance existing knowledge. Part III is largely a solid chunk of archaeological synthesis, with Martin Welch providing a long-needed overview concentrating on the North Midlands from the end of the Roman period to the Danish conquest. Welch argues strongly in favour of the migration paradigm as an explanation of culture change during the 5th and 6th centuries. Although certain scholars will find this view hard to accept, Welch marshals a significantly greater breadth of justifications and draws closer attention to chronology than one usually encounters in discussions of this complex issue. There is overlap with Parsons's consideration of high-status barrow burials, but the synthesis of the settlement evidence is informative and useful. It is of interest that the rural settlements excavated on any scale (Catholme and Raunds) demonstrate locational continuity and contrast sharply with the widely applied 'Middle Saxon shift' model. Della Hooke provides a masterly synthesis of the evidence for landscape and environment working with the charter material that she knows so well in combination with a range of other sources, both documentary and archaeological. She argues convincingly that open fields are a response to estate fragmentation, but also notes that settlement nucleation was a long and drawn-out process that began perhaps in the mid-8th century and was still ongoing in the 11th century. A chronological mapping of land grants followed by a characterisation of the landscapes within them is surely the next step. David Hill's contribution on frontiers sits rather oddly in a section on material culture and would have been better swapped around with Parsons.

Succeeding papers deal with market centres and towns (Alan Vince), London (Robert Cowie) and Mercian coinage (Gareth Williams). Vince provides an insightful and wide ranging discussion of trading centres and the networks that connected them. In a clear and unambiguous fashion, Vince outlines the catalysts for urban development (ecclesiastical centres, royal and élite residences, coastal and riverine settlements) and this is a discussion which should be placed on undergraduate reading lists as it has a remit beyond the scope of the book. The difficulties of interpreting Middle Anglo-Saxon archaeology revealed in places where we know there were towns by the later Anglo-Saxon period is stressed and echoes remarks made by John Williams in 1984 when discussing the archaeology of Northampton. Cowie's discussion of London contains much that is published elsewhere in summary form, but it is of value nevertheless in this context given Mercian influence on London. It is regrettable that there are no plans, particularly of the more recent excavations of Middle Anglo-Saxon London. Succeeding contributions are largely art-historical, although Jane Hawkes places her material (sculpture) in a social context, whilst Leslie Webster's paper 'Metalwork of the Mercian Supremacy' gets to grips with patterns of distribution of different styles as well as providing a detailed commentary on the latest thinking about the design and decoration of the objects themselves. The paucity of illustrations is the principal reservation about the book as a whole. The extraordinarily high price will encourage the more casual reader to place the volume back on the bookshop shelf rather than take it home with them. Overall, this is a much needed volume and both the editors and contributors are to be congratulated for bringing together such a wide range of sources and materials into what will remain a major source of reference for Mercian studies for years to come.

Sheaths and Scabbards in England, A.D. 400–1100. (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 301). By Esther A. Cameron. 21 × 30 cm. xiii + 237 pp., 80 figs. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000. ISBN 1-84171-065-2. Price: £35.00 pb.

This book sets out to describe and classify a category of object that the author characterises on page 1 because of overwhelmingly poor survival as ‘almost intangible’. Scabbards are here defined as rigid blade covers of whatever size re-enforced internally with wood, while sheaths are all those lacking wood and therefore flexible. The equally essential terms ‘knife’, used of implements thought to be primarily for domestic purposes, and ‘seax’ are differentiated by length, 179 mm being chosen for the changeover in these terms (this information is delayed until p. 49). A detailed listing of scabbards and sheaths, along with details of any remains of accompanying implements, occupying over 50 pages, is numbered in the order in which the objects were examined by the writer (those not considered ‘significant’ — an attribute that does not seem to be defined or further discussed, but presumably too scrappy for detailed comments — are omitted). Overall, 351 numbered items are described, some 50 of which are from Coppergate in York, with sizeable series also from London and various Kent sites. A further 30 sheaths from Snape cemetery are for some reason separated into Appendix 4. Nineteen categories, some based on form or other attributes but some on the date suggested, are recognised. Exhaustive details of the appropriate items are drawn together and discussed under these headings.

The basic, numbered listing order chosen makes some aspects of this study more difficult to follow and assimilate than would have been the case with a catalogue raisonné. This reviewer tried at random to follow up No. 326, a ?10th-century sword with scabbard recovered from the *late* medieval filling of the town ditch at Bath (the curious dating anomaly, with its implicit difficulties for the survival of organic materials, is not discussed) — but is it illustrated? It does not *seem* to be, but as this information is not given in the listing there is no obvious way of working this out without going through the figures, ordered according to the nineteen categorisations and trying to spot the relevant one in the right caption. Number 326, after listing in the first concordance under county and in the second under holding institution, is under ‘sword scabbard covers of leather of the 8th to 11th centuries’ in the third concordance — which as a heading might have been a helpful starting point in a catalogue raisonné. There is some discussion of typological matters within entries (e.g. p. 66 — Category A, Type A1, etc.) but no central discussion of these matters. The category headings are not always simple and do not give much guidance for an overall picture. The drawings, the order of which corresponds with the discussion categories, are collated, but as they do not accompany the discussion, this dislocation means a lot of page-turning is needed to get to everything relevant to a single object. Three previously published scabbards of appropriate date from London,¹ here nos. 144–5 and 151, took this reviewer more time to track down than they might — not least as they are assigned to ‘Vince 1991’ in the text, though Pritchard is in the bibliography. This is not the only instance of a lack of joined-up cross referencing. The bead with item No. 303 has the diameter and colour noted, but the one with no. 302 has neither. There are several minor inconsistencies which the detailed enquiry may fall foul of, though perhaps this is not surprising in such a complicated study.

The writer’s background is in conservation, and this preoccupation comes over strongly in much of the text (the study is described at the onset as ‘predominantly technical in character’). The prominence of the discussion of the properties of materials, which holds at least an equal position to considerations of form, typology and decoration, may have the effect of deterring some readers who seek guidance simply on the artefactual side. Much more could be made, for instance, of the development of decoration on the leather (the

¹ F. Pritchard, 1991, ‘Small finds’, 120–278 in A. G. Vince (ed.), *Aspects of Saxon and Norman London II: Finds and Environmental Evidence* (London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 12), 211–12.

overwhelming preoccupation of earlier commentators), the potential of which is tantalisingly suggested by the Coppergate finds in figure 61. Little more than the presence of ornament is noted in the listing section. It would have been helpful to many readers to have the leather creasers found at York illustrated (noted on p. 5). While it is certainly useful to learn that the woods used for sheaths were mainly willow/poplar, followed by alder, wood's properties for turning and bending are also considered without the relevance of this to the basic subject in hand being clear. Chapter 4 is an extended excursus on the hitherto ill-defined *cuir bouilli*, which may or may not have been used to hold blades in the period in question. So much in this particular chapter is speculative, again including the degree of relevance to sheaths and scabbards, that this might have been better as an appendix. Conservators are undoubtedly well catered for by this volume and this review does not seek to accuse this volume of failing to be what was not intended, but some prominent indication of this emphasis in a subtitle might save general readers from a twinge of disappointment. The standard of the drawings is varied. The image on the cover and frontispiece is over-reduced. Many of the patterns on the scabbards are highly complicated, despite which there are a number of good illustrations, so it seems a pity to have one of the less clearly defined ones so prominent.

