

Reviews

Mapping Doggerland: the Mesolithic landscapes of the southern North Sea

VINCENT GAFFNEY, KENNETH THOMSON
and SIMON FITCH (eds)

Archaeopress, Gordon House, 275 Banbury Road,
Oxford OX2 7ED, 2007, £24.95 (sbk), ISBN 978-
1905739141

Europe's Lost World: the rediscovery of Doggerland

(*CBA Research Report 160*)

VINCENT GAFFNEY, SIMON FITCH and
DAVID SMITH

202 pp., 119 illustrations, many colour, 3 tables

Council for British Archaeology, St Mary's House, 66
Bootham, York YO3 7BZ, 2009, £24 (sbk), ISBN 978-
1902771779

European coastal archaeology in the Mesolithic and earlier, with its traditional emphasis on midden analysis, is now redefining 'archaeology', 'coast' and indeed, 'Europe' by investigating submerged landscapes. This is part of a quite new and wider programme, envisaged and advocated in various publications by Geoff Bailey, Anders Fischer and Nic Flemming among others. There is a new research network, SPLASHCOS (Submerged Prehistoric Archaeology and Landscapes of the Continental Shelf) which began in York in 2010 and a book is due out in May 2011, *Submerged Prehistory*, by Jonathan Benjamin, Clive Bonsall, Catriona Pickard and Anders Fischer (Oxbow Books, *IJNA* review forthcoming). In the two present publications, we have a programme of technically-sophisticated research as a model and spur to future projects. Both books arise from the 'North Sea Palaeolandscapes Project' based at the University of Birmingham.

Mapping Doggerland is, in effect, the project handbook. A series of papers outlines the project methods and results in a logical sequence. These describe succinctly how each set of problems was addressed and what resources and techniques were used. Gaffney and Thomson explain that the project originated in a doctoral dissertation by Simon Fitch at the University of Birmingham, which they supervised. This coincided with developing concern about managing the threat of aggregate extraction to archaeological sites and, as a result, the Birmingham team had access to the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund, managed by English

Heritage. The team, with three researchers (Fitch, Kate Briggs and Simon Holford), developed a method of using 3D seismic data to map the sea-floor to a resolution of about 12 m and entered into a research agreement with a private firm, Petroleum Geo-Services, to gain access to seismic data covering an area about the size of Wales. All of those data were analysed within 18 months. Quite apart from anything else this is an exemplary case of the vigorous pursuit of academic-private partnerships, so desired by Vice-Chancellors everywhere, and which are essential in a field so literally inaccessible and expensive as undersea archaeology.

Several succeeding chapters describe the complex problems of co-ordinating survey data sources and running test cases, implementing 2D and 3D seismic data and developing the project methodology, and then of integrating the datasets and turning them, using GIS packages, into visual representations of the submerged landscapes. Chapter 5, by Briggs, Thomson and Gaffney, examines a major geomorphological feature, the Outer Silver Pit, concentrating on the origins of two ridges within it, the problem being to determine whether these arose from terrestrial fluvial processes or from marine processes subsequent to submergence; a problem clearly of major significance to the project as a whole since the sea-floor topography was open to formation in each of these ways. Geomorphological analysis suggested that the banks were formed as estuarine features during the early Holocene transgression. Simon Holford, Ken Thomson and Vincent Gaffney (ch. 6) take up a topic that is quite fascinating. Salt deposits, formed during evaporation of North Sea plains in the Upper Permian, lie beneath later sediments and loss or expansion of salt can alter the surface topography quite considerably. There is some evidence of this in the North Sea, including down-faulting above probable salt-domes; another potential trap for the unwary topographer negotiated.

With this methodological background completed, the team offers some results. Chapter 7 provides a first atlas of the palaeo-landscapes of the southern North Sea, initially at an overall scale with only major topographical features, and then with more detailed description of some of the features. Hills, valleys, and river channels begin to emerge as a typical post-glacial topography. Chapter 8 describes an important parallel archive, the data from borehole sediments across the southern North Sea. In these appear the familiar trends of vegetation change through the Holocene, the beginnings of a record of the North Sea as a living landscape.

The concluding chapter, by Fitch, Gaffney and Thomson, begins with the observation that the

Doggerland project has begun to describe the largest sample, so far, of what is, potentially, one of the best preserved Mesolithic landscapes. It contained a large lake, later a tidal inlet, which drained northward through a long valley into an Atlantic inlet, taking the traveller on foot within sight of the Norwegian ice-cap. Around the large lake were smaller lakes, marshes, hills and valleys, just as might have been expected. In the current context one might wonder how this watery landscape in the early Mesolithic, and even more its archipelagic nature as the sea-level rose, was reflected in a history of lacustrine and maritime technological innovations, especially boats, and also if those we know now from Holocene deposits are only the poor, marginal remnant of a lost history of boat diversity that was once centred on Doggerland. With continuing research and prospection, for which this book constitutes a good recommendation, there can hardly be any doubt that one day there will be a comprehensive Mesolithic archaeology.

Europe's Lost World is, to some extent, a prospectus of that. More speculative, necessarily, it sets out to show what kind of environmental evidence and cultural material is known or probably exists on Doggerland. The first third of the book discusses earlier research, largely about Mesolithic settlement and subsistence, but it begins with some pioneers of research on submerged landscapes, notably Clement Reid who published *Submerged Forests* in 1913 on the basis of coastal remnants. It also observes the value of trawled fragments, such as the harpoon or leister point recovered by the *Colinda* in 1931. The importance of the *Colinda* point was noted by Grahame Clark who was instrumental in developing interlinked research on wet sites and the British Mesolithic, and in putting the latter into a framework that emphasized hunting. The authors note some recent work on Mesolithic plant foraging possibilities but miss the important early paper by David Clarke (Mesolithic Europe: the economic basis, in G. Sieveking, I. Longworth and K. Wilson (eds), *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, London, 1976). Modern interest in Doggerland they trace most particularly to a paper by Bryony Coles (Doggerland: a speculative survey, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 64 (1998), 45–81) which surveyed the accumulated evidence and constructed a series of broadly accurate maps of what was revealed by the fall and rise of sea-level. Renewed interest however, has been largely by proxy so far; by investigation of Mesolithic sites, such as the Howick hut and hearth on the Northumberland coast, which are taken, reasonably, to represent the kind of settlement that probably existed on Doggerland, and by extension of interest into the environments around these sites as indicative of the kinds of locations chosen by Doggerland settlers.

The central third of the book is about the North Sea Palaeolandscapes Project, a summary narrative in more easily comprehensible language of *Mapping Doggerland*, while the last third considers its results and significance. Much of the discussion is about environmental

reconstruction, at this point more successful by analogy than from the results of the cores. There is a brief survey of lost-worlds fantasies and of flooded continental shelves elsewhere, a look at potential threats to the archaeological landscape of Doggerland, and some final comments on the perils of rising sea-levels with warming climates.

These books, both distinguished by excellent images and graphics, are aimed at rather different markets. *Mapping Doggerland* is the specialist, methods-oriented volume that will appeal to archaeologists and geographers. *Europe's Lost World* is written for a wider readership and is not, in my opinion, quite so successful. The North Sea Palaeolandscapes Project is a wonderful advance, but it is just at the beginning of the palaeoecological and archaeological research that will provide direct and abundant evidence of life on Doggerland, and so while *Mapping Doggerland* is a revelation, *Europe's Lost World*, although organised around the new research, and interesting and well-presented as it is, has had to stick rather largely to the known Mesolithic around the North Sea or grasp at very few fragments of what future discovery might bring.

