

Reviews

Medieval Archaeology: Understanding Traditions and Contemporary Approaches. By Christopher Gerrard. 16 × 24 cm. xvii + 302 pp., 64 figs. and 16 boxed texts. London: Routledge, 2003. ISBN 0-415-23463-8. Price: £18.99 pb.

Medieval archaeology, as the volume numbers of this journal remind us, does not have a long history, at least not as a self-conscious discipline. This short chronology may explain why there has been so little reflective writing about the intellectual development of the subject. This is not to say that medieval archaeologists are innocent of historiography or lack critical awareness, but these reflective qualities tend to be deployed in the pursuit of particular problems. This ambitious book surveys the intellectual history of medieval archaeology and if it does nothing else it will dispel the myth that medieval archaeology began with the tidying up after the Second World War.

Chris Gerrard has organised his study into three broad sections ranging from the earliest antiquarian investigations to the professional and scholarly activities of the present. The organisation and weight of the three sections reveals much about Gerrard's approach: Section I 'The Discovery of Ignorance' (three chapters to 1945); Section II 'Into the Light' (two chapters 1945–89); Section III 'Winds of Change' (one chapter 1989–present). He devotes as much space to the antiquarian section (about 40%) as he does to the second section, which saw the professionalisation of the discipline. This allows him the space to explore some of the most significant concepts to emerge from the engagement with the medieval past, such as the Gothic Revival. It also allows him to give the post-war scholars the attention they deserve and to explain why particular sites, such as Wharram Percy, have been so significant in the development of medieval archaeology.

In assessing the more recent periods Gerrard makes interesting use of the short fieldwork reports published annually in the 'Medieval Britain and Ireland' section of this journal. He uses these to chart fieldwork trends and to show how interest in particular sites rises and falls over time, although the evergreen appeal remains to be fully accounted for. Perhaps most striking is the impact of rescue archaeology, which is clearly responsible for the rise and rise of urban investigations.

In a book of this length there are bound to be limitations. One arises from the decision to focus on the later Middle Ages. This journal of course takes the broadest possible view and covers everything from the end of Roman Britain to the Reformation, but Gerrard has chosen to focus predominantly on post-Conquest archaeology and he leaves the Early Historic and Anglo-Saxon material to one side. Leslie Alcock, Rosemary Cramp, and Charles Thomas are all absent from the bibliography. This restriction is fair enough, given Gerrard's interests and expertise and is also reasonable given that the Early Middle Ages raises so many distinct intellectual questions such as ethnogenesis. However, this choice reinforces a major internal division within the discipline, which is scarcely alluded to. Whether by design, temperament, or institutional conditioning, there are few scholars who range over the whole millennium covered by the generous definition of medieval archaeology promoted by this society. It would have been interesting to reflect upon the reasons why so few practitioners stray beyond one side or other of the 11th century.

There are limitations to Gerrard's geographical perspective as well. Central to this study are developments in England, particularly rural England: DMVs are more prominent

than great churches (despite all those monastic excavations). One consequence of this is that there is less about art and architecture than some people would wish. This emphasis can be justified, because however important the contributions of art and architecture studies to understanding the medieval past have been, they have not had a great influence on modern multidisciplinary practice.

Gerrard has clearly sought to be inclusive and cover as much of the British Isles as possible, but the Celtic nations are not particularly prominent. Ireland fares poorly, but then until recently, post-Conquest archaeology in Ireland operated under the stigma of being seen as a colonial archaeology, a view which is only just being shaken off. In Scotland the situation is more complex, but here also the discipline has developed differently from England. This difference, which can be traced back to the nature of the Reformation in Scotland, has particularly discouraged church archaeology.

Nevertheless, Gerrard covers an impressive range of material and brings a sound appreciation of the evolving values and practices. Intellectual history has the potential to be turgid, but the text is well written and has a smooth flow. Overall the book displays a nice balance between comprehensiveness and manageability, which makes it accessible for serious students and busy professionals. There is every chance that this book will encourage medieval archaeologists to think harder about where our discipline has come from and about where we would like it to go.

In view of the marginal position occupied by medieval studies in general histories of archaeology, this is a book that badly needed to be written. However, that is not the end of it; we need more critical, reflective writing like this. The history of Early Medieval archaeology is still to be written as it departs in significant ways from the trajectory mapped out here. Not only would such a study be worthwhile on its own, but it would throw up some interesting contrasts to the intellectual developments discussed by Gerrard. Similarly, there is a need for a more detailed coverage of Scotland and Wales, which again would provide interesting contrasts, and beyond Britain lie Ireland and the Continent. For the moment we should be glad to have this book and let us hope it inspires further excursions into the intellectual history of the discipline.

STEPHEN T. DRISCOLL

Le château d'Épinal XIII^e–XVI^e siècle. By Michel Bur, with contributions by Martine Berthier, Charles Kraemer and Guillaume Huot-Marchand. 21 × 27 cm. 272 pp., 97 figs., many catalogue illus. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002. ISBN 2-7355-0500-6. Price: €30.00 pb.

Les maisons fortes en Bourgogne du nord du XIII^e au XVI^e s. By Hervé Mouillebouche. 15 × 23 cm. 488 pp., 241 figs., maps, plans and tbs., 2 CD-Roms (Windows and Mackintosh). Dijon: Éditions Universitaires de Dijon, 2002. ISBN 2-905965-57-6, ISSN 1628-5409. Price: €45.00 pb.

Les Fortifications des Plantagenêts en Poitou 1154–1242 (Mémoires de la section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 11). By Marie-Pierre Baudry. 21 × 27 cm. 382 pp., many figs., maps, and pls. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2001. ISBN 2-7355-0448-4. Price: €46.00 pb.

These three works make a significant contribution both to what we know of military architecture in the Middle Ages and to how it can be studied, based on very different subjects: one being a single castle and its excavation, another a class of buildings so far rarely considered by *castellologues*, and the third a series of major castles whose architectural significance and historical context is fully explored for the first time.

Michel Bur's monograph on Épinal presents the results of the excavation of a castle on the Moselle, in the eastern French Département of Vosges, established c. 1200 to complement an earlier fortress in the town below. It opens with a survey of the historical sources, usefully introducing periods and events referred to in the main sections, covering the excavation and the finds. The castle is shown to have consisted of a small enclosure at the highest point of the site, densely packed with buildings and dominated by a *donjon*, together overlooking a vast bailey sloping down towards the town.

On the whole the fieldwork and the publication represent a satisfactory response to the rare opportunity enjoyed by Bur and his team — the near-total excavation, over eight summer seasons, of an entire castle. The analysis of the structural remains is painstaking and intelligent, although better use of drawings, in particular the inclusion of an overall site plan at a sufficient scale and a phased plan of the buildings would have made it easier to understand. Historical information is successfully integrated with archaeological, particularly the substantial series of (largely post-medieval) accounts and dilapidations. The 135-page Finds Report at the end and the accompanying drawings are excellent. Bur also offers conclusions of interest to castle studies in a more general sense, such as his suggestion that Épinal's *donjon* was begun as a cylindrical *Bergfried* of German type, but completed as a square '*donjon résidentiel du type occidental*'; this he sees as an adoption of French practice, and as a significant stage in the easternward march of a 'western' form. Bur's implication that the change of plan involved a change of function, however, is open to question: the narrow square towers typical of the later 12th century in France, the type to which he sees the modified buildings as belonging, were, just like the *Bergfrieden*, largely for show and only incidentally residential; the great double-pile tower-residences, which he sees as the ultimate ancestor of the type not having been widely adopted outside northern France and England (nor, as recent scholarship suggests, first developed in the Loire valley).

Minor quibbles apart, however, this is in many ways an exemplary study. Mouillebouche's subject area is within Burgundy, a region with a clear historical and ethnographic identity, but limited for practical reasons to the northern part (the Département of Côte d'Or). The period in question runs from the mid-13th century, when buildings in this category can first be detected in the written sources, and continues, remarkably, to the mid-17th. As the first part of the book makes clear, Mouillebouche has been astoundingly thorough. Having looked at over 700 Communes, he has found 664 fortified sites and identified 360 which can be shown, at some stage of their history, to have been *maisons fortes* (the entire database is clearly presented on the accompanying CD). Following an analysis of the medieval terms for strongholds, and dismissing them as a basis for definition or classification, he defines the *maison forte* as a residence with genuine, functional adaptations for defence, but which, unlike a *château*, was not equipped to resist an army. He then describes the variety of locations in which they are found, the physical forms they took and how these evolved over time.

The second part of the book adopts an '*approche socio-historique*', examining who owned, built, used and inhabited the *maison forte*, where elements of their design may have originated, what part they played in (and what they can tell us of) the social structure of the age, and how effective they were in warfare. All of this, densely packed as it is, is fascinating, readable and often humorous. Large parts of it, such as the section on domestic architecture and function of *maisons fortes*, are truly brilliant (although more plans of individual buildings would have been helpful). Among the more surprising results has been Mouillebouche's exposure of the deliberate inclusion of *maisons fortes* in the Dukes' strategy for the defence of the Duchy as a whole. For many readers, this book will reveal a largely new aspect of the architectural, military and social history of medieval and early modern France, and offers a model for future studies in other areas.

Possibly of more general interest, however, is Baudry's study of much higher-status buildings in a wider geographical context. The text is in three parts — synthesis, followed by thirteen substantial and illustrated entries on individual sites, and by brief *notices* on a further 180. The first part focuses essentially on the key characteristics of military architecture in Poitou between 1152 and 1242, and as such forms a useful and highly authoritative survey. But the main theme of the book is the identification of features peculiar to the Plantagenet domains (or, after the loss of Normandy and Anjou in 1204–5, peculiar to England and Poitou). These are, Baudry shows, fairly numerous, including a willingness, not shared to the same extent by the Capetians, to adapt defensive schemes to the terrain; at a more detailed level, the square-sided batter at the base of round towers (*talus à l'angevine*) and the bridging of gaps between buttresses to form primitive machicolations (*machicoulis à arc*) appear only in Plantagenet areas, assertions carefully controlled by Baudry's knowledge of castles in other areas.

Most telling, however, is Baudry's study of 'arrow slits' *à niche* (backed by the square-sided embrasure which actually made them useable) and her affirmation that these not only became widespread in all Plantagenet domains in the late 12th century but were confined to them. It follows that the similarities of the Poitevin tradition to that of other Plantagenet domains must be attributable to their political unity, and to some extent to the personal interest and intervention of members of the dynasty itself: of them it was the future Richard I, as Count of Poitou from 1182 to 1189, who was most prominently and directly involved, perhaps personally directing the building of the *donjon* at Niort. The catalogue entries in the second part of the book contain much of the detail on which the arguments in the first part are based, and in many cases comprise the most useful modern study of the site in question. It is a pity only that the two parts are not better cross-referenced, or that more illustrative material is not included in the main text to reinforce important architectural arguments. But overall the book is highly successful, even groundbreaking, in combining a minute analysis of the form and details of military architecture with a knowledge of the historical context in which it was created. The result is important to our understanding of the development of medieval military architecture not just in Poitou but in the whole of north-western Europe.

EDWARD IMPEY

Stand, Aufgaben und Perspektiven. (Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum 1). Edited by Manfred Gläser. 22 × 27 cm. 504 pp., 278 figs. and pls. Lübeck: Bereich Archäologie, 1997. ISBN 3-7950-12222-8. Price: €49.00 + p&p.

Der Handel. (Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum 2). Edited by Manfred Gläser. 22 × 27 cm. 624 pp., 370 figs. (either drawings or b&w pls.), 27 tbs. Lübeck: Bereich Archäologie, 1999. ISBN 3-7950-1236-8. Price: €49.00 + p&p.

Der Hausbau. (Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum 3). Edited by Manfred Gläser. 22 × 27 cm. 857 pp., 619 figs. (either drawings or b&w pls.). Lübeck: Bereich Archäologie, 2001. ISBN 3-7950-1242-2. Price: €49.00 + p&p.

Some of the more interesting current initiatives and fresh work in urban archaeology during the last decade have come from colleagues in northern Europe and the Baltic. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the disappearance of the Iron Curtain and German reunification led to a dramatic increase in the level of restoration and redevelopment carried out in the historic towns of eastern Europe and the Baltic States. Second, there has been a long-standing tradition in Germany and Scandinavia not only for synthesising the results of previous fieldwork and research, but also for developing and improving theoretical and methodological approaches.

The Hanse was a major mercantile and political force in northern Europe from the mid-12th to the mid-17th centuries. It has been the subject of numerous detailed historical studies, but until relatively recently there was little attempt to make a comprehensive assessment of its archaeological legacy. Lübeck had been one of its key players from the town's foundation in the late 1150s, and hence it is fitting that it should now be the driving force behind a series of publications examining specific aspects of the archaeology of the Hanse. The first of these was *Archäologie des Mittelalters und Bauforschung im Hanseraum* (Rostock, 1993). It was followed shortly by the establishment of a standing colloquium on urban archaeology in the Hanseatic region. Three thematic volumes have already emerged from this Colloquium, and a fourth is currently being edited. The individual volumes are respectively on the themes of the present State of Archaeological Research within the towns; the Evidence for Trade; the Archaeological and Architectural evidence for Domestic Architecture; and Urban Infrastructure, *Die Infrastruktur*, will be published in 2004. The themes of future colloquia are suggested to include the founding and development of the towns, urban fortifications and defences, waterfronts harbour installations and markets, crafts and industry, finds, and pre-urban origins.