One does not envy the author in electing to deal with what has turned out to be a very difficult subject. The study of Saxon-period sheaths and scabbards has undoubtedly been advanced in many specific ways by the great amount of work that must have gone into drawing so much information into this detailed study. A considerable proportion of the listed items were previously unpublished, and on this basis alone the effort breaks new ground. Nevertheless, it must be said (given the author's initial stated aims of describing and classifying, even if this is within a predominantly technical treatise) that information is not always as well presented as it might be, making uphill work for conservators and non-conservators alike. The newcomer to the subject and many users more interested in particular details will have to struggle with a lack of joined-up cross referencing, alongside other difficulties that have arisen from basing the central listing on a criterion that was bound to be haphazard. Most of the problems could have been solved by tight editing, but as for some other recent BAR volumes, that is conspicuously lacking here.

GEOFF EGAN

West Stow Revisited. By Stanley West. 21 × 29 cm. vi + 81 pp., 23 figs, 62 pls, 38 tabs. Bury St Edmunds: Bury St Edmunds Borough Council and West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village Trust, 2001. ISBN 0-9541747-04. Price: £10.00 pb.

The excavation of West Stow, Suffolk, was a turning point in the study of early Anglo-Saxon settlements. Rescue excavations began in 1965 directed by Stanley West, following small-scale investigation by Vera Evison between 1957 and 61, and continued until 1972. In 1972 the Borough Council developed the area as a Country Park with a wish to preserve the archaeological site. Stanley West suggested that a project should be developed to test, by practical experiment, the viability of his hypothetical reconstruction of a sunken-featured building (SFB) or *Grubenhäuser*. On the basis of the detailed structural, stratigraphic and finds evidence he argued that these were sophisticated ground-level buildings that had planked floors above the pit. This has not been unanimously accepted and opinions have been divided between this and their traditional interpretation as sunken hut-dwellings. However, this reviewer's recent Ph.D. study of *Grubenhäuser* in Anglo-Saxon England has shown that the majority of the archaeological evidence fits more easily with West's hypothesis, although certain aspects of his interpretation are also problematical. The reconstructions at West Stow have demonstrated that SFBs could have been constructed with suspended or cavity floors.

In a short introduction Stanley West describes his own background in Archaeology, which helps the reader to understand his approach to the excavation. The first part of this new book gives a detailed summary of the excavation and restates Stanley West's original interpretation. It is very similar to that presented in the original report published by East Anglian Archaeology (24) in 1985 (which has been out of print for at least five years). The discussion in the first three chapters begins with a short summary of the occupation sequence and is followed by a discussion of the buildings, chronology and settlement organisation. The account is supplemented with a large number of photographs of the excavations, with many detailed images of SFBs during excavation — a welcome addition as the original report lacked much photographic evidence. However, there are a large number of tables, figures and other distribution plots, many of which are unnecessary and serve only to interrupt the discussion. This sets the background for the second part of the book, which discusses the reconstructions.

The second half (Chapters 4–6) is where the real importance of this book lies. After 26 years of reconstruction, this is the first detailed account by Stanley West of the work that has taken place. It is clearly written in language that does not require any great previous knowledge of the structural terminology but which conveys his detailed knowledge and practical experience of reconstruction. Chapter 4 gives the background behind the programme of reconstructions. In particular, he makes clear that the project has been a planned progression of development rather than an attempt to produce an immediate and ideal solution, which is important and has been overlooked by some commentators. The philosophy has been to test his interpretation using the simplest technology and then to progress to more developed reconstructions, while maintaining the integrity of the evidence.

Chapter 5 is a catalogue of the buildings in sequence of reconstruction. There is a concise description as well as a diary of repairs and amendments to each building. It is very well illustrated with a large number of photographs. In Chapter 6 there is a short summary discussion of some of the main findings. The results have important implications regarding woodworking techniques and structural details, the rate of decay and amount of maintenance, as well as management of resources for building materials. The book finishes with a critical response to the traditional interpretation of *Grubenhäuser* as sunken-floored buildings (a term which has, through misuse, also become synonymous with SFB) and, in particular, Martin Welch's discussion of buildings in his *Anglo-Saxon England* (1992).

This book is written for the popular audience and provides a useful interpretative, but in places over-detailed, summary of the excavation and an important discussion of the experimental reconstructions, for a reasonable price. Overall, it will appeal both to the interested visitor to West Stow and a wider archaeological audience.

JESS TIPPER

Kuml og haugfél úr heidnum síð á Íslandi. By Kristján Eldjárn. 2nd ed., revised by Adolf Friðriksson. 17 × 24 cm. 615 pp., 396 figs, maps and tabs. Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 2000. ISBN 9979-3-2107-5. Price: IKR 6,132.

This is a revised edition of the Ph.D. thesis of Kristján Eldjárn, the former head of the National Museum and President of Iceland, first published in 1956, with amendments and additions by Adolf Friðriksson. The most important addition for readers of this journal is the 61-page English section written by Friðriksson. Eldjárn's study is a pioneering work on Icelandic archaeology, which deals with heathen graves and grave goods known up to the year 1955 and their wider context. The main body of the book is a listing of graves and their contents, artefacts and bones, both human and animal. But Eldjárn also attempts a comprehensive picture of Icelandic heathen burial customs and puts the graves and their

contents into a Scandinavian context. He offers a thorough discussion of individual types of artefacts and of the development of Scandinavian art styles in the Viking Period with special reference to the Icelandic material found in graves and elsewhere. And in the concluding chapter he uses the information provided by the graves as the basis for an interpretation of the origin of the Icelanders. The fact that artefacts found in heathen graves provide a major part of the archaeological evidence for the initial settlement of Iceland — the country was settled in about A.D. 870, and Christianity, which ended the practice of leaving grave goods, was adopted in about A.D. 1000 — has meant that Eldjárn's book has served as a major reference work for early Icelandic archaeology.