The authors observe, here and there, that there is an emotional quality to this kind of discovery and it is not hard to see it. They claim, rightly, that Doggerland was not just the routeway between currently terrestrial parts of northern Europe but contained a substantial part of its social substance in a continuum of settlement that had no sea to cross. Indeed it can be imagined that there might have been a nicely European moment or two when the first squabbling post-glacial clans, moving up the Channel River, decided each to take a tributary, one the Seine, another the Rhine and a third the Thames. Only the gentle clan of the dog, perhaps, waded the headwaters and strolled up on to the broad sunlit uplands of its manifest destiny.

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Abusir XVI: Sahure C the Pyramid Causeway: history and decoration program in the Old Kingdom

(*Abusir Monographs*)

TAREK EL AWADY

264 pp., b&w illustrations including 14 separate large b&w folded in case

Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University, Prague, via Oxbow Books, 10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford, OX1 2EW, UK, 2009, £84/\$168, ISBN 978-8073082550

The title of this volume does not give the reader any hint of the nautical treasures hidden inside, unless you automatically associate the name Sahure with the

earliest Egyptian depictions of seagoing ships. It had long been thought that Ludwig Borchardt had thoroughly excavated Sahure's causeway. However, work undertaken in this area in 1994 revealed four decorated blocks, leading to more extensive excavations and new discoveries between 2002 and 2004. The new scenes published in this book reveal a wealth of new data, including depictions of ships returning from the land of Punt. Although most of this material is in the latter chapters, some of the early chapters do mention and give some context to them as well as other nautical depictions and inscriptions.

Chapter 1 is a short history of the study of Old Kingdom mortuary complexes, causeways, and their decoration, as well as methods of research employed in this volume. Chapter 2 is a history of royal mortuary complexes and their development during the Old Kingdom. The author does mention depictions and inscriptions of boating, seafaring, and trade as well as boat-models associated with royal complexes. Chapter 3 covers the development of royal reliefs from early dynastic times through to the end of the Old Kingdom. This discussion covers many traditional topics, including the Pharaoh harpooning a hippopotamus, spearing fish, and fowling with a clap-net, as well as a new depiction of Sahure standing in the stern of his boat manoeuvring the sail. This chapter also mentions voyages to Punt, cargo boats, and funerary boats. Chapter 4 reviews the development of causeways during the Old Kingdom and mentions many scenes noted in previous chapters.

A history and description of Sahure's causeway in ch. 5 includes a brief description of each image, while ch. 6 provides a detailed description and analysis of each newly-discovered scene. In addition to the textual descriptions, this report includes 14 beautiful large-scale drawings of the original reliefs. Each description of a scene, especially in ch. 6, includes a detailed discussion of the iconography along with a translation of the corresponding hieroglyphs. Some important scenes include the depiction of Sahure manoeuvring the sail on the stern of his boat, which as the author points out is strikingly similar to the Khufu I vessel both in hull-shape and the use of papyriform decorations (pl. 1). Unfortunately there is little structural detail of the hull itself. This image does, however, show some crewmen with hieroglyphs describing their jobs, such as the 'transmitter'. Furthermore, sailing with the king is a small flotilla of royal sailing-boats with similar hull-profiles, but the bow and stern decorations are different, including lion- and hawk-heads (pls 2-4). Hieroglyphs list the names of some vessels.

Another relief (pl. 6) portrays two ships returning from the land of Punt. Both are identical to the relief of Sahure's Mediterranean ships published by Borchardt in 1913, suggesting there were no structural differences between Egyptian seagoing ships. Unfortunately, these drawings do not reveal any other structural details. None of the listed cargo is shown on deck as on the

later Hatshepsut depictions, suggesting it was stowed below. Two exceptions include a cargo of animals (monkeys, baboons and dogs) and a cargo of slaves from the land of Punt. These individuals are portrayed in a similar manner to the 'Asiatics' or 'Syro-Canaanites' on Sahure's Mediterranean ships. Both groups are bowing down to the king and some Egyptians in each group are apparently pushing down on the heads of a few, either forcing or instructing them to bow their heads.

There are two differences between the reliefs. First, the Syro-Canaanites are standing while they bow, while the Puntites are on their knees. There appear to be two children in the Puntite scene, one standing and one sitting on the hogging-truss. Neither is bowing to the king. An Egyptian is standing behind the sitting individual and is pushing down on the back of his head, but there is no indication that he is forcing him off the truss. The standing child not only appears to be refusing to bow down to the king but is the only individual who is standing with his back to him. This seems to suggest that ancient Egyptians were very lax in their treatment of children, even when slaves, and they were comfortable recording the event. Also aboard one ship are Kaaper, the overseer of quarry work and Menia, overseer of prospectors. Due to their presence, the author proposes that expeditions were not only sent to Punt to trade but also to find and mine valuable minerals.

Two reliefs show Sahure with a myrrh tree from Punt (pls 5-6). Another records the military training of Sahure's nautical crews, and the author proposes that every sailor on these voyages was a highly-trained marine. A lack of space as well as time limits my ability to comment fully on these and other subjects (I have only been able to read through this volume once, but every time I look at the drawings I seem to see something new). However, even though I do not agree with all of the author's interpretations (I doubt the mining theory, but I like the 'all sailors are marines' theory), this volume is well researched, with a substantial bibliography, and the author's interpretations are well thought out.

However, there are a few flaws. The author prefers to use the site designation of each relief, such as 'SC/south/2003/06', instead of the plate numbers in the text, which can be confusing and time consuming, especially when the author compares a detail or details found on a number of reliefs. Another minor drawback is that the author should have employed an expert with a nautical background to review the text before it went to press. For example, he mistakes hogging-trusses for stowed sails. More importantly, it appears at first glance that there are a number of photographs, but they represent a relatively small percentage of the reliefs, and the quality of some photographs is poor. Printing photographs on standard paper was probably a contributing factor. Considering the high quality and large scale of the drawings, this would seem to be a

minor point, but details which may be important to a specialist in one field may be omitted because they are deemed unimportant by a specialist in a different field, especially on such a large drafting project. For example, the author describes an object on the stern of Sahure's sailing-boat as a sunshade, but when I compared the drawing of this object to a photograph, a few lines appear to have been omitted, and it may be an anchor, rather than a sunshade. I could be wrong, because it does look like a sunshade, but the lack of a high-quality photograph puts doubt in my mind.

Despite these flaws, the author has assembled an excellent volume and provided food for thought for specialists in different fields, including our own. Although it is a bit expensive, it is the best money that I have spent this year.

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The Atlantic Iron Age: settlement and identity in the first millennium BC

JON C. HENDERSON

369 pp., 125 b&w figures and maps

Routledge, 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN, UK, 2007, £80 (hbk), ISBN 978-0415436427

This is an ambitious and important book. It considers whether during the Iron Age (broadly defined as the last 600-odd years BC) the Atlantic coast of Europe can be regarded as a zone of inter-related cultural identity linked physically and perceptually by the sea. The concept is not new. In 1946 Gordon Childe (*Scotland Before the Scots*) pictured 'these grey seas as bright with Neolithic Argonauts as the western Pacific is today', articulating a diffusionist viewpoint still being expounded as late as 1972 by E. G. Bowen in his *Britain and the Western Seaways*. This saw progress (or change) advancing in a linear fashion over time from an initiating 'core' towards ever further 'peripheries'. Much of this theory was swept away by the advent of radiocarbon dating in the 1960s and '70s, which demolished many of the supposed chronologies on which diffusionist interpretations had depended. To accommodate the apparent randomness of the revised dates a new 'processual' archaeology laid emphasis on indigenous development and local conditions as the main drivers of change. More recently 'post-processual' interpretative methodologies have been introduced to explore concepts of culture, local perception of landscape, and the role of the individual.