At first sight, these themes may appear to be well-trying and tested, and to cover similar ground to that of many standard urban studies; however, what is markedly different is the care taken in the preparation of the conference agenda, and the detailed instructions as to the scope of the papers to be given. The result of this careful approach is that it is possible to carry out far more direct inter-comparison of the various contributions than would be the case with most published conference proceedings. This, in turn, allows the editorial team to produce a wide-ranging discussion chapter for each volume, attempting to synthesise the results and identify shared traits and regional differences within the Hanseatic region. Only two languages are used for the proceedings — German and English — and each paper carries a summary in the other language. In addition, the concluding discussion chapters are reproduced in both languages, and the later volumes contain a very useful glossary of equivalent technical terms in English, German, and their Scandinavian counterparts, to permit more direct comparison between traditions in different countries.

During the 500 years of its existence, more than 220 towns were directly involved in the organisation of the Hanse — though only 70 or 80 were active participants in the league: these were spread across much of northern Europe and the Baltic. The *Lübecker Kolloquium* regularly invites delegates from about 50 of these towns from some 14 countries — the selection focusing on those towns where a significant amount of archaeological work is currently being practised. In addition, guest contributors can be invited to give a wider overview across the region. A handful of towns which played a major part in the Hanse are currently unrepresented (e.g. Köln); nevertheless, this represents a very broad cross-section of northern European towns closely involved with the Hanse, where urban archaeology can shed a great deal of light on the nature of Hanseatic communities, and the spread of cultural influences and ideas as a result of their trading links.

The published volumes are a very significant contribution to our understanding of medieval archaeology in the Hanseatic trading area, and are almost as instructive about the differences in our approaches to common problems, as they are in defining distributions of archaeological types across a broad band of northern Europe. In the west, financial constraints often mean that whilst the standard of urban excavation and recording is high, the actual proportion of what has been examined, compared to what was at risk, is often now decreasing; hence, the amount that can now be usefully said about tenement layout and usage, or about repetitive plan forms or about the development of an area is often now limited. In the east, they are digging on a much larger scale, because of the sheer extent of the wholesale redevelopment of areas of their historic towns. There, it is possible to make

far clearer statements about town planning and morphological development, or about the incidence of distributions of types of structure or finds across large parts of a town; however, the resource implications of such large-scale excavation may mean that in some areas standards may differ from those of their western counterparts. Another appreciable difference in approaches is that while interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the past (e.g. the combined use of evidence from excavations, documents and standing buildings) are by no means uncommon in Britain, Scandinavia and the Low Countries, the tradition in both Germany and the former Eastern Block countries is to keep archaeological evidence quite separate from any historical evidence, as they are viewed as being quite separate disciplines.

As this series of publications develops, the volumes are growing both in size, and in the scope of the themes that they are tackling and the contributors are getting into a consistent and confident rhythm. So far, the most original methodological approaches have appeared in papers by two of the Swedish contributors — Johan Anund and Peter Carelli. In approaching the problem of how best to define the mercantile trading areas in medieval Europe (in the second volume, *Der Handel*), rather than simply accepting the documentary and place-name evidence of where the markets were sited at different periods, Carelli opted to test these models by plotting the incidence and spatial distributions of various classes of objects associated with trade, in order better to define the zones in which such activities took place, and to see whether there are any noticeable changes over time. As with any use of distribution patterns, there can also be pitfalls in the interpretations which may be read into these results, but it is a useful illustration of how we can use the data from fieldwork and casual finds to test and refine our models of where trade took place. In the forthcoming volume on *Die Infrastruktur*, Anund has chosen to draw a distinction between 'Primary Infrastructure' (e.g. the layout of the basic road system, bridges, etc., which a settlement must have in order to develop), and 'Secondary Infrastructure' (those things which are added during the growth of a town, in order to make it function more smoothly: e.g. a piped water supply, arrangements for its rubbish disposal, health care facilities, etc., etc.). This is a classic taxonomic approach towards the ordering of one's material, and establishing the order in which parts of a town would need to evolve to meet the needs of the community: once again, it demonstrates the contribution that the thoughtful application of archaeological method can make towards the study of a historic town.

The medieval archaeology of many of the better known western European towns in these volumes may be familiar to readers of this journal; and those towns which boast a wealth of standing historic buildings, good documentation, and a long tradition of archaeological fieldwork, are able to offer some very strong contributions (e.g. Lübeck and Visby invariably offer challenging papers). Perhaps less familiar to British readers will be the *archaeology* of German towns such as Uelzen, Soest, Göttingen and Lüneburg; while the scope and extent of the work which has been taking place in the eastern European towns during the last decade may come as a revelation. In Rostock, for example, over 10,000 sq m of the historic core has been excavated since 1990 (including two individual sites of 2,000 sq m in size). Nor is this by any means unique: Stralsund has seen a similarly extensive programme of excavation and recording of standing buildings. In Gdańsk (Danzig) work on Granary Island alone involved the excavation of some 5,500 sq m of structures by 1995, and has revealed a staggering amount of new structural and artefactual evidence; whilst in Elbląg (Elbing) a comprehensive excavation programme is helping to reconstruct the origins and development of this planned Hanseatic town. Precisely because so little information about the extent and nature of the archaeology of many of these former Eastern Block towns was previously available to Western readers, these contributions will be a very welcome addition to the canon of information about Hanseatic settlements.

Gläser's challenging agenda have succeeded in teasing out some refreshingly interesting papers — even from towns which have a well established record of publication. Hence, for example, in *Der Hausbau* Richard Hall offers possibly the first major review of the evidence for domestic architecture in York from 1200 to 1700, to include both standing buildings and the extensive excavations of the last three decades; as much of this was previously unpublished, this overview is a most welcome addition to the available information about the medieval buildings from the city. Similarly challenging overviews appear for the towns in the rest of the volume, and this massive tome contains a major corpus of data, extensively illustrated with plans, plates and sections, for a wide range of building traditions and types across the breadth of northern Europe: as this includes the first overview to appear in English of the building sequence and range from Novgorod, this volume will be an indispensable reference work for anybody studying building plans and construction techniques throughout this area. Similarly, the handsome volume on *Der Handel* should be an essential reference tool for finds researchers, economic historians, and any researcher studying trading mechanisms throughout the Hanseatic region.

The discussion chapters of these volumes represent the first attempt to synthesise all these new data, and to try to summarise the current state of knowledge for each of these themes. These discussions make a brave stab at trying to identify some of the common factors and differences which are becoming apparent in the towns throughout the Hanseatic region; doubtless, others with more time and resources at their disposal will pursue and expand these themes, harvesting this copious bounty of riches.

These volumes are already proving to be a major source of information about the current state of northern European urban studies, and should become a standard source for scholars for many years to come. They are handsome productions, which are not at all unreasonably priced (at the equivalent of just over £30.00), and represent a very useful and welcome addition to any library. It would be a tragedy if such a valuable series remained largely unknown in Britain, simply because they have not been widely promoted.

DAVE EVANS

The Rural House from the Migration Period to the Oldest Still Standing Buildings. (Prague: Institute of Archaeology, Supplementum 15; Ruralia Monograph 4). Edited by Jan Klápště. 21 × 30 cm. 362 pp., many figs., maps, plans and pls. Prague: Czech Institute of Archaeology, 2002. ISBN 80-86124-36-3. Price: €50.00 pb.

The 36 papers in this volume, as Haio Zimmerman's introduction explains, are the proceedings of the fourth *Ruralia* conference, a pan-European initiative for biennial meetings to discuss current research issues in medieval rural archaeology. The fourth gathering was held at Bad Bederkesa in Lower Saxony in September 2001 and was attended by more than 60 scholars from fifteen countries. The object of the exercise was to extend our understanding of domestic dwellings. That handy German word, *Bauforschung* (literally 'research on building — and buildings') has no precise equivalent in English, which is a shame, but it pithily sums up an interdisciplinary approach which has archaeology (below and above ground) at its heart, but draws on documentary history, engineering, literary history and ethnography to produce as rounded a view as possible.

The geographical and chronological range is very great, from Ireland in the west to Hungary in the east and from the 5th to the 16th centuries, with comparanda drawn from earlier times and some discussions of the fate of the buildings in the post-medieval period. There is a concentration on the north German plain and the countries around the Baltic, but a contingent from Hungary clearly had much to offer the conference. France and Spain (but not Italy) were represented to a lesser extent and Hiberno-British material was presented by Judith Alfrey, Stuart Wrathmell, Piers Dixon, Kieran O'Connor and John

Bradley. Inevitably, there is much discussion on the progression from earthfast to fully framed structures: sometimes this is handled entirely in structural terms and at others with reference to the ethnographic record and a discussion of cultural imperatives. Wrathmell's update on his thinking about this problem in an English context is particularly welcome and the volume is particularly useful in offering the opportunity to compare his work with results from elsewhere in Europe. But different building traditions, such as log construction in Switzerland, sunken-floored buildings in Hungary and the Islamic influence on plan-types in Spain are interestingly discussed in this wide-ranging collection of papers. The importance of environmental evidence is also considered and the location of *Bauforschung* within wider settlement studies is a *Leitmotiv* of many of the papers. The spectrum is wide and there is much here for both the timber framing enthusiast and the scholar of medieval economy and society. Almost all the papers are profusely illustrated with photographs, site plans, building records and 3-D models and reconstructions.

It is the presentation of the material that I find my gripes. Papers are published in German, English or French, sometimes, but not by any means always, with summaries in the other two languages. It is a good thing that there are so many illustrations, for some of the German is particularly intractable for those of us who foolishly abandoned the language after O-level. But more problematically, some of the English is also unclear. Where papers have been presented by scholars with English as a second language, they have not been corrected for idiomatic usage (this problem is demonstrated even in the title!) and it is sometimes difficult to fight one's way through the tortuous prose. What represents perfectly adequate English at a conference, where colleagues rally round to provide translations of problematic phrases and everyone is very conscious of their own linguistic shortcomings, is not, I feel, acceptable at publication. These papers really should have been corrected before the book went to press. Neither my French nor my German is good enough to assess whether the problem extends across the entire volume, but it is clear from all three languages that these papers have been published in the form in which they were read, complete with all the verbal paraphernalia of conference etiquette. A vibrant and exciting international group has produced an excellent volume that is marred by the lack of editing and one would hope that in future they could put together a collaborative multinational editorial panel to overcome this problem without placing too much work on the shoulders of a single editor.

JANE GRENVILLE

Vernacular Buildings in a Changing World: Understanding, Recording and Conservation. (CBA Research Report 126). Edited by Sarah Pearson and Bob Meeson. 21 × 30 cm. xiv + 151 pp., 53 figs. and 5 tbs. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001. ISBN 1-902771-19-2, ISSN 0589-9036. Price: £17.50 pb.

This edited volume is the outcome of a conference held at Rewley House at Oxford in 1998. It has as its aim the exploration of 'many of the current issues facing those who study small historic buildings, and who are concerned with their conservation' (summary, x). It discusses the historical development and context of buildings recording, including the need for more informed planning and conservation decisions; new research techniques; and the role of different bodies in the research and recording process.

Such themes echo earlier discussions, most notably Wood (1994).¹ In the best paper in the volume, Sarah Pearson discusses the history and contemporary profile of the study of smaller buildings. Pearson brings out the very complex development of such study since

¹ J. Wood (ed.), *Buildings Archaeology: Applications in Practice* (Oxford, 1994).

its inception in the later 19th century, and elegantly delineates the interaction between disciplinary attitudes and changing practical/conservation requirements.

The book clearly brings out the divergences and tensions between different groups in the study of buildings, from local authority and museum workers, to the world of continuing education and of 'independent' research. Kate Clark and David Baker discuss the role of research in conservation and the planning process; Richard Morriss looks at the role of the professional consultant; Barry Harrison and David Clark discuss the role of continuing education. Most of these and other papers contain valuable information and several gave this reviewer an enhanced appreciation of the very different outlooks and working environments in other areas of buildings archaeology. Few papers, however, stick their heads above the parapet and make positive suggestions for how, precisely, different workers in the field could and should bring their results together. Morriss's comments are rather negative and his implicit assumption that buildings recording can go on without an up-to-date knowledge of intellectual developments rather alarming; Malcolm Airs's concluding remarks are a brief summary of where we have got to, rather than a common agenda going forward.

I came away from this book feeling that issues of recording and conservation were well discussed, but understanding was less so. 'Understanding' can be a vague concept; with vernacular buildings, we can talk about 'understanding' a timber frame in terms of why it stands up and the carpentry techniques and competences employed; we can 'understand' a pattern of regional building; and we can 'understand' buildings in terms of a national and international narrative of architectural development. Different papers in this book allude to understanding at all these levels without really getting to grips with the relationship of one level to another or to 'understanding' in other areas of archaeology/history. The most valuable reflections on these themes, and on the interaction between archaeological and historical evidence, come from Nat Alcock's semi-autobiographical paper, from which this reviewer learnt a great deal.

Here, of course, we get into deep epistemological waters, and it does not help that one paper misrepresents my own position in an attempt to warn of the dangers of postmodern relativism. Jane Grenville quotes my words 'there can be no final single "right" or "wrong" interpretation' and rejects these on the grounds that, in her view, 'some interpretations are, quite simply, wrong' (p. 13). But the paper she cites went on to insist that: 'this does not mean that we must descend into unbridled relativism, in which one interpretation is not better or worse than any other.' There are good and bad interpretations of the past, interpretations that take more or less account of the evidence. Indeed, one of the reasons that a diversity of interpretations is good 'is that ensuing debate will throw up better ideas, ideas that are better accommodated to the evidence'.² Ironically, Grenville's account of my position is, quite simply, wrong.