The editor's aim in producing this new edition is threefold: to update the list of heathen graves, to maintain interest in the topic, and to make this valuable but long out-of-print volume available to a new generation. These aims have been met, and in this new edition we have a list of all grave finds up to the year 2000. There is, on the other hand, no attempt to update our knowledge of Scandinavian burial archaeology and how the work carried out in this field over the past 45 years reflects on the Icelandic material. Nor does the new edition add much to our understanding of heathen graves in Iceland. A thorough reworking of the material would, indeed, have required much more research and a new book. It is a pity, nonetheless, that with the considerable increase in illustrations the editor did not use the opportunity to turn the coverage of the objects, the main content of the book, into a well organised catalogue and thus make this important material more easily accessible.

The English section is only in part a direct summary of the Icelandic text. The list of graves contains the barest minimum of information on grave condition and content and a spot check revealed a number of inaccuracies. It can therefore only be used as an indication of the contents of the graves. For more detail readers must revert to the Icelandic text. Most of the English section is in fact the editor's summing up of the material presented in the book, starting with a brief introduction to Icelandic archaeology and to the way the book is laid out, followed by an overview of distribution, location and types of grave (mound, boat grave etc.), and a brief analysis of skeletal material, numbers and types of objects found. No summary is given of the chapter on Scandinavian art styles.

There is a considerable increase in the number of illustrations in the new edition — 396 as compared to 194 — and in most instances they are an improvement on the old ones. Not all the material is illustrated, however, and it is not clear on what basis it has been chosen. Many of the illustrations are too small-scale to show any detail of the objects and some are produced with heavy shadows that spoil the overall effect. A cross-reference between the objects in the photographs and the descriptions in the text would have been useful. Even more useful for non-Icelandic readers would have been English captions for the illustrations, and the omission of a list of illustrations, included in the old version, is most regrettable. An addition to the first edition is a number of drawings of objects, some of which are excellent, although too many are inaccurate. A great improvement, however, is the distribution maps which are very well produced.

Eldjárn's book remains the most important reference work on Icelandic archaeology, and Friðriksson's new edition is to be welcomed. However, a good opportunity was missed to make the material more accessible, particularly to non-Icelandic readers, something which has been called for ever since the first edition appeared.

GUDRÚN SVEINBJARNARDÓTTIR

The Evolution of the Fishing Village: Landscape and Society Along the South Devon Coast, 1086–1550. (Leicester Explorations in Local History 1). By Harold Fox. 14 × 21 cm. xviii + 208 pp., 26 figs, 6 tabs. Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2001. ISBN 0-904920-43-7. Price £13.50 pb.

The production of crops and the raising of stock lies at the heart of the study of rural economic history. Research in the last decade or so has made it increasingly clear that numerous other activities were also practised in the countryside. The work of farming did not preclude small-scale industrial activity, including textile production, the gathering of natural products, such as nuts from the woodland, and even fishing. It was possible to fit such work in around the agricultural calendar. But though these activities may have been locally important for the peasant communities, they have left relatively little trace in the documentary record, and even less archaeological evidence. As a consequence, there have been relatively few studies of medieval fishing, and particularly of the practice based, not on the major ports, but on minor landing places along the coast. The present work is the first full-length publication which examines the contribution of coastal fishing to a local economy.

The title of the Fox's book makes clear that his primary interest is not in the fishing industry as such, but its significance for the pattern of settlement. Few settlements were to be found on the coast in the medieval period, unless they were ports whose economies were based on the shipping of goods. This does not mean that the coastline was unfrequented. Fish were caught not only from boats, but also in fixed nets and traps situated on the foreshore. Shellfish were gathered, gulls and puffins were trapped, salt was manufactured from brine, items from wrecks were sought out and the unidentified material described 'sea coal' was collected at Budleigh Salterton. More significant than any of these was the local custom of collecting beach sand to spread on inland fields to improve the soil texture and reduce acidity. This was practised on a very large scale and was probably responsible for the numerous tracks linking small coves to nearby settlements.

The study of fishing farmers and their activities forms the heart of this book. Fox argues that fishing villages were not established in Devon until the end of the 15th century. Before that date fishing was undertaken as a by-employment by farmers who also grew crops, raised cattle and sheep, managed their hives and kept orchards. Fishing was only one element among many which produced products for sale and for the table. Fishing was not even practised on a large scale. The cost of boats and nets was often divided between a number of 'associates', many of whom would have lived some miles from the coast. The fishing gear and the boats were kept close to the shore in sheds, known as 'cellars', although they were ground-level buildings. These storage buildings clustered together on pieces of waste between suitable lengths of the shore and the fields. Fox lays out the material remains which could be expected to survive from these sites. It is almost a blueprint for archaeological investigation. The late medieval cellar buildings were sufficiently large to accommodate boats which he suggests were pulled into them when out of use. The examples which survived to be sketched in the 19th century were single-storey buildings without windows, built either of timber, cob or slatestone and with thatch roofs.

The population of Devon appears to have started to recover from its post-plague nadir around 1480 and the new, often landless, population found homes in the places on the coast where there had been just storage buildings. New cottages were constructed and permanently occupied villages developed, sometimes with their own chapel. The new inhabitants were full-time fishing families, and the practice of part-time fishing by inland farmers declined.

This rich study opens up numerous lines of enquiry, not only about South Devon, but the English countryside more generally. Some of these issues are discussed by Fox, but one other may be outlined here. Too often our perspective on medieval rural life has been conditioned by more recent experience of farming. The cultivation of fields and the raising

of animals were only some of the means by which the richness of the countryside could be exploited. The gathering of wild plants and fruit, and the snaring and hunting of animals, both where it was permitted and where it was not, were other means. The sea and the seashore were to the medieval peasant merely different environments with varied resources which could be profitably gathered or produced. There is no evidence that such an eclectic approach necessarily represents a society under stress: it could be viewed, in Fox's words, as 'bucolic abundance'. Activities such as fishing should not be considered a curiosity: an interesting, but thoroughly marginal activity. They were, as the remarkable surviving tithe accounts of Woodbury seem to show, integral to late medieval rural life. The real problem for the medieval archaeologist and historian is to find the evidence for the numerous resources which were produced in the countryside.

To open up new insights not merely into fishing activity, but also in a range of other issues, including the impact of the Hundred Years' War on coastal communities, the character of settlement development and the nature of employment, is a significant achievement. There is much to reflect upon here.

MARK GARDINER

Fortification and Settlement in Crusader Palestine. (Variorum Collected Studies Series 675). By Denys Pringle. 23 × 31 cm. x + 334 pp., 137 figs. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. ISBN 0-86078-819-9. Price: £75.00 hb.