An increasing focus on discrete societies in their environments, often at microscopic and particularistic levels, has tended to obscure the broad-brush generalistic approaches that the diffusionists, albeit

misguidedly, had sought to apply. For the topic under review, however, we now have Barry Cunliffe's magnificent *Facing the Ocean* (2001) (reviewed in *IJNA* 32.1). Henderson warmly acknowledges his debt to Professor Cunliffe (who was his PhD supervisor), but argues that the latter's work covers an immense timescale, from the Mesolithic to the discovery of America, and leans towards environmental determinism. The present volume aims to 'look beyond the superficial integrity of the region in order to identify local and regional Atlantic identities', attempting to do so 'for the Iron Age, a period when there is less evidence for contacts in the traditionally archaeologically visible form of traded goods, but in which a number of Atlantic communities take on a distinctive cultural character which forces us to question whether or not they were in maritime contact with each other'.

The first chapter sets the scene with a succinct review of the nature of Atlantic Europe from a geo-historical perspective, and traces perceptions of it culled from classical, early medieval, and modern sources. This leads to a consideration of how archaeological concepts of the region have developed and changed over the past century, which in itself is a valuable resumé of the ways in which present ideas about maritime cultural landscapes have evolved and are still evolving. A second chapter places the region into its geological and geographical contexts, covering topics such as climate and environment, food-producing strategies, and deposits of metals crucial to the settlement patterns discussed later. The chapter closes with a review of the rather limited direct evidence available for prehistoric ships and seafaring, covering Late Bronze Age representations of ships from Lökeberg in Sweden and Oia in Galicia (which superficially at least look remarkably similar), the votive 1st-century gold model boat from Brougher in Northern Ireland, and the well-known Bronze Age vessels from North Ferriby and Dover. The author is pessimistic about the possibility of prehistoric shipwrecks surviving in Atlantic waters, perhaps unduly so, for substantial parts of wooden ships of later periods have survived in benign environments from the Hebrides to Spain, and there is every hope that prehistoric wrecks will one day be found.

Although the book focuses on Atlantic Europe in the Iron Age a lengthy chapter is devoted to the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200–600 BC). This is a necessary precursor to the main study because extensive maritime movement along the Atlantic seaboard is archaeologically visible through the wide distribution of diagnostic metalwork forms. These movements are terrestrial as well as maritime, and demonstrate a massive network of contact and a central European demand for ores in which the Atlantic seaboard was a major source of copper and tin. The fostering of contact over a wide area, it is argued, probably stimulated the development of ship technology. Important snapshots of such cargoes in transit have been provided by nautical

archaeology through the Langdon Bay and Moor Sand wrecks. An impression is given, as far as the evidence allows, of a dynamic Europe (to use an anachronistic term) with the widespread transfer of technology and the distribution of high-status goods. The bulk of the material consists of weaponry and personal adornment, suggesting (though not proving) the dominance of warrior elites. Many of the objects appear to have been ritually deposited in watery locations (rivers and lakes rather than the sea), and while the metal items were themselves clearly symbols of status and power it is likely that, as the author suggests, the ships which carried them were powerful symbols too. For over half a millennium, in the author's words, the Atlantic Late Bronze Age had 'a core of shared symbols and meaning [which] was communicated along the Atlantic seaboard. This meaning would have been recontextualised to some extent in different local Atlantic contexts, but a common core meaning would have remained similar throughout the zone'.

With the arrival of iron technology—c.600 BC for Atlantic Europe—the archaeological picture becomes dramatically different. Portable indicators of material culture, particularly prestigious metalwork, become extremely sparse throughout the area, and it is no longer possible to reconstruct networks of contact through the medium of archaeological distributions. Indeed the very absence of such finds has been taken to indicate a reversion to isolation and stagnation, in which the Atlantic seaboard became peripheral to the dynamic Hallstatt and La Tène cultures of central Europe, with their highly distinctive prestige metalwork.

But this ignores the remarkable settlement history of the Atlantic façade, and its attendant architecture. In the Late Bronze Age domestic buildings and fortified dwellings become visible in the Atlantic landscape, and these are characterised across the region by their generally circular plan. By the Iron Age the form had reached considerable levels of sophistication and complexity, from the so-called 'Atlantic roundhouses' (the previously-used terms of 'broch' and 'dun' are now regarded as misleadingly subjective) of Scotland's western and northern seaboards to the Irish *cashels* and clifftop forts and the settlement complexes of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica (Brittany). These regional variants are distinctively different but there is, the author argues, sufficient similarity to suggest common roots and a level of contact along the Atlantic seaboard. The feeling is one of greater focus within discrete cultural units, perhaps involving fewer long-distance contacts than the exchange and resource-transfer networks of the Bronze Age, but nevertheless stimulating dynamic patterns of movement and activity in which the sea played an important role. Sadly, evidence of ships is so far lacking, but the techniques of dry-stone building come close to the limits the material allows, which suggests that corresponding nautical technologies were no less advanced. Perhaps, as in later

periods, it was ships rather than weaponry and adornment that were now the prime symbols of status and power.

Rightly, in the opinion of this reviewer, Henderson lays considerable emphasis on coastal promontory forts. Though these show considerable variations in topographical location, in the nature and complexity of their defences, and in date, all are characterised by the securing of a seaward promontory with a rampart or ramparts across its neck. The monumental character of many, and their often dominant appearance when viewed from seaward, suggest that they were not necessarily defensive places of refuge but overt statements of power. Though the author points out that the occurrence of promontory forts in an area abounding in promontories does not of itself indicate a common cultural tradition their widespread distribution in northern and western Scotland, the west of Ireland, south-west Wales, Cornwall and Armorica is at least suggestive. Throughout the book it is apparent, and the author bemoans the fact, that few of these sites have been excavated to modern archaeological standards and fewer still have been studied in their wider maritime contexts. Those few that have—in Finistère, Cornwall, and along the western seaboards of Scotland and Ireland—are often sited in the proximity of natural harbours or landing-places, and further work of this nature would surely be fruitful.

The book does not entirely live up to its title in that it provides little coverage south of Armorica, virtually ignoring the coastlands around the Bay of Biscay and western Iberia. This, the author explains, is partly because most of the limited scholarly effort so far devoted to the topic is heavily weighted towards the northern sector of the Atlantic façade, and partly (as he honestly admits) because the sheer scale of the study places it beyond the capacity of a single researcher. There are other omissions. At times he seems to ignore evidence that appears to conflict with his focus on the Atlantic. High-status metalwork of the Iron Age, particularly from Ireland, suggests connections—albeit perhaps indirect ones—with Yorkshire and the Continent on an east-west axis. Similarly, while Amorica is placed on a north-south Atlantic axis, its clear eastward links (perhaps though the river systems of Gaul) are effectively ignored.

But these are minor quibbles in a pioneering work which sets a foundation and firm agenda for future research in this neglected field. It is noteworthy that while Jon Henderson does some of his fieldwork under water, and consequently is a qualified diver, he is not an 'underwater' archaeologist in the narrow sense but a skilled field archaeologist and gifted scholarly synthesiser, full stop. But undoubtedly his practical experience of things maritime gained through working in that unforgiving medium has given him a perception of the sea and its significance to humankind which he might not otherwise have enjoyed, and which his approach amply demonstrates. This melding of scholarly skills in

which land and sea become indivisible parts of the complex geography in which human beings live and act is all too rare in archaeology today, whether terrestrial or maritime in its primary focus. In this stimulating and valuable study Jon Henderson not only throws new light on the Atlantic Iron Age, but points the way forward for future research.