The conference was held in 1998 and the publication date is three years later; what is here is valuable, but I would have liked to have heard the contributors' views on the 'changing world' in several important new respects. Changing patterns of further and higher education; new Government policy on social inclusion and diversity; the *Power of Place* document — all these represent further dimensions to the 'changing world' of the title. The past that these vernacular buildings are taken to represent is usually assumed to be small-scale, conservative or even 'backward', and unchanging, not to mention white and (for 'vernacular' buildings of the pre-industrial period) middle-class. How we evaluate such a vision and explain its relevance to a multicultural world is a question that has no ready answer, but one that many of these contributors, particularly those based in continuing education, would have tackled in a timely and interesting way.

² M. H. Johnson, 'Vernacular architecture: the loss of innocence', *Vernacular Architecture*, 28 (1997), 13–19, at p. 15.

Vernacular Buildings in a Changing World discusses a series of important issues in a thoughtful and stimulating way. It does not suggest a solution to these issues, and concludes by noting that 'despite divergence between contributors there is considerable agreement on the themes to be addressed'. We now need to move forward and not merely agree on the questions, but provide some answers.

MATTHEW JOHNSON

Experiencing Landscapes: A Study of Space and Identity in Three Marginal Areas of Medieval Britain and Scandinavia. (Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 31). By Karin Altenberg. 16 × 22 cm. vii + 293 pp., 71 figs., maps and plans. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2003. ISBN 91-22-01997-9, ISSN 0283-6874. Price: not stated pb.

The study of the medieval landscape has not changed in essence since W. G. Hoskins wrote the pioneer volume, *The Making of the English Landscape*. Its purpose has been to describe and reconstruct the appearance of the countryside in the past. Our colleagues working on the prehistoric period have largely abandoned this empirical approach for one which lays greater stress on the way people in the past thought of the landscape. They are interested in investigating methods of recovering the ideas and views of people in relationship to the landscape around them. The possibilities for undertaking such a project are considerably greater for the Middle Ages than earlier periods, because of the survival of written materials which provide some indication of how people organised the world around them. But in spite of the potential wealth of material, medievalists have shown little interest in a phenomenological approach to landscape.

The present book is the first full-length study to apply these ideas to the English medieval landscape. It is based on a doctoral thesis undertaken at the University of Reading and submitted in 2001. Stress is placed upon memory and 'thick description' or the way in which places have become associated with ideas and concepts from the past. It breaks new ground in not only using the results of field-survey, excavation, historical evidence and place-names, but also employing less familiar evidence, such as folklore and the visual appearance of sites within their setting. The book takes three areas identified as marginal: Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor in south-west England, and the Romele Ridge in Skåne in southern Sweden. The description of any land as 'marginal' has to be qualified since the papers of Bailey and Dyer, but Altenberg argues that these areas have a number of similarities which allow them to be treated comparatively.

It is necessary to say immediately that there are a number of problems in employing the range of evidence used. Perhaps the most striking is the way in which it seems to produce an almost timeless landscape, in which practices of the 19th century and folklore of the early modern period are projected backwards into some uncertain medieval past. An atemporal approach may be the only one possible in the prehistoric period for which the chronological resolution is much poorer than later ages; it is less convincing for the last millennium which we know were not timeless and unchanging. One example of this is the way in which the perambulation of the bounds of the forest of Dartmoor in 1240 is connected with a beating of the bounds of the commons of Okehampton in 1672 and of the manor of Blisland in 1816, and finally with a recent local historian's account of a 'traditional belief' that the people had been sacrificed on boundary stones 'in Saxon times'. It would be banal to state that boundaries have always been important for settled rural communities, and that they were maintained through physical markers and through the preservation of memory. It would be more interesting if the discussion had reflected upon the variety of knowledge of boundaries in different social communities and the changing importance of various boundaries. The 1240 perambulation was undertaken by the sheriff

of Devon and twelve knights; that of Blisland was undertaken by the vicar, school teacher and an aged man who had been taught the names of the boundary markers by his father.

The problems with the identification of landscape-types are somewhat similar. Altenberg adopts two of the categories devised by the Japanese writer, Tadahiko Higuchi, to which she adds two further types of her own. The idea of considering the location of settlements not in terms of access to resources, but in relationship to the way they would have been viewed in the landscape is novel in this context. But the argument that settlements really do conform to these types of landscape locations needs to be made with the aid of more maps and photographs. It is not clear whether the categories devised by Higuchi no doubt for quite different types of landscape are applicable here.

There is much to disagree with in this book. It would be easy to pick out many points which are doubtful. Like many books that are based closely upon a thesis text, it has a rather turgid style which may be appropriate for a doctorate and which does not make for easy reading. However, it would be much fairer to regard it as the author intended: 'the purpose of this study has been to test a different perspective on the medieval landscape and my efforts can therefore be seen as experimental'. As an experiment, it is a fascinating and challenging attempt to re-think how we might look at the medieval landscape. It is inventive and novel in the application of ideas, and if it does not entirely succeed in its outcome, it points the way ahead to how we might study landscapes in the future.

MARK GARDINER

Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy c. 400–1000. By Riccardo Francovich and Richard Hodges. 14 × 22 cm. 127 pp., 19 figs., maps and plans. London: Duckworth, 2003. ISBN 0-7156-3192-6. Price: £10.99 pb.

Il castello di Montarrenti. Lo scavo archeologico (1982–1987): Per la storia della formazione del villaggio medievale in Toscana (secc. VII–XV). (Biblioteca del Dipartimento di Archeologia e Storia delle Arti — Sezione Archeologica, Università di Siena, 6). By Federico Cantini. 21 × 29 cm. 276 pp., 105 b&w, 9 colour figs. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2002. ISBN 88-7814-214-X. Price: €34.00 pb.

L' 'incastellamento' en Italie centrale: pouvoirs, territoire et peuplement dans la vallée du Turano au Moyen Âge. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 309). By Étienne Hubert. 16 × 25 cm. 557 pp., many maps, plans and tbs., 56 pls. Rome: École française de Rome, 2002. ISBN 2-7283-0628-1. Price: not stated hb.

The process of *incastellamento* — the creation of fortified seats and villages in the Italian landscape in the last century of the first millennium and the first centuries of the second — is a theme that has long vexed historians, seeking to address forms, functions, content and origins. How far was the process a direct response to insecurity — Saracen or Magyar raids, internal conflicts within the peninsula — how far a formal (re)colonisation of the landscape, and how far a direct imposition of feudal control over farmers and territory? Italy's rich heritage of castles and fortified hilltop sites has prompted numerous studies on architectural form and evolution, and documentary sources have enabled coherent site histories to be composed. Whilst archaeology has provided a valuable tool for assessing structural evolution, in the last two decades especially, excavation has sought more to tackle the question of origins; with documentation prior to the late 10th century relatively weak and with details on building forms rare before the 12th century, excavation offers scope to inform significantly on the first, pre-monumental phases of these castles/fortified sites. Further, the application of landscape analysis enables sites to be set into a wider context.

In this regard, of the volumes under review here, it is best to consider first the compact, but highly useful text compiled by Francovich and Hodges. *Villa to Village* — a new member of the young Duckworth Debates series — primarily aims to reveal the value of landscape archaeology in elucidating the evolution of rural settlement forms in Italy, whilst highlighting the problems faced in addressing the specific period of the early Middle Ages, when text and trowel struggle to provide coherent guides. Central is the claim that castles do not spring into being out of Dark-age rural incoherence, but can be traced as part of a longer process of social landscape change. To its credit, the book is an excellent introduction to a fairly complex archaeological debate.

Francovich and Hodges examine the period A.D. 400–1000 chiefly via a series of case studies (these illustrated by plans and reconstruction drawings), some of which span the whole timeframe (if with gaps). Indeed, the authors draw on many of their own field projects. Thus Hodges for long directed the San Vincenzo project; its fate as a villa, its re-emergence as a monastic centre first of regional and then of national and international prominence, and its territorial exploitation and control are central to the debate. In particular, in the 9th and 10th centuries, a weakening of San Vincenzo as a central place (with economic activities previously moored on the abbey and its workshops) led to upland village creation and nucleation in its *terra*, followed, at the end of the period under study, by castle and tower foundations (pp. 42, 70–1, 81–3 and 92–9). Hodges and Francovich were both involved in the Montarrenti project (discussed below, Cantini volume) and Francovich has directed castle projects elsewhere in Tuscany, notably at Rocca San Silvestro and Scarlino, whilst fellow staff at Siena have carried out work at the 7th- to 9th-century village at Poggibonsi (pp. 68–9, 77–80 and 100–2). Throughout, full use is made of data from field survey projects undertaken in the last 30 years especially — not all of these published — to help understand shifting rural patterns.

In Chapter 1 ('The Debate'), the authors succinctly outline the divergence in views chiefly between historians and archaeologists regarding *incastellamento*. Whilst historians such as Toubert have stressed how documents infer *incastellamento* as essentially a new topography of control and settlement imposed in the 10th/11th century, the archaeological thrust is to claim earlier roots to the process, pinpointing an earlier end to scattered open farming and an earlier commencement of village formation on hilltops. In three main chapters, Francovich and Hodges examine the evidence available to illustrate these roots. First they chart the demise of Roman villas and the variable pattern of loss and survival, then they review the problematic archaeology of 7th-century settlements (notably the use of timber, the reduced material culture, the narrowed social horizons), before tackling the disputed relationships between estates or *curtes* and incipient castles. Crucial are the character and role of the 7th-century sites: what defines a village, who oversees such sites and how is control identified? For the 9th century, using evidence (notably regarding productive specialisation) from sites such as Poggibonsi, Montarrenti and even the papal *domusculta* of Santa Cornelia, Francovich and Hodges argue for the insertion of manorial initiatives in existing and on new sites. In their view, *incastellamento* is a material and textual expression of a tightening of aristocratic control on territories, but often based on pre-existing units.

Many of the sites under discussion are 'failed' ones and thus available for archaeological scrutiny — or at least are not destroyed by later medieval and modern buildings. The hilltop site of Montarrenti, south-west of Siena in Tuscany, emerges as central to the debate of Early-medieval rural redefinition. The rather delayed publication of the 1982–7 excavations has arguably hindered progress in this debate, although its main results were already much discussed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Entrusted with bringing the sizeable site documentation to press, the young scholar Federico Cantini has done commendably. The volume, in ten well-illustrated chapters, offers most components of a final excavation report, with detailed treatment of the site stratigraphy and phasing

(pp. 25–67), ceramics (pp. 69–169), animal bones (pp. 181–212 — English contribution by Gill Clark), and synthetic analysis (pp. 227–45); other sections, however, are very condensed versions of data from earlier interims and papers (mainly in *Archeologia Medievale*), notably Parenti's work on the standing remains (pp. 217–24) and Barker et al. on the field survey in the Val di Rosia, here very disappointingly limited to just half a page of text; more is in fact said of this in the Introduction to the volume provided by the project directors, the authors of *Villa to Village*. One might note here that whilst a full enough bibliography is provided, there are no entries after 2000 (although more recent ones occur in the excavators' introduction), and some key recent publications are omitted, such as Potter's Monte Gelato volume, and Negro Ponzi's final S. Michele di Trino reports. There are also spelling slips in the English entries, and in most cases et al. entries lack full lists of authors. The concluding chapter incorporates relevant historical data and contains a number of high-quality colour reconstruction drawings — albeit somewhat speculative in extent — of the main phases of the settlement, plus images of buildings at its 13th- and 14th-century peak (pls. 50–8).

Montarrenti retains elements of its medieval fortified *borgo*, notably two tower houses. Survey had identified that houses had once extended over the hilltop space and its northern flank (with partial occupation of the south flank); trenches were opened to sample a variety of zones, examining in total c. 15% of the settlement. Cantini's ceramic analyses have particularly served to frame the earliest site-phases, commencing in the 7th century: strikingly, settlement then comprised housing across much of the site, not just on the summit, indicating a coherent village community; the ceramics and other economic data reveal restricted but tangible interregional contacts. A wider range is evident for c. A.D. 750–850, when renewal of hilltop houses is evident, alongside construction of a storage structure and a furnace/oven, and a rebuilding of an upper palisade in mortared rough stone. Cantini argues that these data combine to suggest the imposition of an estate/manor within the village of Montarrenti, hinting also at closer ties with nearby Siena. With an apparent destruction of some summital buildings in the mid-9th century, Montarrenti may have lost its way for a while, and there is a notable impoverishment in ceramic forms and quality. A self-contained community persisted, however, to be renewed in the course of the 11th century with a rebuilt upper wall, new artisanal areas, a tower building, and wider economic links. The use of stone expanded in the 12th and 13th centuries to which period the large palace tower and the lower stone circuit wall belong. *Incastellamento*, in this archaeological sequence, fits best the 11th-century phase and the first tower construction; but clearly this *castello* evolved from an older defended site with former high status focus.

Hubert's book is the second fascicule of *Recherches d'archéologie médiévale en Sabine* (the first, edited by Hubert in 2000, *Une Région Frontalière au Moyen Âge*, considered the Turano and Salto valleys). Essentially, this is an extended analysis of *incastellamento*, based around the excavations at four castle sites (Offiano, Castiglione, Villa di Sant'Agnese, Montagliano) in the Turano valley in Appenninic central Italy between 1990–5. It is not a definitive set of excavation reports (no matrices, finds reports, etc. are presented), but summaries of the results framed into a full historical context. Indeed, the site of Castiglione became a separate but related French School project from 1995 and Hubert here considers early findings in advance of a separate monograph. The four sites, of varied size and documentation, are considered in turn in specific chapters in Book I (pp. 39–113; monochrome site photos are included, plus plans and sections, but the colour plate XVI, depicting selections — without scale — of medieval potsherds, is the only image of finds). Book II, divided into three parts, concerns the 'Organisation de l'Espace et Géographie de Peuplement' for the Turano valley (pp. 115–456). It provides very full discussions of the textual data for the sites and region, including ecclesiastical and monastic activities, and lordship histories. In brief, Book II surveys early medieval landscape exploitation (deriving information from the abbey of Farfa's archives), the genesis of *incastellamento*, the 'first'

incastellamento and village foundation, the 'second phase' and the frontier role of the Turano valley sites, and the 15th-century rural reorganisation (with castle and also village desertions). Arguably, the 'second-phase *incastellamento*' from the mid-12th century is the most important for the study zone, when the middle Turano was cut by the frontier between the Papal State to the west (with Montagliano and company) and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily to the east and south (with sites like Mareri east of the Salto valley).