The transformation of crusading studies over the last quarter of a century is now well known. One of its most important elements has been the growth in the study of the society created by the Latins in the East and its relationship to existing peoples and institutions: in short, investigation into the totality of the cultural milieu of Palestine and Syria in the 12th and 13th centuries. Denys Pringle is one of the most distinguished contributors to this subject, most importantly in his *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* and in the three-volume *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (two have appeared, the third is imminent). The twelve studies reprinted here reflect the work which underpins these volumes. They are divided into three parts, the towns (three articles), the rural settlements (four articles) and the castles (five articles), and they show the great value of using documentary, topographical and archaeological evidence in combination. Thus, the articles include maps, plans, photographs and statistical lists, as well as making extensive reference to both contemporary documentary evidence and the written accounts of those who have visited the sites since and observed remains no longer extant. Bringing these articles together not only makes accessible some pieces to be found in publications not readily available in most university libraries, but it also enables the author to present them in a manner which shows their interrelationship, so that each of the three sections begins with a more general survey, followed by detailed case histories of particular towns, settlements or specific items of archaeological evidence.

The first article on the towns provides a context by defining what is meant by a town in this region and by analysing the main urban places that are known to have had fortifications. One of these was, of course, Jerusalem, the subject of the second article, where Pringle creates a strong sense of the atmosphere of the 12th-century city which, lacking the economic imperative of a port like Acre, was a place of churches, houses, hotels, hospitals, shops, restaurants and local markets. The third study focuses even more tightly on the interpretation of an inscription upon a specific stone which records Richard I's rebuilding of the walls of Ascalon during the Third Crusade in the early months of 1192. This identifies the supervisor as Philip of Poitiers, Richard's chamberlain and, after the drowning of Roger Malcael, the royal vice-chancellor, in April 1191, his most important official on the crusade. Taken in conjunction with the other documentary and

archaeological evidence, the implications of this become clear, for the huge amount of effort and expense which went into the work 'helps explain why Richard was so loath to agree to its demolition later in the same year'. Ultimately no agreement with Saladin was possible until this was done, but the reasons for Richard's obduracy on this point despite the urgent need for a peace, become very understandable.

The articles on rural settlement are similarly preceded by a contextual piece. Once thought relatively rare, recent research suggests a much greater degree of settlement in certain areas of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. However, Pringle underlines the problems of, on the one hand, drawing conclusions from maps on which it is all too easy for 'possibles' to harden into 'certainties' and, on the other, assessing densities on the basis of absolute certainties only. This short and reflective essay provides an effective framework for the detailed studies of the villages of al-Jib, ar-Ram, al-Bira (Magna Mahumeria) and Burj Bardawil. All these are within an area north of Jerusalem which related closely to the city itself and is now known to have been quite extensively settled by the Franks. The investigation into al-Jib and ar-Ram is a particularly interesting example of the art of the possible, in that modern building and the pressures of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are likely to destroy vital evidence before the funding for any large-scale excavation can be found. This shows what can be achieved by the shrewd use of the observations of previous travellers, of a past excavation (by Father Bellarmino Bagatti) and by detailed inspection of what can now be seen above ground.

Castles are the most obvious and most studied manifestation of the crusader presence. Pringle's studies range from the large-scale constructions of the military orders such as La Fève, Safad and Montfort, to the small towers used as refuges, as administrative centres and, within towns, as noble and institutional residences. There are fresh approaches to all of these. The Templars, for example, can be shown to have continued to fulfil their original mandate of protecting pilgrims as long as they were able. During the 12th century they established road stations such as Qal'at ad-Damm (the Red Cistern) along the route they patrolled between Jerusalem and the Jordan, and in the 1240s they rebuilt Safad at great expense, once more making the Galilean sites accessible after a gap of more than half a century. Less well known than Safad is La Fève, a Templar supply depot and administrative centre, where Pringle shows that, because it lacks spectacular remains, its importance has been underestimated. It was in fact only slightly smaller than the great Hospitaller castle of Belvoir. The last study in this section offers yet another perspective, since it examines a 13th-century hall at Montfort castle, apparently based upon the remains of a dam and mill which existed there in the 12th century before the castle was built.

There is a pleasing unity to this volume, even though the articles were published over a period of twelve years between 1983 and 1995. All the items individually are of value, but taken as whole they make a notable contribution to our understanding of Frankish life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, based on Denys Pringle's characteristically sound methodology and keen eye for context.

MALCOLM BARBER

L'abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant: Construction, configuration et signification d'une abbaye cistercienne gothique. (Studia et Documenta 11). By Thomas Coomans. 25 × 32 cm. 622 pp., many figs and plans. Brussels: Édition Racine, 2000. ISBN 2-87386-200-9. Price: € 38.11 pb.

Archéologie et architecture d'un site monastique V-XX^e siècles: 10 ans de recherches à l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. (Mémoire de la section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 10). Edited by Christian Sapin. 21 × 27 cm. 493 pp., 485 figs, 10 fold-out plans. Paris: Éditions de CTHS, 2000. ISBN 2-7355-0421-2. Price: €38.11 pb.

The archaeology of monastic houses in Continental Europe is currently undergoing a considerable revival of interest. These two volumes show what can now be achieved

through well-founded research that leads to lavish and comprehensive publication at a reasonable price. Both volumes add important case studies to the corpus of sites that have now been subject to modern reinvestigation, and deserve a place on the bookshelf of every serious scholar of European monastic archaeology.

L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant is the best preserved Cistercian monastery in Belgium. It was founded from Clairvaux in 1146, and monastic life continued more or less until its suppression in 1796. There have been various studies of the architecture, including a series of excellent 19th-century drawings of the ruins, as well as some remarkable 'birds-eye' views of the monastery during the last century of its operation. The site was extensively dug-up between 1893 and 1914, with limited excavations in 1984. This study arose from a programme of conservation of the ruins between 1987-92, and draws together all the historical, architectural and antiquarian evidence, with detailed plans and elevations of the surviving fabric to provide a reassessment of the site.

As with many of the new foundations of the 12th century, there were difficulties in choosing the right location. After two false beginnings a third and final move took place in 1197, and within the next decade, the basic plan of the church and cloister was established on the new site. The south wall of this first church survives, but shortly after it was finished (if it ever was) the church was completely remodelled in Gothic style. The surviving claustral structures all have complex building histories; for example the dormer was rebuilt in the 17th and 18th centuries, while the refectory is largely intact from the early 13th century. The outer courtyards include the infirmary, which was later converted into the monastic library. One of the most important buildings to survive complete is the monastic guest house (that might also have served as the secular infirmary) dating to 13th century. There is also an interesting group of prison cells, and an integrated water-mill and bakery. Unlike English sites, the monastic occupation continued until the late 18th century, leaving gardens and other post-medieval developments within the precinct. The whole monastic complex is a remarkable survival; it is all very well described in this volume, although excavation work on the site could still add much to our understanding of the detailed development and functions as well as the origins of the site.