A closing pair of moans may be directed at the publisher. In his flyleaf blurb Routledge's copy-writer claims that the book is 'the definitive' study of the Atlantic Iron Age—a status claimed neither by the author nor by the two academic reviewers on the same page (Sir Barry Cunliffe and Professor Dennis Harding). No book can be truly definitive, especially one that raises so many pertinent questions in a hitherto neglected field. And the £80 price tag is prohibitive, especially for a book bound by the cheap glued-spine process which under a single reviewer's careful handling (because I want this highly desirable volume to last) has already begun to fall apart.

COLIN MARTIN

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A la Poursuite des Villages Lacustres Neuchâtelois: un siècle et demi de cartographie et de recherche

(*Archéologie neuchâteloise* 45)

BÉAT ARNOLD

252 pp., 254 illustrations (mostly in colour)

Office et musée cantonal d'archéologie de Neuchâtel, Hauterive, Neuchâtel CH-2068, Switzerland, 2009, Sw.Fr.41 (sbk), ISBN 978-2940347-44-5 and ISSN 1662-1972

The lake- or pile-dwellings, *pfahlbauten* or *palafittes* of Alpine Europe, were recognised as prehistoric settlements soon after their revelation in the 'correction of the waters of the Jura' of 1876–7. By virtue of their nature, the circumstances of their preservation, and the consistent excellence of their investigation, they provide a comprehensive, stratified and datable picture of the artefact-types, technology and economy of the recognised sequence of cultures between the 5th and 1st millennia BC in the centre of the continent. The rapid appreciation of their fundamental significance within European prehistory led to the development of a local tradition of specialised archaeological investigation to a high standard, which continues to this day and is represented by the successive publications of the *archéologie neuchâteloise* series, which will be familiar to many *IJNA* readers.

In this book, an archaeologist of long experience and a recognised authority on Alpine prehistory explains and illustrates the development of the presentation of the evidence for the monuments of this class

over nearly 150 years of study, taking advantage of the exemplary standard of presentation which characterises the series. As ever, this includes the use of a convenient page size (A4) and clear typeface, and the generous provision of adequately-sized and well-selected illustrations. As the title indicates, priority is given to the reproduction of successive mapped surveys of the numerous sites, which are depicted both individually and in groups. These are supported by further illustrations and descriptive text, which are similarly exemplary.

The author gives a fascinating exposition of the development of archaeological draughtsmanship and cartographic practice. Most of the illustrations are in colour, and almost all are reproduced at adequate scales. Rather too many depict unspecified operations, and might have been better replaced by additional studio photographs of artefacts. The numerous composite illustrations (comprising general maps overlaid by panels of more specific information) are particularly effective, while the reproduction of written and illustrative records by early excavators reveals a higher standard of work than might be expected, notably in the recording and comprehension of stratigraphy. The same can be said of the early (1927) air photographs (p.25, fig. 14); the interwar innovations by Crawford and others in British archaeology were paralleled in continental Europe. The inclusion of sub-bottom acoustic (sonar) imagery (notably p.44, fig. 19) is instructive by virtue of its clarity. The text is in clear and straightforward French, while the comprehensive summaries (pp.245–52) in French, German, Italian and English both explain the concept of the work and stress the significance of cartographic representation. Surprisingly, there is no small-scale general location map, while the lack of an index is a significant deficiency. The bibliography (pp.239–43) is both comprehensive and valuable.

The first part of the text (pp.11–37) details the history of the study, leading to the presentation of detailed comparative tables (pp.29–30, figs 18–19) and a chronological summary table (p.31, fig. 20). Biographical summaries of the principal excavators would be valuable, many being less well-known than they deserve. The aerial photograph (p.37, fig. 26) of the excavations at Bevaix in 2000 impresses by virtue of their extent.

The second part (pp.39–205) forms the core of the work, in the form of a systematic inventory of the known sites, ordered by location. The treatment accorded to each site varies with its size and perceived significance, as so far investigated. Each is illustrated by one or more maps and several pictures, all of which are of adequate size. The text is concise, possibly excessively so, but the author has taken care to select and indicate the significant features that differentiate each site from the rest. No mention is made of such matters as timber-types and sizes, the presence or absence of jointed timbers and axe-marks, and the nature of the

lake-bed in each case. Consideration of the chronology of individual sites is restricted to the citation of the minimal evidence specific to each, while such fundamental questions as the duration of each, the possible replacement of individual timbers, and the extent of stratified deposits (where present) are left unconsidered. References are cited to primary reports, but there are neither grid references nor lists of finds. Against this background, the validity of the chronology presented, and particularly of the apparent gaps in lake-dwelling occupation, must be open to question.

The third part (pp.208–33) summarises the measures taken for the preservation (both physical and administrative) of the remains, and their public presentation. Surprisingly, the contribution of the Parc du Laténium archaeological museum is illustrated by a single photograph of a reconstructed house (p.227, fig. 253), while the conjectural illustration of the Final Bronze Age village at Cortaillod-Est (p.226, fig. 252) is of value notwithstanding the reservations normal to this type of hypothesis, the more so as it attempts to present the village within its landscape setting. A valuable summary account of the successive cultural phases identified (pp.214–25) is placed anomalously within this part of the book.

Perhaps inevitably, this work appears inherently incomplete by reason of its limited scope, the degree of overall analysis being minimal. The presentation of artefactual evidence is consistently limited, even the consideration of the self-evidently important topic of boats. The Roman vessel from Bevaix is succinctly described (pp.64–5), but neither the 5th-millennium-BC logboat from Cortaillod (p.165, fig. 175) nor the maple disc-wheel (p.173, fig. 190) from (presumably) the site of Saint-Blaise/Bains des Dames receives detailed consideration. Only at the end of the abstract (in English, pp.151–2) does there appear any analysis of the plans of the villages, with their social implications.

These reservations are important as the reader might easily be led to believe that these remains are of purely (or, at least, primarily) regional significance, which is far from being the case. Such names as Cortaillod and Auvernier rank alongside Hallstatt and La Tène (both also in Alpine Europe) among the classic locations in the study of European prehistory. The potential value of a further publication to this end is self-evident. This is a point for future consideration. For the present, this work displays both the geographical breadth and the chronological depth of its subject in a manner without apparent parallel in archaeological literature. In so doing, it demonstrates both the expertise and the evident enthusiasm of the author. Above all, it bodes well for the continuing development of the remarkable tradition of archaeological research into Alpine prehistory that it sets out to record.

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Palafittes: prehistoric pile dwellings around the Alps

(popular version of UNESCO World Heritage candidature proposal, in three parallel languages, with two accompanying DVDs containing the entire application dossier in six languages)

Various authors and editors (co-ordinated by the Swiss committee)

Not paginated, c.500 illustrations, mostly colour

Palafittes c/o Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Berns, POB 5233, Bern CH-3001, Switzerland, 2009, npg (sbk), ISBN 978-3906140841 (German, French and Italian) and 978-3906140841 (English, French and Slovak)

A major preoccupation among archaeologists and architects in recent years has been the presentation and submission of individual, grouped or thematically-linked sites and monuments for consideration as recognised World Heritage Sites (WHS) by UNESCO. Although such applications do not require any primary research they may prompt a measure of analysis in the course of justifying the significance of the site. This publication was written for submission to UNESCO (in January 2010) in support of an application for the consideration of the lake-dwellings of the Alpine forelands as a collective World Heritage Site. The introductory forewords by dignitaries of six states confirm that the purpose of the publication is para-governmental rather than specifically academic, and it is considered here as such. As is apparently the normal practice, the documents submitted in support of candidature and review comprise an illustrated general summary (in this case, a 104-page book) and an extended factual summary (in this case, presented in DVD form) describing individual examples.