Unlike Montarrenti, the scale of excavations at the four sites perhaps restricted coherent assessment of pre-masonry/pre-*incastellamento* phases, even if some traces of post-built structures and residual Early-medieval (generally 10th-century) ceramics were recovered at both Castiglione and Montagliano. Hubert argues against villages and against 'important occupation' prior to *incastellamento*. This may well be valid in these instances; after all, we should not expect to find busy places like 8th- to 9th-century Montarrenti beneath every castle and each region will be different and in part should relate to the previous depth of Roman activity. In the Turano valley, socio-political factors were perhaps key to prompting a busy exploitation of hills only in the 11th and 12th centuries, coinciding with the wider wave of *incastellamento*. Certainly the archaeology identifies stable, fortified complexes active at sites like Castiglione and Montagliano by the early 11th century, and developing variably subsequently: in Castiglione's case the *castello* expands in the 12th century but is destroyed and abandoned by 1150; Montagliano sees progressive conversion from timber to stone and a concentration of fortified habitats between c. A.D. 1100–1200; most sites see destructions in the later 13th century, followed by some partial renewals and then revival in the later 14th, before 15th-century loss (see pp. 111–13 for a chronological overview). Hubert stresses that these fluctuations in growth and status are as interesting as the actual rise of fortified sites, providing tangible and material guides to social and economic bonds in a period of evolving complexity; whilst his own publication gives fullest weight to the informative documentation, he recognises the need for fuller and specific research excavation and survey.

Indeed, what emerges from reviewing these three books is that each is valuable and worthwhile, but with dialogues that are still developing. We must not expect, however, single models to be applicable broadly: Montarrenti is clearly not unique, but does not at the same time seem typical; Hodges's and Francovich's *curtis*-manor and village model for Tuscany holds great promise, but may not equate structurally with units elsewhere (papal Santa Cornelia suggests this); Hubert highlights for his zone a persistence (if barely registered archaeologically) of dispersed settlement, some of which may have utilised hilltops. Understanding the Early-medieval landscape remains a crucial target: what population remained in the 7th century, how might village communities form, why were hilltops sought, how 'wild' was the landscape? Equally landscape archaeology remains to explore fully the diversity of medieval rural settlement beyond the castles and fortified villages: what range of nucleated and partially-nucleated sites existed, and what level of open landuse continued? Indeed, an appreciation of the landscape closer to towns is still in its infancy. These books thus provide new and challenging data and will contribute much to re-thinking rural Italy between A.D. 600 and 1200.

NEIL CHRISTIE

Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Landscapes on the Yorkshire Chalk. (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 350). By Chris Fenton-Thomas. 21 × 30 cm. 271 pp., 137 figs., maps, plans and tbs. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges and Archaeopress, 2003. ISBN 1-84171-510-7. Price: £30.00 pb.

This volume is based on the author's doctoral thesis of 1999 from the University of Sheffield, with some corrections and additions. Rather oddly, given the title, the coverage

of the volume runs from the Later Bronze Age, c. 1200 B.C., up to the post-medieval and immediately pre-enclosure period. Indeed, given the nature of the written and cartographic sources, the latter period receives more detailed coverage than many of the earlier phases of activity.

The approach adopted is stated to be one of landscape history, combining evidence from a variety of sources of evidence: archaeological, documentary, topographical and cartographical, but apparently not palaeobotanical. The intention is to achieve a close-grained intimate understanding of the landscape, and to provide an alternative to Keith Allison's *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape* (1976), which is criticised for being divided into chronological chapters and so emphasize thresholds of transformation and change.

The volume focuses on the central Wolds. Here we come up against a crucial difficulty in using this volume — the definition of this area and its use throughout the book as a case study. The study area is only indicated in the context of East Yorkshire as a whole in the very sketchy figure 3. While some of the other figures state in the caption that they represent the area, many others do not, although they appear to, and many maps show a much larger area without indicating the study focus. The reasons for selecting this area out of the Wolds as a whole are given briefly on page 30, but no justification is presented for simply drawing straight lines across the landscape to form a rectangle. The result is a study area which does not reach the edge of the Wolds in the west and reaches the River Hull well out into the Holderness lowlands to the south-east. Then for the post-medieval back to Anglo-Saxon periods, this study area is replaced by one whose boundaries are based on modern townships. Although this is claimed to be 'the same study area' (p. 75), a comparison of figures 3 and 86 demonstrates that this is not so, so that Study Area version 1 includes Driffeld, while Study Area version 2 does not. Unfortunately, the text confuses matters further by constantly drifting in and out of the study area, with Heslerton featuring prominently in both early and late period discussions although it falls in neither study area. The text would have gained greatly in clarity by adopting a nested approach, considering first the study area, then the Wolds as a whole, then East Yorkshire, then the wider world.

Unfortunately, despite the opportunity to make corrections, many inconsistencies and errors remain. Some strange typographical errors appear in the text, such as 'Jeffrey's 177two' for 'Jeffery 1772'. The bibliography is missing a number of items and consistently lacks page numbers for articles in journals and books. Figures often fail to match previous smaller-scale ones, and there is a mismatch between figure numbers in the text and those in captions.

Despite these difficulties, a number of interesting points are made in the discussion of the different periods, for the book does, in general, stick to a chronological narrative. It is, indeed, the stronger for that, as the decision taken to jump from the Romano-British to the pre-enclosure landscape then back to the Anglo-Saxon archaeology breaks the flow of the account. Linear earthworks of the Later Bronze Age are laid out in relation to ponds and springs, but also refer to earlier Bronze-age barrows, so Fenton-Thomas argues that these new land boundaries were made legitimate by connecting them to older monuments. These linear ditches, and others constructed in the Iron Age to sub-divide the landscape further, were re-used in the Anglo-Saxon period as places of burial, as were barrows (both Bronze-age and Iron-age). On the Wold edges settlements with associated cemeteries have been located, but both seem to be absent from the central Wolds. Here burials cluster around these older monuments, often those forming or at later boundaries. Fenton-Thomas follows Andrew Reynolds (e.g. in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*) in arguing that many of these burials in marginal locations were punishment burials, but it would have been helpful to see the full evidence laid out. Arguing on the basis of lack of archaeological evidence and the place-name pattern he argues that the Wolds were only settled fully in the 10th century. Although Cottam, Thwing and Wharram Percy are acknowledged as exceptions, a more detailed argument needed to be put forward to

establish how they survived and in the case of Cottam and Thwing what the relationship of the wealthy inhabitants was to the surrounding landscape and its supposedly few occupants. Can we really have already discovered the only exceptions to this claimed pattern? The medieval pattern is argued to develop out of this radical reorganisation of the landscape.

There is an interesting story struggling to get out from this book and a firm editorial hand would have released it.

NICK THORPE

Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom. By David Rollason. 26 × 18 cm. xxvii + 339 pp., 18 figs., 38 illus. and 10 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. ISBN 0-521-81335-2. Price: £55.00, \$85.00 hb.

David Rollason has produced an attractive and authoritative survey of the province of Northumbria in the Early Middle Ages, though aspects of it are likely to prove controversial. It is a book firmly grounded in the primary sources, which include archaeology, though it is fair to say that it is the written sources that drive the work, and Professor Rollason uses his considerable expertise to guide the reader through the potential pitfalls in using them. Scepticism is urged for some theories based on what are seen as rather scant foundations, such as arguments that have been advanced for the existence of some of the British kingdoms in the north. There is a good appreciation of the physical geography of Northumbria, aided by excellent maps, and one of the interpretative frameworks used in the volume is the identification of three heartlands, the East Riding of Yorkshire (Deira), the Tyne-Wear and the area between Lindisfarne-Bamburgh and the Firth of the Forth. These are the areas in which royal and ecclesiastical estates of the Northumbrian kingdom were concentrated and which are also seen as essential for understanding the post-kingdom history of the province when the three areas followed different destinies. The author reveals that the book arose out of his teaching at the University of Durham, and one can see the good teacher at work in its structure where the scope of each chapter is laid down at the beginning and the evidence carefully laid out so that the audience can understand how conclusions have been reached.

Two controversial issues with which the book has to deal are those of the nature of Anglo-Saxon and Viking settlement. Three alternative models are explored for the period between the end of Roman control and the appearance of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia in the later part of the 6th century. The case for and against each is critically assessed with due attention paid to recent archaeological interpretative frameworks. The tentative conclusion is that, while there may have been a period of natural evolution from Romano-British conditions and of relatively peaceful assimilation of British and Germanic culture, the creation of the kingdoms of Northumbria was predominantly a violent process led by English incomers and founded on the degradation of the native British. The reasons for his conclusions need to be carefully weighed by those who would favour other interpretations. On the question of the Viking settlement, Professor Rollason has less hesitation in reaching a conclusion, and argues that 'its impact seems to have been much less than that of the English in earlier centuries, and the assimilation of Viking elements to the existing English ethnic make-up, as well as to the dominant Christian culture, was the most prominent process' (p. 255). Attempts to trace a major Viking impact in York are robustly refuted. 'The successor states' into which the kingdom of Northumbria fragmented in the 9th and 10th centuries are seen as preserving much of the basic structure of their parent province, and the book ends with their absorption into the kingdoms of England and Scotland in the 11th century. The work is also concerned to look at broader cultural issues particularly the impact of Christianity, but there is less than one might have expected about ecclesiastical politics or the nature of minster churches; perhaps the author felt he

has written sufficient on these topics elsewhere. Nor is it a book in which to look for much discussion of the lives of the ordinary populace; its focus is on the secular and religious élites whose worlds dominate the surviving written and physical record. *Northumbria, 500–1100* is a stimulating work which provides an excellent overview of the history of the province, even if it is in places a little selective in its use of recent secondary literature. Readers of this journal may not agree with all its conclusions, but, if so, they will need to consider why they reject them and to take account of the author's strictures.

BARBARA YORKE

Catholme: An Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire. (Nottingham Studies in Archaeology 3). By Stuart Losco-Bradley and Gavin Kinsley. 22 × 30 cm. xii + 135 pp., 103 figs. and plans, 2 large fold-out plans, 7 tbs. Nottingham: Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham, 2002. ISBN 0-904857-13-1. Price: £25.00 hb.

This monograph is the report of excavations at Catholme, Staffordshire, by the Trent Valley Archaeological Research Committee between 1973–80, funded by the Department of the Environment and directed by Stuart Losco-Bradley. It is published by the Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham, and funded by English Heritage.

The excavations at Catholme, located on a gravel terrace of the River Trent, took place in response to the site's impending destruction through gravel extraction. The results of this work remain of great importance, even though excavation finished more than two decades ago, because they are still one of only a small number of extensive excavations of a settlement of this period and they represent the only large-scale investigation in this part of the country. A draft text was completed in 1985 and but for the illness of Stuart Losco-Bradley no doubt it would have been published a long time ago. This has been revised and updated by Gavin Kinsley but he has retained the intention of the original text as much as possible. There are also new contributions by Philip Dixon (building reconstructions), Helena Hamerow (development and context of the settlement), Ruth Leary (Romano-British pottery) and Alan Vince (Anglo-Saxon pottery).

The excavated settlement included 65 buildings, some of which have been rebuilt several times, comprising 52 wall-post buildings and 13 *Grubenhäuser*. Of particular significance is the series of multi-phased fenced and ditched boundaries which form enclosures around groups of buildings. These define a sequence of settlement zones and these appear to have remained fairly static through the life of the settlement. There are a number of pits, including a small group of cess-filled pits that are probably the remains of latrines. Several of these possess a post-hole at either end, presumably to hold posts for a structure above the pit, and look rather like small *Grubenhäuser*. There is also a small group of firepits and three unfurnished inhumations. The settlement is dated from at least the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D. by a series of radiocarbon dates, although it is possible that occupation began slightly earlier.

The group of wall-post buildings is one of the largest to have been excavated and a considerable part of the report concerns the catalogue and discussion of them. There is a clear description and plan of each building providing much new information on the buildings of this period, which compare closely in size and construction to other contemporary sites. However, it is unfortunate that the dimensions of each building have not been included in the catalogue. This is followed by an informed discussion by Philip Dixon of the reconstruction of the buildings, which is an important contribution to the wider study of timber buildings. There is a concise discussion of the *Grubenhäuser* which are reconstructed as sunken-floored buildings, although it is the suspicion of this reviewer, having had privileged access to the archive, that they could have possessed suspended floors.

There is a modest finds assemblage for a settlement of this period, partly because there was little survival of economic evidence either in the form of faunal or environmental remains. There is a significant assemblage of typical handmade Anglo-Saxon pottery, consisting of c. 3,000 sherds (35.7 kg), and a considerable quantity of slag (c. 47 kg), with distinct concentrations in several areas of the site.