The volume on the monastery of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre has a much stronger archaeological focus, and is complete with plans, sections and even Harris matrices. The church and monastery developed over the burial place of St Germanus (d. 448), located outside the late Roman fort, built beside the River Yonne, but later included within the medieval walled town of Auxerre. St Germanus is best known in Britain for his two visits to combat the spread of the Pelagian heresy, and his description of the tomb of Alban. He died in Ravenna, and his body was brought back to Auxerre where he was bishop. His tomb soon attracted pilgrims and miracles, and, according to a 9th-century source, Clotilde (A.D. 493-545), the wife of the Clovis, built a basilica over it. The site is perhaps most famous for its Carolingian church and crypt, dating to around 841, and its extraordinary 9th-century wall paintings. The archaeological investigations tell the whole story of this important site from the 5th until the 20th century. Large areas of the site were investigated, including the crypt and the monastic nave which had been demolished in the 19th century.

The focus of the church, preserved in the later ground plan, appears to be a rectangular room, with an apsidal east end, which lies at the south end of a range of buildings, possibly one side of a courtyard. This dates to the 5th century or earlier, and is interpreted as part of a villa. The apsidal room might have had a secular function (such as a *triclinium*) and was re-used as an oratory and the burial place for St Germanus. Interestingly the re-use of villas as places of burial in 5th-century Gaul is a well-established pattern. The tomb of St Germanus probably rested below the apse with a small altar in front, the top which may have carried a carved stone basin with a Chi-Rho, discovered on the site in 1630 and now in the local museum. Five burials to the west of the oratory suggest

that burials developed across the whole area in the 5th century although the dating is based solely on typology of the sarcophagi. The 6th-century basilica — presumably that of Clotilde — was built around the oratory, which formed the eastern end of the new church, with an aisled nave of probably seven bays. East of the church a small burial enclosure was added with at least three sarcophagi. This church was extended sometime during the 7th or 8th century with a western atrium. While the sequence is convincing, the evidence derives from some very fragmentary walls and associated stratigraphy.

The archaeological investigations have thrown particular light on the Carolingian church. The reconstruction was very substantial, but still followed the basic basilican plan of the earlier church, with the new crypt reflecting the plan of the 5th-century oratory which it replaced, with an eastern circular rotunda added — an arrangement that influenced several other Carolingian churches. In the floor of the crypt were found a number of burials, still largely intact, of the early-medieval bishops and saints of Auxerre (St Martin of Tours was also buried here for a brief period), some of whom were moved into this position with the construction of the crypt. The tomb of St Germanus was placed in a central recess in A.D. 859 in the presence of Charles the Bald. One criticism is that there is not a full anthropological report on the bones that were discovered, but a very brief summary.

Saint-Germain is often seen as a 'model' Carolingian church: the archaeological survey provides evidence that in fact it is the product of a long period of development. For this reason alone, this is an important study, as it demonstrates how structural archaeology is fundamental to our understanding of the early-medieval church. In Britain this sort of research is commonplace, but it is still a rarity elsewhere in Europe. There are many other important early buildings in France, with neglected early-medieval fabric. This report shows the methods of learning much more about them.

MARK HORTON

Stafford Castle: Survey, Excavation and Research 1978–98. Volume I — The Surveys. Edited by John Darlington. 21 × 30 cm. 186 pp., 86 figs. Stafford: Stafford Borough Council, 2001. ISBN 0-9524136-2-0. Price: £20.00 pb.

This first monograph results from a twenty-year research project on the honorial castle at Stafford. The volume presents a synthesis of the history, morphology and landscape setting of an unusual site, comprising the rebuilt stub of a rectangular 14th-century keep within an especially extensive suite of earthworks. Initiated in 1978, the Stafford Castle Project was formulated as a scheme of research that would progress hand in hand with the rehabilitation of the monument as an educational and recreational resource. Alongside the application of a particularly wide array of archaeological techniques — including documentary and structural analysis, excavation, geophysical and topographical survey — a complementary part of the project was the clearance of vegetation from earthworks, the stabilisation of upstanding masonry and the erection of a visitor centre to enhance the site's role as a local amenity. Although the survey components of the project followed a campaign of excavation in and around the castle, the order of publication is reversed, so that this volume is the first of two (the second, to deal with the excavations, is scheduled for 2003). It is to the credit of both project and editorial team that this first volume stands on its own merits as a lesson in the study of a major castle using non-intrusive methodologies.

A useful summary description of the site, its historical background and the project comprises Chapter 1, preceding an analysis of the castle's setting relative to physical geology and topography, and the landscapes of earlier periods (Chapter 2). It is in this spirit, with the emphasis firmly on the castle's context in different ways, that the report

continues. An especially detailed account of documentary evidence is provided in Chapter 3 (principally Deborah Youngs and Philip Morgan). This includes a neat summary of the somewhat problematic evidence for the royal castle in the town, and describes patterns of estate organisation, patronage and family histories relating to the site and its lords. It is unfortunate that a small number of crucial maps (e.g. fig. 6, an important reconstruction of medieval roads and deer parks around the site) are blurred and compare very poorly to the many exquisitely detailed fold-out earthwork plans that feature elsewhere within the volume.

The centrepiece of the volume is Chapter 4 (Marcus Jecock and Garry Corbett). A masterclass in earthwork interpretation and analysis, this presents the results of a detailed topographical survey by the RCHME in 1996 and 1997, and underlines that the entire site constitutes a nine-hectare island of especially complex and multi-phase earthworks with minimal masonry remains. The relative chronology of the inner and outer bailey is unravelling, two zones of terraced garden earthworks discussed, and the castle is shown to form the hub of a network of sunken trackways and a complex palimpsest of boundaries and agricultural earthworks. The reader's understanding is enhanced by helpfully annotated and labelled versions of the otherwise complex original survey drawing. Readers should note that the thesis that the castle was accompanied by a dependent village situated beyond the outer bailey — as reflected in a number of previous publications and reconstruction drawings — is not supported by this survey. While the identification of these earthworks is left open to debate, the presence of Castle Church in this area ensures that a question mark must hover over this aspect of the report's findings.

The Stafford Castle Project was pioneering in its use of large-scale geophysical survey within and around a castle site, including scrutiny of over 75% of the outer bailey, which is discussed in Chapter 5 (John Darlington and Dan Shiel). Rather than revolutionising an understanding of the site, the value of this evidence is as one of a range of different techniques. Indeed, in isolation, the results of the geophysics in general and the gradiometer survey in particular, are disappointing. While unfavourable conditions, including the physical relief of the site, and the tendency for large rubble spreads to obscure subtle evidence of timber structures (as demonstrated through excavations) limited the findings, the resistivity survey did identify possible building remains, including a putative gatehouse, within the inner bailey. Perhaps more significant was the evidence that timber bailey defences were apparently not replaced in stone at any stage in the site's development, raising the intriguing question of whether Ralph Stafford's 14th-century keep was surrounded by reconditioned timber defences or bare earthworks.