The book impresses immediately by virtue of its superb (indeed lavish) presentation, characterised by the generous provision of adequately-sized and well-selected illustrations, mostly in colour. Consideration should be given to making these available on the internet at sizes adequate for reproduction, as a significant contribution to further research. The text has evidently been written around the illustrations, but the authors have done well to offer succinct trilingual accounts of selected aspects of the lake-dwellings in a lucid style. All aspects of the subject are covered. The variation observed in the excavated structures (both above and beneath floor-level) and the chronological range of the structures (both individually and collectively) are both acknowledged. The annotated air photograph of the group of settlements at Sutz-Lattrigen (Berne) is particularly significant for demonstrating their frequency of occurrence within a restricted area.

The treatment of artefacts is particularly revealing, due significance being attached to those of heavy timber (including disc-wheels and logboats) and such

rarer discoveries as turned wooden artefacts, bark (and its unexpected derivative, chewing gum), textiles and leather (including shoes). The survival of the spindle-whorls that are near-ubiquitous across European prehistory but with wooden spindles and linen thread attached is remarkable, and their illustration highly significant. More generally, many readers will welcome both the explanation (by illustration) of the principle of dendrochronology, and the discussion of the significance of botanical and animal remains.

So far, so good, but the specialist will see the book as only a prologue to the main drama. The attached DVDs will only be downloaded with a heroic struggle by many computers, and may require the acquisition of additional software, but will be found to contain an impressive summary of the primary evidence. Regrettably, the layout and ordering of the papers on these discs is confusing in the extreme, on account of the specialist vocabulary such as 'Executive Summary', 'Identification of the Property' as much as the apparent lack of any clear summary of the contents.

The opening statement that 'The serial ... combines a selection of 156 out of the 927 known archaeological pile-dwelling sites in six countries' will surprise many who were unaware of the remarkable extent of the remains. In the database on the accompanying disc, 814 are presented. There is sufficient information for the compilation of a comprehensive summary of the state of research into the lake-villages, both individually and collectively, but the opportunity is not taken. Instead, many (like this reviewer) will find it necessary to list for themselves the contents of the various sections and papers. Furthermore, far too much prior knowledge is assumed on the part of the reader, who is expected to be familiar with the detailed topography and administrative geography of a remarkably large area.

The presentation of information related to specific sites is rendered consistently clear by the use of boxed texts, although the cartography is spoiled by the use of red and green outlines, to the confusion of the colour-blind. Many images lose their value through the absence of adjacent captions. The long lists of site names and locations are no substitute for a descriptive gazetteer, the more so as the site summaries (in Vol. II) concern themselves with preservation and administration, rather than detailed description and comparative analysis. Perversely, the sheer quantity of information precludes the provision of any clear plan or pattern, forming a classic case of the trees obscuring the wood. Furthermore, the small size of the sample examined in detail renders questionable some of the assumptions (functional, cultural and chronological) made previously. There is, regrettably, no attempt to indicate those sites which are of particular significance, for whatever reason. Traditionalists may feel that the information would be more comprehensible if presented as a standard book, notwithstanding the inherent potential advantage of automated retrieval.

Indeed, the specialist researcher will need to print a complete 'scribbling copy'. The superb illustrations presented in the two hard-copy publications have not been made available in electronic format, which would have been an invaluable contribution to the publication of primary artefactual evidence. In short, it must be asked whether the vast effort made was warranted.

The 'Application Manual' gives guidance on the use of a sophisticated sorting system which is apparently over-complicated. This unfortunate state of affairs suggests the need for a recognised common system for the organisation of archaeological databases applicable to the study of prehistoric Europe, and presented within conventions analogous to those applicable to 'paper' publications. By way of compensation, there is an excellent comprehensive bibliography (Vol. II, Section 4) which contains a valuable list of links to wetland archaeological organisations worldwide. It also refers to the supporting website, which should be expanded to contain a comprehensive, searchable, archivally-supported and continually-upgraded summary of the recognised remains.

These observations confirm that a publication compiled for governmental or 'cultural' purposes cannot be a satisfactory substitute for a traditional and considered inventory of the evidence, whether published on paper or as an electronic database. The major significance of this work may be unintended, lying in the generation of further interest. Such a comprehensive summary of the evidence for one of the major phenomena of European prehistory can only serve to stimulate further investigation; the best years of Swiss lake-village research may yet be to come. Until then, it deserves every success in submission to UNESCO. We wish it well.

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Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean: mobility, materiality and identity

PETER VAN DOMMELEN and A. BERNARD KNAPP (eds) with 10 Contributors

256 pp., 74 b&w figures

Routledge, 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN, UK, 2010, £24.99 (sbk), ISBN 978-0415586696

In the introductory chapter the editors set out the main questions for the Mediterranean, which explain the title of this book. The common theoretical ideas, thematic issues and methodological approaches of the contributors are emphasized in relation to the analysis of materiality. They also provide useful definitions and overviews on how ideas were treated and used in the Mediterranean.

Lanete's ch. 2 attempts to address the issue of whether the Mediterranean can be treated as a unified scientific category, through the epistemological outlook of the French expedition teams of the 18th and 19th centuries. The regional analyses they offered were based within their political and ideological context, providing important concepts which led to the process of the modern understanding of the Mediterranean. Certain aspects like geography, anthropological analyses and architecture were used to promote images of fragmented regional identities, often to serve and promote political aspirations.

In the third chapter the idea of *mimesis* of Roman prototypes during the Republic and early Imperial period is presented. This trend has an ideological character and it is represented through similar architectural planning and symbolic expressions of certain myths, between Rome and Romanised Hispania. The different ways the idea of *mimesis* is realised by Greek, Roman and modern scholars provide a further understanding of how it was applied. There was an important homogeneity achieved through Romanisation, but at the same time cultural diversity is present. Ramis in ch. 4 concentrates on the cultural aspects of the earliest colonisation in the Balearics during the Bronze Age. Isolation seems to be a determining factor in cultural divergence from the mainland from the earliest colonisation of these islands, maintained by cultural and geographical means. Similarities and differences are noted even between Mallorca and Menorca, arguing for a varied development in the early colonisation phase of these islands, underlining the role of mobility and cultural isolation.

Gkiasta (ch. 5) interrelates social identity, materiality and landscape in order to approach Early Bronze Age society on Crete. These elements are well manifested through the various burial traditions, settlements and regional pottery styles that developed across the island. At the same time the role of mobility of objects, ideas and individuals is emphasised as a significant factor in negotiating identities. The sixth chapter focuses on Late Bronze Age Sardinia and attempts to assess identity through the mobility of foreign materials. There seems to be no correlation between foreign objects and the development of the hierarchic pattern of the *nuraghi*. However, Nuraghe Antigori stand out in relation to the quantity of imported and locally-made Aegean pottery, the production and consumption of which is related to the local elite. The similarities and differences with southern Italian sites suggest that there was more interaction with them, rather than directly with the Aegean.

Janes (ch. 7) views the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age burials on Cyprus as a context of interaction from the East and West, where social and political identities are expressed. Identifying burial types with ethnic groups is highly problematic, while their development over time rather suggests gradual social changes rather than direct foreign influences. The

varying traditions used at the cemetery of Salamis argue for a selective adaptation of foreign elements from the Near East and Greece, promoting internal social messages and identities. In ch. 8 the focus is on Early Iron Age northern Sardinia, which remained uncolonised by the Phoenicians. Comparison with the Phoenician colonies provides evidence of identity through material culture such as bronze objects and pots. The re-contextualisation of certain Phoenician objects in Nuragic society modified the local practices, a result of contacts identified in other Mediterranean communities as well.