The monograph contains an account of, and a catalogue of, the material from the cemetery at Wychnor, discovered in 1899 by workmen digging in a sand-pit and located c. 500 m to the south-west of the settlement excavations. This is dated to the 6th to early 7th century based on the typological affinities of the artefacts. There is also a discussion of the Romano-British activity and the multi-period terrace-edge boundary as well as a summary of the prehistoric funerary or ritual monuments and later prehistoric settlement, but these are the subject of a separate monograph.

It seems likely that the excavated site (3.4 ha) formed part of a larger settlement; as the west and south-west sides had been already quarried away, and it might well have extended to the south. Losco-Bradley and Kinsley suggest that the settlement remains immediately to the south of the excavations, indicated by pottery in the topsoil and cropmarks, might have been contemporary with the adjacent Wychnor cemetery, but it is not unknown during this period for the cemetery to be separated by some distance from the contemporary settlement. They interpret this as a single shifting settlement that drifted north-east along the gravel terrace. However, as the pottery is not closely datable and that from the fieldwalking is not distinguished from the material recovered by excavation, it does not really demonstrate that the settlement shifted along the terrace. Furthermore, the boundary ditches emphasise stability and longevity, supported by the radiocarbon dating, which sits uncomfortably with a model of shifting settlement.

The final section concerns the development and context of the settlement, which is undertaken by Helena Hamerow. She refers to Catholme as a 'Dark Age' British settlement with the impact of Anglo-Saxon cultural influence limited and mostly late; she suggests this may be due to the ethnic affinities of the community. Clearly, the influence of Anglo-Saxon material culture was limited in this part of the country during the 5th and 6th centuries. However, the differences between this and other settlements in the 'core' region of Anglo-Saxon England may have been over-emphasised. If the radiocarbon dates are correct, there is no reason why the settlement should not have begun during the 5th century. The building forms and construction techniques used, and the types and range of material culture, are typical of other Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon settlements. Catholme is no longer the only secular settlement of this period with a complex of enclosures to have been intensively investigated, as for example, West Heslerton. It is becoming increasingly apparent that there is no longer a single type-site for this period. Perhaps unsurprisingly, settlements range in size, structure and complexity.

The publication of Catholme is an important milestone for Anglo-Saxon building and settlement studies and also for this region, on the western fringe of Anglo-Saxon England. The monograph is also at a very reasonable price. In particular, Gavin Kinsley should be congratulated for his efforts in bringing this important site to publication.

JESS TIPPER

The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, near Winchester, Hampshire. (Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 59). By Sonia Chadwick Hawkes with Guy Grainger. 22 × 30 cm. xii + 222 pp., 58 figs., 10 pls. and 52 tabs. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003. ISBN 0-947816-60-7. Price: £22.50 hb.

Worthy Park is the second of the late Sonia Hawkes's cemetery excavations to be published posthumously, and in this case it was achieved by Oxford Archaeology and in

particular by Edward Biddulph and Anne Dodd. Of course the publication of an archaeological site by a third party is always going to be a difficult task especially when, as here, the deceased had such intimate knowledge of it. Fortunately the task was made easier because the post-excavation work was nearing completion and several chapters were already written. These have been reproduced essentially as found with only the slightest of editorial involvement. The emphasis, as the editors state, was to make the data available and as a result it is very much a product of its time. But despite the obvious omissions it does have a certain coherence and qualifies as a report as opposed to a series of separate articles. In this respect Guy Grainger's involvement in the 1980s must be acknowledged.

The cemetery was first encountered accidentally in 1944 during construction work but was not subjected to any detailed investigation until Hawkes's involvement in 1961–2. The excavation was given a high priority because of the hitherto lack of Early Anglo-Saxon material from Hampshire and its importance increased with the discovery of cremation — a rite not identified in the county until that point. Forty years later and the results are now offered in a handsomely presented hardback which is available for the very reasonable price of £22.50.

On the whole the results are what you get: details of the 94 inhumations and 46 cremations spanning the later 5th to mid-7th century. It is disappointing however that the chapters concerned with general analysis and discussion, i.e. the grave goods and cemetery layout, were unable to be included because of incompleteness. Consequently the wider significance of this important site is not brought out.

The introduction (Hawkes) considers the circumstances of discovery and methods of excavation. Despite its quaint, almost diary-like nature, it makes for an interesting, compelling, perhaps almost refreshing read when compared to modern, more scientific, reports. The grave catalogue (Hawkes and Grainger) is next and forms the main part of the report. In terms of structure and content this would not be out of place in the publication of a modern cemetery excavation. And it is worth pointing out that it contains very detailed information, especially about the grave-structure, grave-fill and position of the skeleton, certainly exceeding the norm. The artefacts are thoroughly discussed by assemblage and where applicable are placed into typological groups. The grave plans are of a high standard and appear in close proximity to their respective text. Illustrations of the artefacts follow and are once again of a high standard. Finally, a section on the cremations is presented and again the reviewer can not raise any objections to the style or format.

Chapter 3 (Wells and Denston) is concerned with the human remains and covers a wide range of different skeletal variables. On the whole this is the chapter which has borne the passage of time most noticeably and would have benefited from a modern rewriting. However most of the basic data are presented in tables and can be re-evaluated without much difficulty. The report is rounded off with three short chapters: a consideration of structural features (Grainger); the textile remains (Crowfoot); technological analysis of several metal artefacts (Wilthew and Watson) and finally a gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon sites in Hampshire (Hawkes) which is now out of date.

Despite the editor's concerns about incompleteness and out-datedness, there really is not that much to worry about. It presents the data in a clear and coherent fashion and is not that far from the majority of modern cemetery reports. After all we are still seeing the publication of largely descriptive, evidence-led publications. Has the format of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery report really progressed so little in the last 40 years? Perhaps now with the publication of Mrs Hawkes's sites it is an appropriate time to take stock and have a proper debate about structure and content.

A major shortcoming is the lack of a section addressing the importance of this site, especially necessary for readers without specialist knowledge. The reviewer will therefore highlight some areas of significance. The relatively high degree of intercutting graves is unusual. Was this because of the use of rigidly enforced family plots, or pressure on space

from boundaries? The stratigraphy gives a rare opportunity to check the artefactual dating. Moreover, several of the stratigraphically earliest graves are unaccompanied. Are these the 'missing' 5th-century burials that join Roman and Saxon? The women are impoverished; certainly when compared to surrounding Saxon cemeteries. A result of limited contacts; or, as this reviewer suspects, the influence of Jutish culture in the region? These are just some of the many important questions raised by this report — questions that now require the attention of the scholars left with the legacy of Hawkes's investigations.

NICK STOODLEY

Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989–99. (MoLAS Monograph 15). By Gordon Malcolm and David Bowsher with Robert Cowie. 21 × 30 cm. xvi + 359 pp., 180 figs. and plans, 116 tbs. London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2003. ISBN 1–901992–32–2. Price: £26.95 pb.

This publication provides a major and welcome contribution to our knowledge of *Lundenwic*, previously known only from relatively small-scale investigations and more general surveys of the evidence. The excavation of approximately 2,500 sq m in the heart of the 7th- to 9th-century 'town' has allowed a number of strands of evidence relating to the settlement, economy, inhabitants and their occupations to be brought together and reviewed. The report is split in to three sections covering the site sequence and description (139 pp.), a consideration of various aspects of the Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement (56 pp.), and detailed information on the artefacts and ecofacts which is contained in the specialist appendices (140 pp.).

London appears to have been a significant place from as early as the beginning of the 7th century when it became a see and the cathedral church of St Paul the Apostle was built, probably close to the present cathedral within the abandoned Roman city. This aspect of London's history remains archaeologically obscure, but then so did our knowledge of *Lundenwic* until two decades ago. Like other *wics*, *Lundenwic* was established on an open site, to the west of the Roman city, perhaps a royal foundation during the reign of Wulfhere of Mercia (658–75).

Understanding the site sequence has been considerably helped by the survival of some areas of stratified deposits, although the difficulties of absolute dating and applying date ranges to the various phases of occupation are clearly set out. Study of the selected dating evidence tabulated by period shows how imprecise this dating is, and the necessary subjectivity required in correlating developments across the site.

A small number of graves provide intriguing evidence for the earliest, mid-7th-century phase of settlement, and these presumably belonged to a dispersed cemetery which included the grave containing a 7th-century composite disc brooch found recently at Floral Street. This cemetery, on the periphery of a settlement that is likely to have been focused on the waterfront, was subsequently abandoned and a street and buildings laid out over it reflecting expansion in the late 7th and early 8th centuries. The street appears to have been an axial route within the settlement, and the associated sequence comprising more than 60 timber structures provides the main element of this section of the report. The use of colour plans and photographs in this volume, and the application of a 'building template' to indicate the likely extent of the many structures for which little evidence survives, helps in conveying an impression of the complex structural sequence. That such a template can be imposed shows how similar in size most of these buildings were, though as in *Hamwic* (Southampton) and elsewhere the arrangements of post-holes, wall trenches and other structural features were far from regular.

The expected patchwork and range of crafts are represented, notably textile-working, and a group of tanning pits provides rare evidence for this industry, although no leather,

wood or other organic materials survived. Of particular interest is the gold and silver working debris and possible coin blanks. Illustrations, including colour photographs of the artefacts, are liberally dispersed throughout the text where they are linked to the buildings or properties in which they were found. Information from the environmental studies is also integrated with the site description and thematic sections, and provides useful information on the animal and plant resources required to sustain the settlement. Most was produced in the hinterland (for which there is a dearth of archaeological evidence), though some pigs and poultry were kept in the network of yards and alleys surrounding the closely packed buildings. The butchery and other waste left lying around helps convey an impression of the insanitary conditions which must have been prevalent, with only the street kept clear of rubbish. The two reconstruction drawings perhaps convey a rather more tidy and bucolic character than I might have imagined.

These reconstructions may, however, be correct in depicting *Lundenwic* as a 'rural agglomeration', albeit covering almost 60 ha, rather than an international trading centre constantly thronged with overseas merchants. *Lundenwic* was clearly an important manufacturing centre, market place and consumer of agricultural products, but the level of foreign trade and the function of *wics* has recently been questioned by several writers.¹ It seems certain that *Lundenwic* was the pre-eminent English *wic*, the only one referred to as an *emporium*, but even here the quantities of Continental pottery and glass are not great and the nature of their use within the settlement uncertain.

The decline of *Lundenwic* is difficult to define chronologically and is broadly ascribed to the long period between 770 and 850, largely on ceramic grounds and a small hoard of Northumbrian stycas concealed after the second Viking raid in 851. The decline is variously attributed to political changes in the control of *Lundenwic*, disruption to trading caused by Carolingian civil wars, fires, and Viking raids. The decline is most manifest in the digging of a substantial defensive ditch in the mid-9th century that cut across the street and enclosed a reduced area of the town. How much longer settlement continued within this defended area is unknown, but the ubiquitous 'dark earth' developed and the Royal Opera House site itself remained unoccupied until the Inigo Jones arcade and cellars were built around part of the Piazza in 1631–7.

One must thank the authors and publishers of this volume for their clear, high quality presentation of the evidence, which by its nature is sometimes difficult to describe and interpret. The work is particularly important because, as the authors note, there is unlikely to be an opportunity to excavate a Middle Anglo-Saxon site of this size in London for the foreseeable future.

PHIL ANDREWS

Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bristol. By David Sivier. 17 × 25 cm. 162 pp., 71 figs., maps and plans. Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2002. ISBN 0-7524-2533-1. Price: £16.99, \$27.99 pb.

The origin of Bristol remains one of the more problematical issues in Early Medieval archaeology. By the reign of King Stephen, it is described as 'almost the richest city' in England, yet the first, tentative evidence for its existence dates only to the beginning of the 11th century, where there seems to have been a mint issuing coins with the inscription ON BRIC, generally thought to refer to Bristol. There are brief references to it in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle as the port of embarkation of Harold to Ireland in 1052, and as the base of his naval activities in 1062. Domesday Book is no clearer either, and Bristol is mentioned

¹ M. Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999).

as part of the larger manor of Barton Regis, but with its burgesses contributing the relatively large sum of 110 marks of silver to the king. Yet by the 12th century Bristol is the major western port of England, with trade networks extending to Ireland (and possibly beyond into the Viking Atlantic) and western France. How did this rapid development take place?

Sivier's book is an attempt to bring together the diverse historical and archaeological materials to explain the growth of Bristol in the late Saxon and early Norman periods. As such it is a useful compilation of what is already generally known, although the value of the synthesis is considerably reduced by the absence of any referencing in the text (there is, however, a short bibliography). The photographs are very murky, and in one case the same photo appears twice with a different caption!

There are generally three possible theories for the origins of Bristol. Perhaps the most romantic is that this was the site where St Augustine met with the Welsh bishops in 603, and that one of the monks with Augustine, a certain Jordan, was buried here and had a late medieval chapel dedicated to him. The great Victorine abbey of St Augustine's (medieval buildings of which now form Bristol Cathedral) could have been founded close to the site of this famous event, and a single piece of Late Saxon sculpture — the famous Harrowing of Hell frieze — is known. Archaeological and historical evidence is, however, completely lacking. Another romantic theory is that Bristol was a Scandinavian settlement established to trade with Dublin and other Norse settlements in Ireland. There is some numismatic evidence for trade between the West Country and Ireland, and a few Viking-type artefacts have been found in Bristol itself, but it would seem unlikely that a Scandinavian town could be established so close to the heartland of the kingdom of Wessex. The most probable theory on present evidence is that Bristol was established as a burh, within the royal manor of Barton, probably by Aethelred II, around A.D. 1000. It is in many ways a classic 'bridge-head' burh defending one of the lowest crossings of the Avon, where it was possible to construct an oval enclosure on a spur overlooking the river. While located inland (and so protected from pirates and other raiders), the extraordinary tides allowed ships to reach the port through the Avon Gorge with relative ease.