Providing a reflective overview of the project's aims, Chapter 6 draws attention to unresolved matters, and appraises critically the research design. This final chapter also relates the findings to current debates within castle studies. Particularly telling is the observation that symbolism was an ever-present feature of the site and not simply introduced with the building of Ralph Stafford's unusual keep of c. 1348 (what M. W. Thompson has termed one of the first 'cult castles'). The 11th-century motte and bailey, forming such a prominent feature on the skyline, was a potent symbol of seigneurial ambition, just as its early 19th-century reconstruction by the Jerninghams was an appropriation and glamorisation of the medieval past. Alongside recent publications on Hen Domen (Powys) and Ludgershall (Wiltshire), this report serves as another compelling argument for the study of castles through truly integrated multifaceted research designs. Moreover, in demonstrating what can and cannot be potentially gleaned about such a site through non-invasive techniques, the volume makes a distinctive contribution to castle studies.

Gaelic Ireland: Land, Lordship and Settlement, c.1250-c.1650. Edited by Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick. 16 × 24 cm. 454 pp., 52 figs, 14 pls, 4 tabs. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001. ISBN 1-85182-547-9. Price: £37.50, €55.00, \$55.00 hb.

The story of the Anglo-Norman settlement of Ireland is relatively well-known. By contrast, from an English perspective, those parts of medieval Ireland which remained under Gaelic control have commonly been perceived as a wild and unruly country, occupied by nomadic pastoralists and dominated by intemperate warlords engaged in constant raiding and skirmishing, and achieving little in the way of permanent settlements or architecture: an unstable society which barely seemed worthy of serious study. The English have always had difficulties in comprehending languages, cultures and value systems different to their own, but here there are very real obstacles in the way of any deeper understanding, in particular the incalculable loss of documentation through the destruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922; while the Gaelic sources which do survive seem almost impenetrable to the outsider. Can any meaningful progress be made in a subject with such an apparently unpromising background?

This book gives a resounding affirmative. It is derived very largely from a conference held in Dublin in February 1999 organised by the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement. Published with commendable promptness, it contains chapters from eighteen authors, plus a very valuable introduction from the editors which places the individual contributions within a wider research context and sets an agenda for future work.

It is divided into three parts, the first of which is concerned with the political structure and social organisation of the Gaelic lordships. Three particular points emerge from this first group of papers. Firstly, despite the power struggles which often troubled the ruling Gaelic lords, their territories often enjoyed a considerable degree of stability. Secondly, they cannot be stereotyped as patriotic 'noble savages' who opposed all things English; in fact, they adopted much more pragmatic policies, co-operating with the English crown whenever it suited their own purposes. Thirdly, both societies were profoundly affected by their mutual contact, the Anglo-Norman settlers assimilating Irish customs as well as influencing the Irish beyond their borders.

Part 2 is concerned with the documentary and scientific evidence for the natural and built environment. Kenneth Nicholls reviews the documentary sources for the nature and extent of medieval woodland. Contrary to some earlier writers who have argued that Ireland's woods had largely vanished before the Anglo-Norman settlement, Nicholls concludes that extensive secondary woodlands did survive around the margins of the bogs of the central plain, providing a significant barrier to further Anglo-Norman expansion. The contraction of the Anglo-Norman colony and the effects of climatic change and demographic decline in the 14th century contributed to significant regrowth of woodland over abandoned lands. However, the Tudor reconquest ushered in a much more destructive phase of unmanaged and unsustainable exploitation. In one of the most exciting contributions to the volume, Valerie Hall and Lynda Bunting report on the potential of tephrochronology, a new approach to the dating of pollen profiles from peat bogs accumulated over the last millennium, using layers of volcanic ash which can be related to documented volcanic eruptions in Iceland in 1104, 1362 and 1510. Other papers are concerned with maps, place-names and the relevance of bardic poetry in the reconstruction of the structure, form and furnishings of chieftains' dwellings.

Archaeological and architectural approaches to settlement studies make up the third part of the book. Five of the eight papers here are concerned with castles and lordly sites, and include considerations of the crannog as a distinctively Gaelic form of settlement during the later Middle Ages, and the use of tower-houses by Gaelic lords. Elizabeth FitzPatrick discusses the sites of the traditional open-air inauguration assemblies adopted by the Burkes, the Anglo-Norman lords of Connacht, as a facet of their assimilation into Gaelic culture. Audrey Horning discusses the excavation of an Irish vernacular timber

building which survived within the Ulster plantation village of Movanager, Co. Londonderry, and was adapted and occupied by the English settlers. Finally, Colin Breen discusses the maritime cultural landscape of Gaelic Ireland, including the exploitation of the coasts and the sea, harbours and landing-places and types of ships and boats.

Inevitably in such a volume, omissions can be recognised. For perfectly understandable reasons, the later centuries are more fully covered than the beginning of the period. The development of the agricultural landscape is treated only incidentally. There is a deliberate emphasis upon secular settlement, presumably because it was assumed that the role of the church was sufficiently well known, though this reviewer would have liked to learn more about the impact upon the landscape of those new monastic orders (Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Arrouaisians) who established a number of purely Irish foundations beyond the English domains. Nevertheless, this is a welcome and most valuable pioneering collection of essays, shedding new light upon the varied and profoundly interesting cultural landscapes of medieval Gaelic Ireland.

JAMES BOND

English Medieval Coin Hoards I: Cross and Crosslets, Short Cross and Long Cross Hoards. (British Museum Occasional Paper 87). By M. M. Archibald and B. J. Cook. 21 × 30 cm. vi + 170 pp., 2 maps, 7 pls, 20 tabs, 16 pp. photos. London: British Museum Press, 2001. ISBN 0-86159-087-2, ISSN 0142-4815. Price: £28.00 pb.

Readers of this journal will probably be more interested in the Developed Stamford Ware bottle on the cover of this catalogue than in the coins which it contained — which give it a date of c. 1200: it is a useful further addition to the containers recorded by J. D. A. Thompson in his much-criticised but nevertheless valuable *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* published in 1956. The British Museum series does not quite seek to replace Thompson's book, but instead provides a new outlet for discussion and cataloguing of hoards studied in the Museum; because many hoards have been dispersed without adequate records to work from, they can never be given the very full treatment received by the twenty hoards included in this first corpus.

The hoards date from 1158 to 1279. A few may have been deposited during Young Henry's rebellion in 1173-4, but the majority cannot be linked to any specific political event, and seem to reflect a variety of individual decisions and, since they were never recovered, a variety of personal tragedies. Some are close to major routeways, others in towns, a few in places like Claxby for which even a manorial history is not offered in possible explanation of the circumstances that led to the burial. Many were found by metal-detecting, and the need for the recent changes to Treasure Trove legislation is shown by the perversity of the Hampshire jury which did not believe that the Greywell hoard had been concealed by someone who intended to return for it.