Kostoglou (ch. 9) is interested in the circulation of iron around the Mediterranean in relation to connectivity and identity. The understanding of its production and consumption allows the identification of distinct groups of people. Examples from two Archaic cities in Thrace reveal that different technologies of iron were employed, which underline the diverse local identities expressed in these two sites. In ch. 10 the consumption of materiality is related to mobility and identity in Iron Age east Iberia. The arrival of the Phoenicians introduced new ideas and materials in this region, which can be seen at the Les Moreres cemetery. It was inhabited by the local population and new elements can be found such as tomb-types, rituals and objects. Here the changes in material culture are interpreted as processes of group and individual identities rather than static ones through time.

Riva (ch. 11) focuses on the northern Tyrrhenian Sea during the 6th and 5th centuries BC in relation to the materiality of wine consumption. Wine-drinking vessels become part of the local elite's burials during the 7th century BC, signifying their social importance. In the following centuries they are found also as dedications to sanctuaries and in more burials. Wine consumption, apart from its social significance, may have had an additional importance as a means of communication between foreign traders and local consumers. The final chapter offers a synthesis, providing a broader picture of current studies and the direction future research will take. The different approaches regarding homogeneity and/or heterogeneity in the Mediterranean are discussed along with materiality, contact, and hybrid or other identities.

Van Dommelen and Knapp have ensured the methodological and theoretical coherence of this volume in regard to issues like mobility, materiality and identity. The different spatial and temporal examples of the contributors provide a more vivid picture of how, and to what extent, these ideas can be applied. The editors achieve their main aim, which was to offer a 'novel agenda' for the Mediterranean, promoting the aforementioned ideas. The editing throughout this volume is very good, but in some cases the quality of the pictures is not up to the same standard (see figs. 3.3, 4.2, 8.9, 9.2b, 9.3b, 9.4, 9.7, 11.3). Overall, it is a worthy book for both those who are interested in specialised regional studies, and those who want to address wider

theoretical questions. It is equally important for both researchers and students who want to do an in-depth study of these important aspects of the Mediterranean either in prehistoric or historic times.

However, although interaction, exchange and mobility are central issues, there is limited discussion on the role of the sea and ships in these chapters, and this is an element that is lacking in this book.

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Lake Mareotis: reconstructing the past.
Proceedings of the International
Conference on the Archaeology of the
Mareotic Region held at Alexandria
University, Egypt, 5–6 April 2008
(*BAR International Series S2113*)

LUCY BLUE (ed.) assisted by EMAD KHALIL

ix + 156 pp., 112 b&w illustrations, 3 tables and maps

BAR via Archaeopress, 276 Banbury Road, Oxford
OX2 7ED, UK, 2010, £35.00 (sbk), ISBN 978-
1407306544

The great harbour-capital of Alexandria was one of the three main cities of the Roman Empire. Its half-million inhabitants lived crowded in towering apartment blocks, many toiled day and night in sweat-shops and factories, and there was continual violent protest between racial and religious groups, not excluding the *nautikos okhlos*, the ‘seafaring mob’ of mariners and bargees waiting for a cargo or a wind. From this pre-industrial labour-camp there was one relief: the great lake which lay behind the city, and afforded its inhabitants recreation and refreshment. ‘Marea’ was its name, or perhaps rather the name of the ancient town which stood on high ground (perhaps normally surrounded by water in antiquity) towards the middle of the lake; the lake was itself better known to the ancients as *Mareotis limne* or *palus Mareotis*, the Marsh of Marea.

This marsh occupied a natural depression, bounded by a low coastal ridge, and was fed each spring by the rising of the Nile; it lapped at the back of Alexandria, but was apparently cut off from the harbours and the salt sea. The depth and the extent of the waters would vary with the annual height of the Nile flood, but at its maximum the lake could stretch 40 miles east-west and over 50 miles north-south, with large areas a fathom or more deep. It was thus a mighty wetland, famed for its reed-beds (including papyrus), fish and birdlife; around its shores were fertile irrigated fields and vineyards; boats, many (we are told) with cabins, took Alexandrians out for excursions, or on pilgrimages; all were refreshed by the sweet water of the lake, by the fine

wines produced on its shores, and by the summer north wind which blew in from the Mediterranean, just out of sight.

In the last 200 years the region of Maryut, as it is now called, has been degraded, almost destroyed. The waters of the Nile are now controlled and redistributed by the Aswan Dam, the channels of the Nile delta have changed, and what is left of the lake of Marea is brackish, thanks to a channel cut through to the sea, and even to the pumping in of sea-water to process for salt in the Maryut basin. Landgrabbing, bulldozing, dumping and building are, it seems, proceeding apace, as if to emphasize the irreversible loss of this ancient, romantic wetland. The present volume marks the start of another attempt to rescue information before it is too late. It is, in fact, an interesting and well-edited collection of 16 papers, all in English, most of them appropriately illustrated. Perhaps it is just the perversity of this reader, but it seems that the best English, and the most interesting subject-matter, are to be found in the contributions of the Egyptian participants! There is almost nothing about the recent work of the Southampton-Alexandria survey project, on which a further volume is promised. However, this volume stands on its own as a well-focused introduction to the region’s archaeology, and is actually entertaining to read—something that cannot often be said of this genre of publication!

As far as this reviewer is concerned, it seems certain that the *limne Mareotis* of ancient times was a fresh-water wetland, with no view of the sea, and not linked to the sea by any kind of channel. This can be inferred from the Roman geographer Strabo, who, in his account of Alexandria (17.1.7), distinguishes *ho kata thalattan limen*, the marine harbour, from *ho limnaios limen*, the lake harbour. Strabo wants to explain that Alexandria, unlike, for example, Puteoli, exports more than it imports—and thus he glosses his statement about two harbours with the rather obscure comment ‘the lake harbour is richer in profits than the marine harbour’. He does not make any statement about the physical or geographical relationship of the lake and the marine harbour, and makes no mention of any cut through to the sea from the lake. Where more than one contributor to the volume under review seem to have got the idea of a cut between lake and sea is a footnote by H. L. Jones in his Loeb edition of Strabo (Vol. VIII, pp.26–7): this says that the artificial marine harbour of Alexandria, ‘called “Cibotus”, i.e. “Chest” or “Box”, (which was fortified), was connected with Lake Mareotis by a canal’. Whether this is true or not, it is not supported by Strabo’s text. Let us hope that scientific archaeological survey will clarify the issue.

One wonders how the Mareotis project is going to go forward after a topographical survey. The ancient descriptions show that one could expect to find boats, quays, mooring-stones, and other nautical equipment a-plenty: indeed, Strabo (17.1.4) tells us that, in the

Delta, people use ferryboats of earthenware (*ostrakina porthmeia*), which may give some hope to the project team of finding boat-remains even in this desiccated environment! This is, of course, not a unique situation: there are plenty of coastal or lacustrine locations, in Europe if not worldwide, where archaeologists have worked out how to interpret the traces left by rising and falling water-levels. Lacustrine archaeology is not a specialism of your reviewer, but he can say that comparative expertise must be available, and is mostly lacking from the present volume. In fact, it is odd that the editrix and her assistant choose to categorise their orientation not as 'nautical' but as 'maritime': it is hard to see what the Mareotis project has to do with the sea, and this collocation is surely to be regretted.

There is a lot of work to do at Lake Mareotis: the ongoing degradation of the heritage in the area, referred to courageously by a pair of contributors to this volume as 'outrage and destruction', demands action. The collection of papers published here, together with the promised preliminary field reports, is an invaluable basis for progress. Let us hope that the project advances, for the sake of true knowledge and understanding.