The main difficulty facing anyone studying the origins of Bristol is the absence of archaeological evidence. Bristol was heavily damaged by wartime bombing, and this should have provided ample opportunity for rescue excavations in advance of development. An archaeological unit was established in the city, and excavations did take place, but very few of them have ever been published. The unit was closed down ten years ago and a new archaeological service was established, but walked away from the publication responsibilities of the earlier work. Development continues apace in Bristol, but now in the world of PPG16 the minimum of intervention takes place and the Early-medieval levels are sealed under concrete and perforated by piles. Two key sites, next to Bristol Bridge, that could have informed us much about the origins of the city, were only excavated within the last three years to the upper post-medieval levels and were soon covered over. Sivier had to rely on Philip Rahtz's excavations in the 1950s as his main source for Anglo-Saxon Bristol.

Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bristol will undoubtedly be of interest to those who have an interest in the city's local history. However, given the very poor archaeological evidence available, it makes little contribution to our understanding of the development of late Saxon and early Norman urbanism in general. This will require a dedicated scholar who is able to plough through 30 years of excavation notebooks and tons of finds languishing in museum storerooms.

MARK HORTON

The Papar in the North Atlantic: Environment and History (St John's House Occasional Papers 10; The Papar Project 1). Edited by Barbara E. Crawford. 15 × 21 cm. 143 pp., 36 figs., maps and plans, 4 colour pls. St Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies and The University of St Andrews, 2002. ISBN 0-9512573-4-X. Price: £14.00 + £2.00 p&p pb.

Papa Stour and 1299: Commemorating the 700th Anniversary of Shetland's First Document. Edited by Barbara E. Crawford and Jon Gunnar Jørgensen. 24 × 17 cm. 184 pp., 45 figs., maps and pls. Lerwick: The Shetland Times, 2002. ISBN 1-898852415-83-9. Price: £18.99 hb.

The Papar in the North Atlantic is the proceedings of one of the occasional Dark Age conferences hosted by St Andrews University, this one in 2001 and as usual demonstrating that conference papers can indeed be marshalled to appear in print just a calendar year after the conference was held. It is also a manifesto for Dr Crawford's research project on the people commemorated as *papar* in place-names scattered through the northern Highlands and Islands, with some enigmatic representation in Iceland. The same editor's *Papa Stour and 1299* is the finely produced volume originating in the 700th anniversary conference for 'Shetland's first document', a deposition drawn up by the lawthingmen of Shetland in connection with a land-related dispute on an island which happens to bear one of these *papar* names (and which shares with most other *papar*-named locations, the characteristic of being, by regional standards, outstandingly endowed with rich — and taxable — farmland). On the face of it therefore, the fields of interests of the two volumes are half a millennium apart.

The *papar* have consistently eluded archaeological efforts to pin them down, with good secure datings to put them in advance of the Viking Age, in their eponymous locations.¹ There are hints, as in Kristján Ahronson's contribution, that late 8th- or early 9th-century settlement in Iceland may soon be proved, but more work is awaited. Ian Fisher provides a region-by-region survey of some of the plain crosses that may be associated with sites having *papar* names, but conclusions are again vague.² Chris Lowe's presentation of his work on Papa Stronsay is refreshing, in that his title ('... or 12th century myth?') reminds us that it is in 12th-century Icelandic writings, and in *Historia Norvegiae* — the product of an age of speculative scholarship — that the most definite yet fanciful statements of the nature of the *papar* are offered. The chapel site that he has excavated with such skill and erudition is one of the most intriguing of all *papar*-associated places, and has produced some Christian archaeology of the highest interest, but yet that firm dating of ecclesiastical remains to a pre-Viking-Age context remains elusive. Meanwhile, to this reviewer's joy, Kevin Brady and his colleagues have courageously climbed, and excavated, the rock-stack known as Brei Holm, against a background of David Dumville's writing enthusiastically (and who can gainsay him?) about these absurdly extreme stack sites again. It will be good if this encourages further explorations, even though I suspect that these will only open up further questions. The true identity of the Orkney and Shetland *papar* surely is to be found in the prosperous farming estates for which they had an unerring eye: why do so many writers treat the *papar* as some exotic class of persons, when in fact they were a familiar medieval institution — the Church?

Ian Simpson's and Erika Guttman's soil analysis results, which indicate significant shifts in arable land management occurring 'between the middle Iron Age and the later Norse period', lead us into the 1299 volume. Their suggestion is that the *papar* were the innovators in this agricultural improvement process. In *Papa Stour 1299*, Brian Smith proposes a re-structuring of the Shetland tenurial system, the breaking-up of old earldom

¹ E.g. Kristján Eldjárn, 'Papey: Fornleifarannsóknir 1967-81', *Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags*, 88 (1989), 35-188.

² Fisher claims to have 'exploded' the attribution of the Noss cross-slab to the stack, Holm of Noss, but this misunderstanding by an earlier writer was corrected long ago: *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 107 (1975-6), 153.

manors as we enter the 14th century, 'their fragments becoming discrete farms, with free tenants' (p. 42). This reviewer wonders whether that process, too, might have been accompanied by changes in farming practices. Throughout the Highlands and Islands we have yet to chart the changes that took us from the patchwork of small, ard-tilled fields of the Bronze Age, by stages (one of which would be the introduction of the mould-board plough) to and through the Middle Ages to the eve of the Age of Improvement. The Dark Ages seem a plausible context (at the present state of knowledge it should be put no more strongly than this) for the introduction of the plough, which offered the technical facility of incorporating animal manure more effectively into the soil. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the *papar* were the sole agents. Is this not just one of the wider changes involved in moving from prehistoric to medieval attitudes to the working, management and political control of land? — towards the creation of institutions which, by 1299, in their turn are falling due for revision as the Middle Ages enter their late phase.

Ragnhild, the central figure in the dispute that generated the document, perhaps did not grasp the radical changes going on around her. We get a brief vision of her, standing confrontationally in the Duke's *stófa* on Papa Stour, a human moment worthy of *Montaillou*, but we never hear further where her righteous anger led her. For the archaeologically oriented reader, this *stófa* will be the focus of interest, and the documentary emphasis of the book's title will obscure its status as a seminal publication in timber-building studies. Crawford's own excavations on the Biggings site itself are set alongside contributions by the leading students of Nordic building traditions — Steffen Stumann Hansen, Haakon Christie and Bjarne Stoklund. It is striking that a high-status building in use in Shetland at the end of the 13th century should remain so firmly Scandinavian. Has Shetland now parted cultural ways with Orkney, where comparable settlements use stone,³ and show a continuation of the 'Normanising' tendency, the legacy of the cathedral-building Earl Rognvald?

RAYMOND LAMB

Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters. (Winchester Studies 4, part 3). By Alexander R. Rumble. 23 × 29 cm. xxiv + 253 pp., 13 figs., maps and plans and 5 pls. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002. ISBN 0-19-813413-4. Price: £120.00 hb.

This latest contribution to the monumental Winchester Studies series provides new texts and translations of some 33 documents (some of them extracts) relating to the city and environs of Winchester in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. All the documents have been published before and a few translated but they are located in dispersed and sometimes inaccessible places and it is greatly to our advantage to see them brought together here. Dr Rumble was a member of the Winchester Research Unit in 1976 when the series was inaugurated and the present volume is the fruit of long familiarity with the documentary traces of the city's history. He assembles documents written in three languages (Latin, Old English and Middle English) drawn from a variety of sources, among them six monastic archives. Their cumulative impact is very striking: together they delineate a place of considerable social, economic and technological complexity.

The earliest documents, from A.D. 901–2, indicate a city not only with streets, churches, a boundary wall (document II), tenements and a market, but with artificial watercourses for the operating of one, possibly more than one, mill (document I). Mills and mill-runs recur in the 10th-century documentary record (documents VII, VIII, XIX, XXII

³ E.g. Tuquoy: *Medieval Archaeol.*, 27 (1983), 224; 28 (1984), 261; and 33 (1989), 235–6.

and p. 28) underlining their importance. Although Winchester emerges as a city dominated by local monastic powers, other elements of the town's population may be detected or imagined: the citizenry (document VIII), the craftsmen whose trades provides the names of streets around the market (tanners, butchers, shield-wrights: documents XV, XVI), the unknown occupants of property cleared when monastic boundaries were renegotiated in the 970s (document VII), and the unnamed tenants of distant monastic landlords (documents XXI, XXIV, XXVII). This body of town-dwellers is joined in the 11th-century record by officials (document XXVII and p. 31).

Post-Conquest Winchester emerges less vividly from the collection. We learn of the history of New Minster cemetery and burial rights for the citizens, arrangements for fairs and public processions, the protection of monastic privileges, but nothing quite as singular or colourful as the information about the 10th-century town. Here one begins to ask why the post-Conquest record seems relatively poor. The volume opens with the statement that 'The documents presented in the volume relate either to the ownership of land and property rights in early medieval Winchester, or to the foundation or reform of each of the three minsters there', but one would like to know how 'early medieval' is delimited and more about the post-Conquest written record. In other respects, however, the editor has amply anticipated the needs of his readers, non-specialist and specialist alike. He provides a clear introduction, listing manuscript sources (with some palaeographical notes), discussing document-types and questions of authenticity, and describing the history and topography of Winchester as captured in the written record. Each text is prefaced by a commentary, discussing authenticity and historical significance, and a list of manuscript-witnesses, previous editions, facsimiles and translations. There follow text and facing translation in double-column format together with detailed historical and stylistic notes. Glossaries of Latin and of Old English words further enhance the utility of the volume as do the four indexes. The whole is handsomely produced in the best traditions of the series, with good photographs of the manuscripts and fine maps (some of them semi-speculative reconstructions of charter-bounds). Only two things are to be regretted: the lack of a general index (although parts of the introduction serve to cross-reference features in the charters) and the price, which may place the book beyond the reach of some institutional purchasers. One suspects that the decision to include translations may be partially responsible. They enhance the utility and greatly extend the readership of the volume, making intelligible the most arcane Latin and opening up to wider scrutiny highly interesting texts (compare the account of forfeiture for adultery in document Vv) but they lengthen the volume considerably.

Property and Piety makes a contribution not just to the history of Winchester, for which it makes essential reading, but to local, urban, social, economic and even to intellectual history (see the discussion of document IV). Its appearance will be welcomed by professionals and amateurs, by teachers and researchers in a great variety of disciplines.

JULIA CRICK

Oxford before the University: The Late Saxon and Norman Archaeology of the Thames Crossing, the Defences and the Town. (Oxford Archaeology, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 17). Edited by Anne Dodd. 22 × 30 cm. xviii + 477 pp., 138 figs., maps and plans, 53 pls. and 69 tbs. Oxford: Oxbow Books with Oxford Archaeological Unit and English Heritage, 2003. ISBN 0-947816-75-5. Price: £19.95 hb.

This book records a series of excavations mostly undertaken by the Oxford Archaeological Unit (now Oxford Archaeology) on sites in the city of Oxford dating before the growth of the university in the 13th century. It concentrates on four main themes: the Thames crossing at St Aldates and Folly Bridge; the defences of the Late Saxon and

medieval town; the street layout particularly along the main east-west axis of High Street and Queen Street, including the Late Saxon occupation of All Saints Church; finally, finds and pottery are dealt with in Chapter 6 and environmental remains in Chapter 7. An admirably succinct but wide ranging synthesis is provided by the editor, Anne Dodd, in Chapter 2.

Oxford's situation on the record gravel terrace attracted a substantial religious focus in the Bronze Age with barrows revealed by aerial photography in the University Parks and excavated in Logic Lane and St Johns Street. Iron-age farmsteads were located in Port Meadow and dug in Whitehouse Road. The Romans, however, despite the existence of a farm at Mansfield College, avoided settling on the site of the later historic city, concentrating their pottery industry well away to the east of the town, from the Churchill Hospital site down to the Thames.

Oxford's urban origins lie late in the Anglo-Saxon period: it is first mentioned by name in 911–12. Near the site of a Middle Anglo-Saxon monastery of St Frideswide, the town was founded to guard and enhance an important river crossing on the boundary between Wessex and Mercia and on a main land route from the Midlands to Winchester and the south coast. One of the excavators recorded in this volume claimed that there was an artificial causeway across the Thames dating from the time of Offa and associated with Mercian expansion into Berkshire. The alternative view, favoured in this report, is that the clay bank was part of an alluvial island substantially deposited by natural processes in the late Iron Age and Roman Period. On the other hand archaeology has revealed the timbers of a Late Saxon trestle bridge which was the precursor of the much more substantial Grand Pont of the Norman Robert D'Oilli, the Romanesque stone arches of which still take the Abingdon road south out of Oxford.

It has long been realised that Oxford's defences dated back to the foundation of the burh, either in Alfred's reign or Edward the Elder's. This volume, by reporting the 39 or so excavations carried out on the defences, clarifies the picture on the north side, particularly the line of the walls at St Michael's Street and New College. It traces the evidence from a primary, timber-faced, earthen rampart via a stone-faced version to the bastioned stone circuit of the 13th century paid for by murage grants. Unfortunately there are still plenty of gaps in our knowledge. It is still unclear whether the Anglo-Saxon burh was fortified on the south and west sides of the town where the Thames may have provided an alternative barrier. St Michael's church tower at the Northgate is seen as an integral part of the Saxon defences — a full stone-by-stone recording has been undertaken and it is dated by John Blair to the period 1010–60. Another lacuna is the line of the original defences on the east side of the burh before the eastern extension. The 1899 excavations, reported here in detail for the first time, suggest that a wall ran off to the south from the junction by the Bodleian library, but this has only been traced for a few feet.