Hampshire, with four hoards, contributes more in number than any other county, but its coin counts are quite low; Waterlooville, with only six pennies, has the fewest. In the late 1960s, the same (modern!) parish yielded a gold brooch, published in volume 13 of this journal (1969, pp. 224-6), when John Cherry ascribed it to the later 13th century but noted the difficulty of precision. It is probably unlikely that the brooch was part of the hoard, but the latter's date of c. 1204-5 would not be impossibly early. Disappointingly, the only piece of jewellery reported with these twenty hoards is a silver finger-ring from Brackley, which usefully confirms the plausibility of the 1173-4 deposit date of the Lark Hill, Worcester, rings. A Warwickshire hoard reported in the *British Numismatic Journal* for 1999 with a 1204-18 date has a ring-brooch which also helps to show that wearing precious-metal jewellery was again becoming widespread in the later 12th and early 13th

centuries, after perhaps a century or more when such display was little practised by the laity.

About half the book is taken up by the largest hoard, deposited c. 1268–78 but mostly amassed before 1257, found in Colchester in 1969. It is not quite a partner for another, only a little smaller and a little earlier, already located in 1902 on an adjacent property. Again, archaeologists may be most attracted to their containers; these were quite probably 'forels', made by specialist lead-workers to hold round sums such as 100 marks. An addendum notes the discovery of a third on the same site, alas empty. In 1986, D. Stephenson argued that the tenement(s) are likely to have been owned by Jews, and the composition and nature of Colchester 2 bears out the likelihood that it had been amassed by a financier. Revised dating of Colchester 1 to 1237 does not quite fit with the actual names and transactions suggested by Stephenson, but his basic point remains likely to be true. Unfortunately, Colchester 1 does not get the very detailed treatment accorded to 2, so differences in its composition cannot be ascertained. Worcester and Rochester mints contributed to 1 but not 2, but whether the proportions from London and Canterbury are more what would be expected, or again suggest a financier's special contacts, needs a numismatist to comment. This is a slight criticism, made out of envy at numismatists' ability to squeeze such precision from their data. I cannot pretend that I understood all their arguments, but I learnt enormously from them.

DAVID A. HINTON

The Monastery and Abbey of Paisley. Edited by John Malden. 17 × 24 cm. 256 pp., many figs, maps and pls. Paisley: Renfrewshire Local History Forum, 2000. ISBN 0-9-529195-7-5. Price: £15.00 (+ £3.50 p.&p.) pb.

In Scotland, archaeological literature on monasteries is relatively spare, so any additions must be welcomed. This study contains the proceedings of a conference held in September 1999 and its rapid appearance is testimony to the enthusiasm that the editor has brought to this project and it typifies the work that he has been driving over the past decade or so. Paisley is undoubtedly one of the most interesting monasteries in Scotland. The associations with the Stewarts guarantee a high degree of interest, which is enhanced by one of the best surviving documentary records in Scotland. It is also architecturally distinguished: both the original 13th-century fabric and the 20th-century restoration are of considerable interest. However, Paisley's unique point of interest is its sewer which was rediscovered through the efforts of John Malden. The main drain ran through the monastic precinct and under various buildings. The sewer was extremely well-built and a section of it remains in use as a storm drain. Modern man-holes provide access to about 75 m of the drain which has allowed the structure to be surveyed by the RCAHMS and for some of the silts to be removed. These silts have yielded one of the most significant artefactual and environmental assemblages from a Scottish monastery. Much of this volume is dedicated to exploring the most exciting of the finds, but it also contains various papers which provide the first detailed historical and architectural account of the buildings to have been published in modern times. Refreshingly, discussions of the modern architectural work and the stained glass are included alongside the medieval material.

For archaeologists, of course, it is the drain that holds the most interest. The structure consists of five constructional phases: some are extremely well-built, vaulted and lofty others are rough, boxy and with more claustrophobic dimensions. These differences reflect the gradual development of the precinct and presumably could be linked to particular buildings, if we had any idea of the organisation of the monastery beyond the cloister ranges. Although the drain was never 'lost' to the Water Board — the manholes were inserted last century — they apparently never cleaned it out. When Malden, then working

for the Paisley Museum became aware of the drain he encouraged the Water Board to excavate some of the silts. These were dug away by labourers who recovered a number of finds included Malden's most cherished find, a complete medieval chamber pot. The bulk of the silts were 'sucked' into a municipal drain cleaner and transported to the modern sewage works where they were dumped. Wet sieving of the several tons of silt produced a huge collection of material: the usual pottery and bone was augmented by a seal matrix, some lead textile seals, and most exceptionally several fragments of inscribed slates. These include some writing exercises, part of a love lyric and some lines of musical notation from the 15th century. These phrases of polyphony are Scotland's oldest music! The analysis of the finds revealed that most of them were of this date with little in the way of contamination. In order to establish the integrity of the silt deposits and to recover some environmental evidence, a controlled archaeological excavation was undertaken. It is disappointing that only the environmental assessment is published here, because as the richness of Camilla Dickson's study reveals, this is a very unusual and varied assemblage. Some of the most striking artefacts are discussed, but the whole collection deserves to be published because it appears to come from relatively secure late medieval contexts. Assemblages containing such interesting and coherent material are rare in the west of Scotland and have been infrequently published.

There is a homespun quality about this book and the cramped layout reveals that a professional book designer was not involved. It is nonetheless an interesting and important publication, which is amply illustrated in full colour and is packed with stimulating contributions, not the least those of the editor. But the absence of a proper archaeological discussion of the deposits and finds is a major gap. Moreover, it reveals an unfortunate truth about the fieldwork programme: that the artefact recovery strategy was driven by a desire to recover pieces for museum display, rather than to provide a secure archaeological context for the finds.

Paisley Abbey was much more important than, for example, Jedburgh Friary, and this distinction is appropriately reflected in the richer, full-colour treatment of the Malden volume. From an archaeological perspective it is to be regretted that the more rigorous study (at Jedburgh) was undertaken at the less significant site. Yet this is a deficiency which can perhaps be put right in the future.

STEPHEN T. DRISCOLL

Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton A.D. 1461. Edited by Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston and Christopher Knüsel. 22 × 29 cm. x + 277 pp., 47 figs, maps, plans and tabs. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000. ISBN 1-84217-025-2. Price: £30.00 hb.

Fields of Conflict: Progress and Prospect in Battlefield Archaeology. (British Archaeological Reports, International Series 958). Edited by P. W. M. Freeman and A. Pollard. 21 × 30 cm. ii + 302 pp., many figs, maps and plans. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges and Archaeopress, 2001. ISBN 1-84171-249-3. Price: £39.00 pb.