With regard to the street layout of the Anglo-Saxon town, H. E. Salter, probably the greatest local historian of the city, surmised as long ago as 1936 that Oxford was laid out as a planned town c. 900. This rectilinear layout has been borne out by the 57 excavations of early metalled street surfaces. These have been subjected to many re-surfacings, in one case as many as 18. The course of streets also has been altered. Queen Street seems to have been much wider at the centre and may have been intended for marketing but was subsequently encroached on by buildings. The main streets also had mid-road drains or 'kennels', that in the High Street operating by gravity down the W.–E. slope.

Oxford has not so far produced a corpus of information about its early houses comparable with those of York or London. Cellar-pits lined with walls of wattle and daub were found along Cornmarket with a few larger post-built halls behind. The cellars seem to have provided storage or possibly workshop space. At All Saints a rare post-hole building was found in the one-sixth of the church interior available for excavation and two post-built structures were found at Lincoln College below the kitchen. Stone houses appear to

have become general by the 12th century. The town seems to have spread outside the walls along the Thames to the south and to the east along the High Street to St Clements. St Giles, on the other hand, was not built up until the 12th century, while Oseney Abbey developed the extra-mural suburb round St Thomas' Church.

The evidence of the finds (Chapter 6) and the environment (Chapter 7) are well integrated into the synthesis covered by Chapter 2. A number of sites in High Street and Cornmarket were involved in metalworking. There was also evidence for butchery, leather- and hornworking and cloth-production. The Thames provided facilities for flax-retting while trade contacts were illumined by the pottery and stone finds. Much of the pottery was St Neot's ware, manufactured in the East Midlands and found in quantities in the town centre. Mellor suggested that it may point to the presence of Danish settlers, along the market frontages, with a preference for the distinctive vessel range of this pottery. Imports from abroad include pots from France (Pas de Calais), Belgium and the Rhineland.

This book has been long in gestation but it is all the better for it. The maps are well drawn and a number are attractively reproduced in colour. There are very few errors. Figure 1.1 needs a scale, while the street numbers do not figure in Figure 3.15. It is not clear why the discussion of St Anne's Crypt is separated from the chapter on All Saints Church (p. 325). The plan of Bastion 4 (square on the inside and curved on the outside) is portrayed inconsistently in Figures 4.17 and 4.11. This book is exceptionally good value. It greatly furthers our knowledge of Late Saxon and Norman Oxford.

JOHN STEANE

Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester. By Nigel Baker and Richard Holt. 18 × 25 cm. 450 pp., 80 figs., maps, plans and pls. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004. ISBN 0-7546-0266-4. Price: £75.00 hb.

This is a landmark in the interdisciplinary study of English towns, and a very important contribution to the history of Gloucester and Worcester. This book was generously made available in draft form to researchers at Gloucester and Worcester some ten years ago, and its publication has been eagerly awaited.

The project of which this book is the culmination began in 1988. Its aim was to assess the contribution of the medieval church to the developing form of English towns. The initial proposal was to select one town and to apply to it detailed interdisciplinary study. The town should have an Anglo-Saxon history, a range of documentation, recent archaeological work, and a historic plan which survived well enough to be encapsulated in the all-important late 19th-century Ordnance Survey maps. Worcester was chosen; in the event the project was modified to include Gloucester, in the expectation that a study of two towns would provide complementary information. The interdisciplinary approach was fundamental: the authors use archaeology, written sources, the study of maps and (via these) the analysis of town plans. The analysis of town plans by geographic analysis of their component parts was pioneered by M. R. G. Conzen in the 1960s and developed by subsequent researchers. The town-plan analysis provides a sequence of development; archaeology provides a chronological framework. Both aspects are complemented by documentary sources and the study of maps.

The two towns had a broadly similar history, both were Roman places (though very different ones), both had major Anglo-Saxon minsters (one a bishopric), both were Alfredian burhs and medieval shire and market towns. In both cases Baker and Holt can chart (literally) the process whereby the Roman town and later the Anglo-Saxon burh were in turn modified, extended, their defences levelled and the spaces freed used for property development. It is central to the theme of this study to observe the way in which the various

ecclesiastical establishments at various dates developed areas of the town for their own purposes.

A work such as this can take a long time from completion to the appearance of the printed book (as this reviewer is all too aware). In this case more than ten years have passed since the first draft was complete. It is therefore important to note that some important work has been published in the meantime. At Gloucester, for instance, Michael Hare has made some important suggestions about the 11th-century significance of Gloucester as a ceremonial centre, and suggests that the 'Hare Lane Market' was used as a processional way from the Kingsholm palace to the town.¹ Michael Hare's 1992 Deerhurst lecture (*The Two Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Gloucester*) contains *inter alia* an important analysis of the 'Memoriale', a document which has bedevilled topographical study of the Gloucester Anglo-Saxon minster, St Peter's Abbey, and whose misleading nature needs to be laid to rest. Henry Hurst's two articles 'Topography and Identity in Glevum Colonia' and 'Civic Space at Glevum' in *The Colonia of Roman Britain: New Studies and a Review* (Portsmouth, 1999) include interpretations of the various monumental Roman buildings which have implications for the post-Roman shape of the town. Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant, *The Golden Minster* (CBA Research Report 1999), on the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Oswald, is cited in the bibliography, but seems not to have been used in Baker and Holt's text.

A particular delight of this book is Nigel Baker's maps. Not only are there overall plans of each town, there are a variety of map analyses of different aspects and sectors, such as churches in relation to their church plots or of the various ecclesiastical precincts. The maps are clear and designed with skill (a dying art in this age of computer graphics, where what looks good on the screen can be a disaster on the printed page).

It is a quibble to mention that the figures are numbered by chapter, so it is hard to find any figure cited, other than those in the chapter being read. A running head which included the chapter number would have been exceedingly helpful. Plates 4 and 14, 18th-century maps of Gloucester and Worcester, are produced on two pages with a page-fold: this obscures the central section to an unacceptable degree. Slightly more reduction might have lost detail but at least one could have seen the whole map. A serious editing error, which readers need to mark on their copy, is that Figure 4.2, a map of Gloucester extramural parishes, has a faulty key. 'St Mary de Lode' should read 'St Michael'; 'St Oswald's' should read 'St John's', 'St John's' should read 'St Oswald's', and 'St Michael's' should read 'St Mary de Lode'.

Such criticisms should not detract from the value of this book. Since the 1960s interdisciplinary studies have been lauded as the way forward, but it has sometimes been hard to see the principle being followed. This book is a triumphant vindication of the value of the interdisciplinary approach, and contributes enormously not only to understanding of Gloucester and Worcester, but also to the potential for studies of towns elsewhere. The Leverhulme Trust and other sponsors should be commended on their funding of so significant and fruitful a project, and Nigel Baker and Richard Holt should be congratulated on their scholarly and inspiring work.

CAROLYN HEIGHWAY

¹ Michael Hare, 'Kings, crowns and festivals: the origin of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre', *Trans. Bristol Gloucester Archaeol. Soc.*, 114 (1997), 41-78 — in which Baker and Holt is cited as 'forthcoming'.

Rota Colisei: La Valle del Colosseo attraverso i secoli. Edited by Rossella Rea. 22 × 28 cm. 466 pp.; numerous figs. and colour and b&w pls. Milan: Electa/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 2002. ISBN 88-435-9717-5. Price: €67.00 pb.

Ancient Roman entertainment, gladiators, and the blood of the arena have all been much in evidence in books, exhibitions, film and other media in the last few years, contributing to an expanded understanding of the physical and social impact of the games on Roman and provincial urban mentalities. What is often overlooked, however, is the amazing longevity of the games and of the buildings themselves: in Italy, amphitheatres may well have been active components of towns for four hundred years; theatres in the Eastern Empire had an even greater span. Many of these structures have been exposed archaeologically, but usually at a fairly early date, meaning that the final phases of usage and their subsequent fates are, at best, imprecisely known. Recent studies — such as of the London amphitheatre — have demonstrated often progressive decay, then robbing of structures, sometimes with the insertion of post-Roman burials or of houses, and sometimes with conversion to forts. Medieval fates are varied, but frequently the solidity of these buildings means they become fossilised within the town plan; in the case of Lucca in north-west Italy, houses and stores still occupy the infilled arcades, stairwells, and seating zones of the amphitheatre.

Rome's Colosseum is one such arena where early clearance 'excavations' and restorations in the 19th century and in pre-Second World War periods removed vast quantities of soil and materials from inside and around the structure (in places carrying away up to 7 m of deposits). Even at the time of these works (such as in 1940 when the Metro line and station were being created), post-classical and medieval houses were recognised but destroyed, as were burials, whilst sculptural pieces were transported away. One might assume, therefore, that it may be difficult to write a history of the Colosseum after its heyday. As this weighty and highly valuable volume shows, however, even with fragmented documentary data, coherent images can be produced. *Rota Colisei* in particular exploits the comprehensive scrutiny of the physical structure of the Colosseum — namely the fabric of its walls, repairs and changes to and cuts through these, graffiti, and partially cleared and intact stratigraphic deposits — and combines these materials with medieval and later archival materials, including surviving (sometimes patchy but sometimes well informed) written, graphic and photographic records made during the main spate of excavations (c. 1810, 1835 and 1985).

The volume is divided into three parts (the *Note Conclusiva* constitute a fourth part but are not flagged as such). The first covers *L'anfiteatro fra Tito e Teoderico* and considers various aspects of the 'classical' structure and its setting, including water supply (fountains for public use lay at various points inside the Colosseum), structural changes, the senatorial seating inscriptions (the last batch being of c. A.D. 470–530), but also the 5th- and 6th-century burials that appeared north and east of the complex. By c. A.D. 510, earthquake damage had meant partial collapse and then systematic dismantling of the southern section of the outer ring of the Colosseum.

The second part surveys *Le tracce del riuso postantico* and includes also the Arch of Constantine. This fascinating section charts adaptations to the fabric of the two monuments between the 6th and 15th centuries. Key are the changes perceived at the Colosseum for the immediate 'post-games' phase, the period c. A.D. 550–625: a sealing of gates blocking access to the arena interior; a seemingly systematic usage of the perimeter porticoes for raised garrets; contemporary removal of much of the metal of the Colosseum; and provision around the perimeter (notably on the northern side) of tethering rings and holes for beasts of burden (Rea details these tetherings — forms, distributions, heights — and identifies through them the variable build-up of soil deposits around the site and the likely animals in use, most prominent being small to medium working animals such as mules,

pack horses). Rea sees in all these intrusions the state retaining control of the site, exploiting it not just for its metal resources, but also for its storage potential; she argues in fact that the Church transformed the solid and distinctive landmark into a central grain (and other goods) depot and distribution point. This role faded in the 7th and 8th centuries and less controlled robbing probably then occurred before housing intruded in the 10th century; from the 11th century the *palatium* of the Frangipane family occupied the eastern sector of the Colosseum. This and the Arch of Constantine, linked by a wall, then formed part of a fortified complex.

With this full medieval phase, texts begin to provide chronological support. For the previous phases, the chronology at times appears over-secure — the author(s) speaking of 6th- or 7th-century gates (metal and wood), or 9th-century stores, when the only data are holes for possible tethering-rings or for horizontal timbers (See, for example, the discussion on gate closures, shiftings, store insertions, etc. on pp. 283–329. In all, eight phases are proposed, plus a number of sub-phases.).

The final part, *Rota Colisei*, examines in particular the *in situ* archaeology of ‘understair room XXXVI’, excavated in 1986, which provides in fact one of the best deposits of ceramic (notably archaic maiolica) and food waste relating to 13th-century occupation in Rome. Other such deposits can be identified which testify to a fairly busy frequentation and exploitation of the corridors, spaces and stores of the Colosseum across the Middle Ages for storage, dumping and even living, evidenced also by sockets for timbers in walls and floors and by occasional walls. The presence of hare, hedgehog and tortoise among the animal bones helps reinforce the graphic images of the late and post-medieval Colosseum zone being a mix of built/ruinous, cultivated and open/grassed spaces, also with high bush/tree cover (no archaeobotanical support is offered here, but it may emerge in future studies).

This volume is not cheap, but the editor and main author, Rossella Rea, has done a remarkable job in amassing, illustrating and deciphering so much data. The text is, in places, rather intimate in detail and despite the illustrative support, it can be confusing; it is certainly not a straightforward introductory guide to the Colosseum and its long history. Chronological concerns aside, *Rota Colisei* offers a complex, but fascinating and crucial image of the spoliation, re-use and cannibalisation of a key monument of Rome for the 1,400 years dividing its roles of ancient and modern public entertainment.

NEIL CHRISTIE

The Tower of London: The Official Illustrated History. By Edward Impey and Geoffrey Parnell. 23 × 29 cm. 128 pp., 180 figs. London: Merrell Publishers with Historic Royal Palaces, 2001. ISBN 1-85894-106-7. Price: £9.95, \$17.95 pb.

The Tower of London: A 2000-Year History. By Ivan Lapper and Geoffrey Parnell. 21 × 25 cm. 48 pp., 13 b/w figs., 35 col. illustrns, maps, pls & reconstrns. Botley: Osprey Publishing, 2000. ISBN 1-84176-170-2. Price: £4.99, \$8.95 pb.