On Palm Sunday 1461, as a snowstorm swept across bleak, upland, rolling open-field land a few miles south of Tadcaster, two great Lancastrian and Yorkist armies came together in what became known as the Battle of Towton. Contemporary accounts suggest this may have been the longest, biggest, and bloodiest engagement ever fought on British soil, with 50,000 combatants and upwards of 20,000 killed on the day. As so often the greatest bloodshed was probably during the rout, as the defeated Lancastrian army finally broke and ran; the dead were left spread over an area covering some six miles by three, and the River Cock was choked with bodies. A mass grave with at least 37 of the battle

victims was discovered in 1996, and the *Towton* volume shows impressively how modern archaeological techniques can add much to the limited, finite, and possibly biased chroniclers' accounts of events, producing an altogether fuller, deeper, and more dispassionate narrative.

The story the dead themselves tell through the investigation and analysis of their remains brings us as close as it is possible to get to the hell of that particular battle, and of the human slaughterhouse which the cornfields became as 'no quarter' orders were ruthlessly followed. Small though the sample is, it divides fairly equally between young males (16–25), young middle adults (26–35), and older men of 36–50. The average height was 172 cm (5 ft 8 ins), and the evidence of healed wounds suggests that at least some of the taller men had seen action before, perhaps as professional soldiers. Chapter 8, by Shannon Novak, is as chilling as any archaeological report you are likely to read, detailing and documenting with photographs how at least some of the men met their end before being stripped and dumped into a shallow pit. Towton 25, a 36–45 year-old man, had eight distinct head wounds from blades, climaxing with a massive incision to the rear of the head and what may have been a final hack across the front of the face which bisected the entire palate. Novak concludes: 'these men died in a frenzied killing that involved numerous blows to the head, often after they were incapacitated and unable to defend themselves.'

Individual chapters deal with contemporary weapons, archery, armour, combat techniques; all are relevant, well written, and show clearly the professionalism and technical proficiency which could be found in a medieval army. Others treat critically the extensive survey of battlefields using techniques such as metal detecting and geophysical survey, comparative work on other battlefields, and legislation and battlefield conservation. Appendices provide further detail, especially of the battle wounds. Overall the volume, which is attractive, well produced and edited, stands as an exemplar for the emerging sub-discipline of battlefield archaeology, and any who doubt its legitimacy and worth will surely be convinced if they read it. As a student text, I would recommend it highly.

The papers in *Fields of Conflict* show how battlefield archaeology is being applied in other parts of the world, and to conflicts of other periods ranging from the Battle of Olynthos to the Second World War. Although the quality is varied (and as usual the BAR is no thing of beauty), together they form a useful and wide ranging bundle of case studies each of which, to a greater or lesser degree, illustrates and discusses the great truism of battlefield archaeology: that a battle was a brief event on a landscape, on which it made little, if any, physical impact. Probably the best, by Glenn Foard who in 2002 joined the Battlefield Trust as its Development Officer, considers the archaeological study of Civil War battles and sieges. As in the Towton study, this makes clear that henceforward the reconstruction of the contemporary landscape and road networks using landscape archaeology and history must be an essential part of any battlefield study. Using Northamptonshire examples he also shows the very significant results which can be produced when metal detected finds of this period, principally lead shot (2,500 so far from limited areas of the Naseby battlefield) and powder flask tops, are carefully collected and plotted. In this respect there seems a clear divide between the considerable potential this archaeological resource offers for post-medieval sites with the massed use of guns, compared with medieval sites — such as Towton — where the equivalent projectiles, arrows, seem largely to have been gleaned from the field afterwards. Foard's strongly worded case that shot and so forth must be either retained *in situ* in the plough soil through positive management or, if freelance metal detecting is happening, retrieved as a rescue operation, has clear implications for English Heritage and other resource curators. In fact, it is in its wide-ranging case studies of battlefields, cultural resource management, and tourism, that *Fields of Conflict* is most useful, reminding us that even long after the survivors of the conflict have passed on these remain landscapes which can produce powerful emotions in those who visit. This, and the memory of those who fell, demands an especial

sensitivity and duty of care from those involved in their conservation and management. Both the volumes under review impress that on us, and such a reminder is no bad thing.

PAUL STAMPER

Short Reviews

An Archaeological Research Framework for the Greater Thames Estuary. Edited by John Williams and Nigel Brown. 21 × 30 cm. vi + 58 pp., 11 figs, maps, plans and tabs. Chelmsford: Essex County Council and English Heritage, 1999. ISBN 1-85281-198-6. Price: £5.00 pb.

Research and Archaeology: A Framework for the Eastern Counties 2. Research Agenda and Strategy. (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Paper 8). Edited by Nigel Brown and Jenny Glazebrook. 21 × 30 cm. viii + 73 pp., 11 pls, many tabs. Norwich: The Scole Archaeological Committee for East Anglia, 2000. ISBN 0-9521848-2-6. Price: £6.50 pb.

An Assessment of Scotland's Sites and Monuments Records. By David Baker. 21 × 30 cm. iv + 107 pp., many tabs. Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland with the Association of Regional and Island Archaeologists, 2000. Price £15.00 pb.

A trio of research and management-related publications, of which the first two are 'research frameworks' for English regions. Research policies are nothing new, of course. The Medieval Settlement Research Group, for example, has developed them for many years and, in the late 1980s, English Heritage consulted widely during the production of a new national agenda. This Society's contribution was published in *Medieval Archaeology* for 1987 (Vol. 31, 1-12), and the final product emerged in 1991 as *Exploring Our Past: Strategies for the Archaeology of England*. Significant funding followed for many of the projects identified there, not least for the batch of intensive and extensive urban surveys which have synthesised so much medieval data. In 1997 an updated English national policy was circulated for discussion. This under-rated document, entitled *Research Agenda*, has been similarly successful in attracting investigation for projects such as settlement mapping and historic landscape assessment.

But that was then and this is now. Five years on and, while national agendas have not gone away, it is regions which have a new political buzz about them and, before world-weary cynicism sets in, let me reassure you that there are some very good reasons to read the documents under review here. To begin with, they differ from most previous regional policy documents in that they (should) represent a professional consensus; they are not merely the views and opinions of a single individual expressed in a volume of edited papers. Broader issues of historic environment are also touched upon such as access and education. Promising too is the opportunity to assess the mass of data collected since the introduction of PPG 16 and PPG 15 and to place those findings into a wider context (the result is a 'resource assessment'), identifying gaps in understanding along the way (a 'research agenda'). The vast majority (80%?, 90%?) of fieldwork in England is now 'planning-led' through local government authorities and these syntheses of regional achievements and the guidance they provide for the future ('research framework' or 'research strategy') are sorely needed in order to inform 'curatorial' decisions. Merely the process of producing them should be valuable in bonding disparate parties (local authorities, societies, units,