The fact that the history and archaeology of the Tower of London stretches back long before 1066 is emphasised in both these works. Each runs from the A.D. 40s till the present, leaving Impey and Parnell in the curious position of beginning ‘Part 1: The Tower in the Middle Ages’ with a section entitled ‘Before the Tower: A.D. 43–1066’. Here, however, the manner in which Roman London and its defences ‘created the site and setting for the future castle’ is set out. This ‘long view’ characterises both books, particularly Lapper and Parnell’s *Landmarks in History* volume, which is comprised entirely of fourteen specially commissioned reconstruction paintings by Lapper, with accompanying text, running from A.D. 40 to 2000. The approach gives each work an air of landscape history, and, as befits

turn-of-the-millennium studies of a castle, reveals an attempt to place the Tower, as far as is possible, firmly in its landscape setting. In Impey and Parnell, there is much talk of the 'urban landscape into which the castle was implanted' (p. 13). For example the church of St Peter ad Vincula pre-dated the Tower, probably by 200 years, and All Hallows by the Tower had existed since the end of the 7th century, while the castle's siting took advantage of the ready made fortifications represented by the right-angled bend in the Roman walls. It was this, giving the castle its forbidding appearance to ships arriving from the Thames Estuary, that displayed London's strength and ensured its continuing predominance.

Impey and Parnell should be congratulated for producing a readable book that contains many lavish colour illustrations and which is so affordable it borders on the cheap. It is based on both authors' intimate archaeological and architectural knowledge, Impey having been based at the Tower during his time as Curator of Historic Royal Palaces — as such he also gets a credit in the Lapper and Parnell work — and Parnell having been Keeper of Tower History at the Royal Armouries, Tower of London, for an equally lengthy period. Not surprisingly, then, the archaeological detective-work here is good, such as when chronicle evidence is used alongside the siting of the Bell Tower and other archaeological evidence, to ascertain the size and shape of a new bailey built under Richard I (1189–99). There is also a full discussion of the import of perhaps the most significant archaeological discovery at the Tower in recent years — the sloping stone platform with 13th-century style masonry discovered in the western Tower moat in 1995, which undoubtedly formed part of Henry III's ill-fated defences that collapsed, according to Matthew Paris, in 1240. However, with captions such as 'Edward I marked his victory over Llewelyn . . . by mounting the prince's head on the Tower's battlements, crowned with Ivy', and 'George, Duke of Clarence was executed in 1478 by drowning in a butt of Madeira [possibly] . . . in the Bowyer Tower', the book will also sell well in the Tower's bookshop.

It is the illustrations that strike the reader most about *The Official Illustrated History*. The reconstruction drawings, which are not merely 'lifted' from the smaller book, are excellent and informative. So too are the photographs of models of the Tower as it may have appeared in 1300 after Edward I's improvements (fig. 34), and of the postern tower and gate also built by Edward I, now destroyed (fig. 44). In addition, all the photographs are of excellent quality, so that breaks between one building phase and another can be clearly seen.

Impey and Parnell's format betrays a focus on the medieval period, perhaps not surprisingly due to the authors' academic interests. However there are other reasons. The book is in two parts 'due to the nature of the Tower's history and what we know about it'. The first, 'The Tower in the Middle Ages', is arranged chronologically. The second 'The Tower and its Institutions 1485–2000', is rather more thematic, due, in part, to the bewildering amount of evidence that survives. Here, for readers of this journal, the section on the Royal Lodgings under Henry VII and Henry VIII (1485–1547), will hold the most interest. After pointing out that even in the Middle Ages the Tower was relatively little used as by the sovereign (always an important consideration when studying royal accommodation), the authors sketch out the decline of the royal lodgings. What *was* done — interesting in itself in view of the paucity of visits by the monarch — was entirely in keeping with improvements in other palaces. Henry VII built new privy lodgings in 1501, and a gallery intersecting a new garden in the fashionable Continental style was created in 1506. Henry VIII, by contrast, concentrated on making the state rooms more serviceable, illustrating the ascendancy of court ceremonial at this time. The greatest impetus came as part of preparations for Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533, when the king's Great Watching Chamber and Privy Chamber were refurbished. At the same time the roof of the queen's Great Chamber was decorated with 'Antyk' work, suggesting classical motifs.

On that note, this reviewer would have liked to see more discussion on the queen's rooms throughout, especially in view of the role of 13th-century consorts as benefactresses of nearby St Katherine's Hospital, which meant that they stayed at the Tower more often, and for longer, than their husbands. The Hospital itself is mentioned frequently, and it is a shame more connections could not have been made. For example a new causeway was built early in the reign of Edward III (1327–77) allowing 'at least pedestrian access' to the Hospital from the South-East corner of the Tower, near the queen's chambers. This suggests that the close relationship between hospital and castle was maintained, and that Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) was expected to fulfil the same role as had Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290) and Eleanor of Provence (d. 1291), the latter of whom had provided that the patronage of St Katherine's should be vested in all future queens of England.¹ However, it may be unfair to expect such concerns to surface here, especially since the queen's apartments at the Tower, unlike those of successive kings, do not survive.

The Tower of London: A 2000-Year History is also a fascinating read, although the text does tend to be overlooked in view of the excellent reconstruction drawings. Perhaps surprisingly, it is possible that of the two books reviewed here this is the more analytical — the caption above the section headed 'A.D. 1240: The Classic Castle' reads 'The Tower of London is enlarged to reflect the growing authority of the king'. This is no doubt because there is a need to get information across clearly and succinctly, and above all explain why the changes the reader can see in the reconstructions might have been made. As well as the reconstructions, there are excellent photographs, for example of the lower part of the original 11th-century ditch, discovered in 1975 and photographed by Geoffrey Parnell himself. Indeed, the long association with the Tower of London of the authors involved in these books is apparent throughout, so that each is an authoritative account of the development of one of our best-known monuments and most popular tourist attractions.

AMANDA RICHARDSON

Coins and Coin Finds in Finland A.D. 800–1200. (Antiquarian Society of Finland, Iskos 12). By Tuukka Talvio. 18 × 25 cm. 235 pp., 27 figs., 9 maps. Helsinki: Vammalan kirjapaino, 2002. ISBN 951-9057-45-5. Price: not stated pb.

Of the many chronological groups of objects dealt with in Finnish archaeology, coins deposited between c. A.D. 800 and 1200 have raised the greatest amount of interest in both international and domestic studies. Almost all of Finland's experts in archaeological coin material are experienced professionals including Tuukka Talvio, whose doctoral dissertation on coins and coin finds in Finland from the period A.D. 800–1200 was passed at the University of Helsinki in June 2002. Talvio has served the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum of Finland since the 1970s.

Over 7,000 coins representing the period from the Late Iron Age in Finland, known in archaeological terms as the Viking Age (A.D. 800–1025) and the Crusade or Missionary Period (A.D. 1025–1200), have been found in Finnish soil. There is also information on c. 1,000 coins that have disappeared. Most coins are from hoards. There are three main areas of origin of the coins: the Islamic world (1,700 coins), Germany (3,800) and England (1,000). As noted by Talvio, these figures are small in comparison with other countries. At present, almost 700,000 coins of this period are known from Scandinavia, the Baltic countries and the territory of Ancient Rus. This material, however, is unevenly distributed. Gotland, for example, has revealed more coins (145,000) than the mainland areas of Sweden, Norway and Denmark together (113,000).

¹ See A. Richardson, 'Gender and space in English royal palaces c.1160–c.1547: a study in access analysis and imagery', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 47 (2003), 131–65, at p. 143.

The main groups of coins found in Finland are Islamic dirhams and European pennies. There is also a small group of Byzantine miliaria coins and a few Sassanid and Arabian-Sassanid drachmas. All these coins are of silver; there are no gold or copper coins in the Finnish material. Talvio also discusses the various imitations of coins made in various parts of Southwest Asia and Europe. The Finnish imitations are, in a sense, examples of the earliest minting of coins in Finland.

The most thorough discussion is devoted to the hoards, as this is the largest group of finds in terms of numbers of objects. The content and composition of the finds is interpreted by century, from the 9th to the 12th century A.D. This discussion provides interesting additional detail; information according to which the dirham finds date from the 9th–10th centuries and are clearly concentrated in the Åland Islands.

The Western coins begin to appear in the finds from the close of the 10th century, and none of them have been found in the Åland Islands. In this connection, Talvio discusses their geographical distribution, noting the marked concentration of hoards in Finland Proper. In the Finnish material many fewer coins have been found in cemeteries than in hoards. The placing of coins in graves has often been interpreted as a kind of fee for Charon the ferryman, to pay for crossing the river of death. Talvio does not see any particular reason for this in the Finnish context, because of the highly uneven distribution of coins among cemeteries and also the fact that many of them were ornaments attached to necklaces and chains worn around the neck. The number of coins recovered as stray finds and from dwelling sites and other connections is considerably fewer than those of the other categories. As Talvio notes many individual coin finds presumably derive from hoards.

The oldest Islamic coins found in Finland were struck in the early 8th century or slightly earlier. Talvio, however, assumes that they could have found their way to Finland only much later. These coins are from graves or stray finds, while the oldest known hoards were cached in the 830s. Most of them are from the Åland Islands. Talvio connects the cessation of hoards in the Åland Islands in the mid-10th century mainly with changes in trade and notes that a coinless period continued in this island province until c. 1140 although in reality, the dating of the coins extends as far as the 1220s.

Most hoards in Finland containing Western coins were cached between the years 1020 and 1070 and no hoards at all are known from the 12th century. Coins of this century are mostly found only in graves on the Finnish mainland. The composition of the finds is special in that most of them contain large numbers of coins struck before the year 1000. It is quite possible that significant numbers of coins were imported into Finland c. A.D. 1000 or before, but the caching did not take place until the years around the middle of the century.

Talvio underlines the role of Estonia and Gotland in Finland's connections of the 12th century. A relatively large number of coins of this period have been found in Finland, and they are also known from various contexts in the above regions. This assessment is based on the fact that hardly any 12th-century hoards have been found in mainland Sweden. What is neglected here is the fact that coins were not placed even in graves here in the 12th century, which means coins of the period are rare; the comparison thus easily turns to Estonia where there are large numbers of the coins. In this respect there are gaps in Talvio's chain of argument.

Tuukka Talvio's *Coins and Coin Finds in Finland A.D. 800–1200* is an expert study of Finland's oldest large group of coin finds. It is an internationally reliable guide to the dating of coins found in Finland, from cemeteries or hoards. The chronology of the Late Iron Age has gained considerably more detail as clarity has been achieved in connections with other countries. Where Talvio's numismatic study enters the domain of archaeology, there are many uncertainties and a narrow perspective. But Talvio commendably explicitly

presents guidelines for future research (e.g. use-wear on coins), and archaeologists can analyse problems on the basis of the solid numismatic contribution of the study.

MARKUS HIEKKANEN

The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon. (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph 22).

Edited by Richard Welander, David Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy. 26 × 19cm. 283 pp., 112 b&w and colour figs. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003. ISBN 0-963903-22-9. Price: £25.00 (£20.00 members) hb.

This valuable and comprehensive collection of papers stems from a conference held in Edinburgh in May 1997, marking the return of the Stone of Destiny to Scotland in 1996. The return is but the latest chapter in a long narrative of changing contemporary relevance for the Stone.

The analyses and theories offered in this volume comprise the six papers given at the conference (by Hill, Barrow, Broun, Binski, Ascherson and Munro) with an additional ten papers from leading scholars — including Browne, Caldwell, Clancy, Campbell, Driscoll, FitzPatrick, Breeze, Duncan and Fawcett — to round out the volume and our understanding of the Stone. The papers are arranged under six headings: The Stone as an Object, Inauguration and Symbols of Dominion, Scone, The Taking of the Stone, The Return and Envoi. Thus we move from a discussion of the physical form of the Stone and its geological context, through to a series of evidence parallels where Scottish (Dál Riata, Finlaggan and Govan), Irish and European comparisons are discussed, before tackling the context of Scone itself from where the Stone was seized in 1296 and where it is known to have been used in inauguration rituals. Three papers then contextualise the Stone's taking as a national icon, its removal, attempts at recovery and its enshrining within the Westminster Coronation Chair. The return is assessed in terms of its more recent history pre-1996 and the events of 1996 itself. The envoi offers a cogent summary of the significance of the Stone and how notions of it as an authentic object have changed.

The range of scholarship evidenced by this volume cannot be fully acknowledged here but it is a great achievement. One or two key points must suffice. The volume is persuasive that the Stone is the one taken by Edward I in 1296 and honest about the often impenetrable mists that shroud its history before Edward's appropriation. The six papers assessing its role as a symbol of royal power do not solve this conundrum but they advance a plausible case for a context of use. Surviving examples of inauguration material culture from across Early-medieval Europe include items of relative plainness (if nothing quite as humble and prosaic as the Stone itself) which helps to furnish us with a spectrum into which the Stone can fit. Two elements of the argument are the contrast with the Irish tradition, including the use of stone footprints (as at Dunadd) and the possibility that the Stone (which may have started out as a block of Roman masonry?) was first appropriated for religious usage, possibly in association with holy relics in an early church at Scone. Campbell stresses that the Stone does not appear to fit with the Gaelic tradition and suggests it should be placed in a distinctive, but to us less clear, Pictish tradition. Of course, a lack of a stone footprint, for example, at Scone, does not make such footprints a Gaelic phenomenon. Stone footprints are widely known, with examples in the Shetland, the Orkneys and France. They also need not only to have been associated with inauguration. In his extensive travels of the second quarter of the 14th century Ibn Battutah visited Ceylon and the holy mountain of *Sarandib* or Adam's Peak, a popular Islamic pilgrimage destination to see the stone footprint known as the Foot of Adam, supposedly where he first set foot on earth after expulsion from Paradise. This is a different temporal and cultural context but it does reveal some of the same human behaviours that swirl around the Stone of Destiny. It also reinforces the notion of fluidity of meaning which many of the