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The Navies of Rome

MICHAEL PITASSI

348 pp., 14 colour plates, 40 b&w maps and figures

Boydell Press, PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK, 2009, £36 (hbk), ISBN 978-1843834090

The Navies of Rome by Michael Pitassi presents a comprehensive history of Roman naval power from the foundation of the city (trad. 753 BC) to its last emperor, Romulus Augustulus (AD 476). As the author states in his Introduction, the book is a very traditional military history, viewing Roman history primarily through the lens of its navy and demonstrating amply how the Romans poured significant resources into the development, exercise and maintenance of naval power throughout the course of their history. The book is attractively produced with numerous clear illustrations and maps, plus helpful appendices which present lists of: Roman kings, dynasts and emperors; Roman navy personnel; suggested crew complements for various classes of warship; place-names used in the text with their Latin and modern equivalents; and nautical terms. A useful 'General Chronology' (pp.xv-xxvii) enables the reader to see in a few pages the main subjects treated by the text along with their dates. Generally well written and clear, the book is aimed at an audience which does not particularly care about footnotes and ancient sources of

information. This last feature might be considered a strength or a weakness depending on one's point of view.

Pitassi begins his narrative by tracing the development of Roman naval history back to the city's founding, assuming that the Romans were much more actively involved in maritime commerce and seafaring than the meagre historical record might suggest. For this reason, his narrative differs from most other treatments of early Roman naval development and helps to explain the early success of Roman fleets when battling the Carthaginians during the First Punic War. Thereafter, Pitassi generally follows the views published by scholars such as L. Casson (*Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*; *The Ancient Mariners*; *Travel in the Ancient World*), J. S. Morrison and J. F. Coates (*Greek and Roman Oared Warships*), F. Meijer (*A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*), H. H. Scullard (*A History of the Roman World, 753-146 BC*; *From the Gracchi to Nero. A History of Rome, 133 BC to AD 68*), and others. He accepts that Romans generally gained victories through their skills in bombarding, grappling and boarding their opponents and through the excellence of their marines and the tactical smartness of their commanders. After Actium, when many overlook the roles played by Rome's navy, Pitassi nicely outlines the imperial fleet structure and demonstrates its usefulness, particularly in securing the empire's riverine borders. He also demonstrates the negative effects when fleets were re-assigned, allowed to degrade, or dispersed too widely.

Despite the book's many positive features, I found that a number of characteristics lessened its overall value. My biggest complaint concerns the book's failure to serve as a reliable guide to further study. The author of a book such as this, full of numerous facts and small details, must take special care to get the details right and to make all notes as helpful and accurate as possible. Otherwise, the final product lacks authority. Unfortunately, *The Navies of Rome* contains a high percentage of references which are essentially useless to a reader hoping to find the evidence behind the text. References to most ancient and modern sources are given without specifics, like page or section numbers, making it time-consuming to discover the origin of particular remarks. This might be excused, but when specifics are included, they are sometimes faulty. In my view, this shatters the reliability of a book which otherwise seems well researched. For example, on p.234, Pitassi presents a well-known story where a group of gladiators interpret a quip by the emperor Claudius as a pardon and thereafter refuse to fight in his *naumachia* (a naval-combat display). Pitassi incorrectly cites the story as coming from the *Annales* of Tacitus instead of from Suetonius' biography of Claudius (21.6). You might think this a minor point except that two additional errors occur on the next page of text when Nero tries to kill his mother with a collapsing boat (Pitassi lists 'Selkirk, The Piercebridge Formula'

as his source), and dispatches an expedition to map the upper reaches of the Nile (Pitassi lists 'Tacitus, *Annales* XIV.4'). I presume that the footnotes somehow got mixed, which is an understandable error, but one that destroys the reader's confidence that other unchecked references are rigorously accurate.

While it seems clear to me that Pitassi has, in general, faithfully recorded the ideas of those he consults, he displays telltale signs that he does not always understand the Greek and Latin terms he repeats. For example, he incorrectly uses *conter* to signify a ship-type (pp.48, 122, 132, etc.) when the word simply signifies a number—in this case, a multiple of ten—like *triaconter* (galley with 30 oars) or *penteconter* (one with 50). He also uses *reme* (from the Greek *-eres* meaning something like 'fitted') to signify a 'bank' or level of oars (pp.8, 13, 83, 87, etc.). While this may seem a logical conclusion from the terms *monoreme*, *bireme* and *trireme*, it is misleading (and jarring) to say that oarsmen sat in one, two or three '*remes*'. A Latin example is provided by his repeated references to the *Classis Ravenate* (properly *Classis Ravennas*). While these errors might be excused as trivial, Pitassi also makes some faulty conclusions based upon incorrect or misinterpreted translations. On p.75, the Greek *triparodos* refers to gangways (i.e. passageways) not gangplanks, on p.120 the Greek probably refers to turret supports rather than 'timbers supporting his rowers', and on p.123, *hekkaidekerēs* should not be translated as 'flagship in which men rowed eight to an oar'—it simply means 'sixteener' with no indication of oar arrangement. None of these errors is serious, but taken together, they make me wary of all Pitassi's observations based on translations of Greek and Latin texts whose origins were unstated.

This feeling of unease was reinforced by other small but sloppy errors that I noticed here and there throughout the book. Although a full list would be tedious, examples include Flaminus instead of the correct T. Quinctius Flamininus (p.122), Arrian instead of the correct Appian (p.149 n.8), Syrians instead of Rhodians (p.128), Cassandea instead of Cassandreia (p.132), M. Antonius the father instead of grandfather of the *triumvir* (p.144; cf. p.154), and Scribonius Libio instead of Scribonius Libo (p.171). Again, each occurrence is minor, but their cumulative effect shakes the reader's confidence in the author's attention to detail and thus diminishes trust in the book's overall reliability.

As for the book's ease of use, certain aspects of its layout could have been better designed. For example, the entire first chapter, 'Foundation to the First Punic War', is presented in essentially two parallel narratives. The primary chronological narrative (Roman naval history from 753 to 273 BC) appears on even pages while a separate set of topics (such as 'Merchant Ships', 'Navigation', 'Nile-Red Sea Canal', 'Ship Building'.) is discussed on odd ones. Pitassi followed this format, no doubt, in order to introduce topics that do not follow a

chronological sequence, but I found this method of presentation disruptive to the flow of the main narrative. A better solution might have been to discuss these topics in an introductory chapter. Another problem involves the placement of large-scale maps at the end of chapters, far from the text they illustrate. One example will suffice: I assumed that the section on Britannia (pp.227–33) lacked a map until I found one titled 'The Northern Frontier' two chapters later on p.295. This observation could be applied to the maps of most chapters. While it is true that the reader can refer to the list of maps on pp.vii–viii (the 28 pages prior to p.1 bear no numerals, however), a system of simple cross-references in the text pointing the reader to the most useful map would be desirable, if not the relocation of the maps themselves.

Finally, the author might have included more sections of analytical commentary. For example, I found Pitassi's general analysis following the assassination of Caracalla (AD 217) useful and enlightening (pp.270–72). Sections like this might have been sprinkled liberally throughout each chapter to relieve the chronicle-like nature of the narrative and help the reader digest the basic developments in Roman naval power over time. In sum, I found *The Navies of Rome* to have a lot of unrealized potential. It admirably presents the full run of Roman naval history from beginning to end and serves as a useful catalogue of Roman naval operations organized year-by-year. Its notes and sporadic inaccuracies, however, hinder the interested reader from exploring the evidence underpinning the narrative and, as a result, make the book less than it could be.

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Quantifying the Roman Economy: methods and problems

(*Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy* no. 1)

ALAN BOWMAN and ANDREW WILSON (eds)

356 pp.

Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK, 2009, £65.00 (hbk), ISBN: 978-0199562596

This well-edited and nicely-produced book stands at the head of an intended series of four volumes which are the chief fruits of *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, a research project directed by Professors Bowman and Wilson which ran for the quinquennium 2005–2010. The project directors convened a symposium in 2006 at which they outlined their intention to advance their study under four heads—urbanization, agriculture, trade and coinage—and this book contains the papers presented and discussed at the symposium.

Not all of the book will interest the *IJNA* reader: suffice to say that most of the contributions are worthy rather than sparky, with the exception of Matthew Ponting's study of the composition of Roman silver coinage, which gives a glimpse of the fascinating results emerging from the long-term research of Ponting and his colleague Kevin Butcher, and is only 12 clearly-written pages long.

The section which concerns maritime archaeology is 'Trade', comprising a paper by Andrew Wilson and comments on it by Michael Fulford and William Harris. Under 'Trade', Wilson considers marble, amphoras, pottery, ceramic assemblages, and shipwrecks. Regarding shipwrecks, there is discussion of whether the date-frequency of Roman-period wrecks in the Mediterranean can be considered an index of economic growth or decline, and how that frequency should be graphed or plotted. On the first question, a paper by your reviewer, which has now been published, considers some of the wider issues of generalising from maritime finds and assemblages, and might help the Oxford discussion (A. J. Parker, 2008, *Artifact distributions and wreck locations: the archaeology of Roman commerce*, in R. L. Hohlfelder (ed.), *The Maritime World of Ancient Rome*, 176–96, Ann Arbor, reviewed in *IJNA* 38.2, 432–4). On the second question, Wilson rightly criticises the frequency chart of Mediterranean wrecks by date which became widely known from 1980 on, and which seems to show a steep decline in shipping losses between AD 150 and AD 250 (K. Hopkins, 1980, *Taxes and trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC–AD 400)*, *Journal of Roman Studies* 70, 101–25). This chart was originally meant as part of the characterisation of the archaeological resource, rather than as a barometer of economic activity, and that is why wrecks reported simply as 'Roman' were given an arbitrary date-value in the 2nd century which, especially if one chooses closer class-boundaries, distorts the shape of the graph. Wilson has transformed the graph, eliminating distortion, to show that the overall statistic is different. This is good, and helpful.

Shipwrecks are most valuable when studied individually, in depth, as 'fine-grained' assemblages (to quote David Gibbins); extrapolation and generalisation can be made according to their cargo, their origin, their destination, even the status of their owner or master—but perhaps they should not be reduced to a statistic, to a blip on a chart. Like so much archaeology, the date and location of ship losses are unselfconscious data: in one sense this makes their tabulation valuable for setting against historical schemes, but in another it means they can never compete for the historian's attention against an archaeological record which was deliberately created, as with the coinage alloy determined by the masters of the Roman mint. By all means trace the movement by sea of certain classes of goods, or see if there are technological changes in ships over time, but let us not confuse summary diagrams of

ceramic finds from port sites, or frequency of ship losses as seen in wreck-sites, with the price and inflation figures shown on today's television news. Economic history, as the term implies, can be constructed only from historical data: the *Archaeology of the Roman Economy*, as Kevin Greene found (1986, London), runs out of steam when certainty of inference is required. The question of the relationship between archaeology and economic history remains unsolved, and many more studies will have to grapple with it before any conclusion can be reached.

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Der Hafen von Haithabu

SVEN KALMRING

668 pp., 288 illustrations, many in colour, tables, 171 pp. about finds

Wachholz Verlag GmbH, Rungestr. 4, Neumünster 24537, Germany, 2010, €120 (hbk), ISBN 918-3529014147

In 1979–80 the director of the Archäologisches Landesmuseum in Schleswig-Holstein, Professor Kurt Schietzel, conducted the famous harbour excavation in Haddebyer Noor, the water-body outside the Viking Age port-town of Hedeby. The excavation was carried out inside metal caissons and produced an outstandingly rich and varied collection of finds from Hedeby's waterline and harbour, ranging from a Viking longship and other ship remains through extensive harbour constructions to a wealth of items which deliberately or accidentally had ended up in the harbour sediments during its lifetime. Many of these finds have already been published, mainly in the two series *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* (1969–2007, 36 vols) and *Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* (1937–, 15 vols), which have respectively presented systematic reports and comprehensive analyses on various find-groups from the Hedeby excavations. Some important groups of finds, however, such as the weights and balances, have not yet been fully published.

In 1997 the first major attempt to interpret the combined evidence of ships, constructions and finds from the harbour was published by O. Crumlin-Pedersen (*Viking Age Ships and Shipbuilding in Hedeby/Haithabu and Schleswig*, Roskilde, 1997, reviewed in *IJNA* 26.4, 349–50), who had been responsible for the excavation, documentation, analysis and publication of the Hedeby 1 longship as part of the harbour excavations. While this can be considered as the main ship publication on Hedeby, its analysis of the harbour itself was preliminary, limited by the inaccessibility of the enormous, and at that time to a large extent unanalysed, quantity of finds and their documentation.

Even though some important find-groups are still unpublished, the situation has changed significantly since the mid-1990s. Most of the material, both from the extensive land excavations in Hedeby and from the harbour, has been published, and systematic geophysical surveys of the area inside the semi-circular rampart have provided a better understanding of the character and density of the settlement on land. In spite of this it is still a challenging task that the present book takes on—namely an analysis of Hedeby harbour which includes an interpretation not only of its structures, but also of the activities which took place on and around them, based on the objects found on the sea-floor and in the waterfront deposits.

Der Hafen von Haithabu is a comprehensive work of 668 pages, and to do justice to all parts of it in a single review is not easy. My approach will be to present a brief overview of its content, then to discuss some selected issues of special importance. The book is divided into 14 chapters, starting with an introduction providing a brief history of Hedeby research up to 1979, when the harbour excavations started. The second chapter discusses theoretical approaches towards the task of analysing such a multi-functional, complex phenomenon as an archaeological harbour site, and the third chapter the associated terminology. Chapter 4 presents the topographical situation around Haithabu with respect to transport and communication, ch. 5 the various historical sources mentioning or associated—as place names or runic inscriptions—with the port, and ch. 6 the genesis and development of the ‘waterscapes’ of the Baltic, the Schlei and the Haddebyer Noor. Continuing this theme ch. 7 presents the various archaeological harbour surveys carried out in Haddebyer Noor from 1933 to 2003, before ch. 8 concludes with a description of the ship-finds.

Chapter 9 comprises more than 200 pages, or almost twice as much as the first eight chapters together, and takes on the harbour excavation in Hedeby, 1979–80, with a focus on the recorded constructions and stratigraphy. Its aim is a coherent systematisation, interpretation and presentation of the original documentation from the excavation, some of which is illustrated in the 171-page-long section with documentation towards the end of the book. The main topics of ch. 9 are the stratigraphy, the identification and dating of structures in the harbour basin, the beach zones, and the classification of the individual timbers found. Interspersed among these sub-chapters are smaller ones which discuss important issues such as the Viking Age water-level in the harbour or the formation history of the finds.

The next three chapters offer interpretations of the material presented in ch. 9. Chapter 10 discusses the aspect of wood consumption and construction in the Hedeby harbour area, ch. 11 what possibilities the constructions and the harbour offered the ships in terms of water-depths and quayside mooring, and ch. 12 the possible presence of what the author denotes as

‘harbour-technical constructions’ (*Hafentechnische Einrichtungen*), namely cranes, storage buildings, housing for the sailors and wharves for ship-repair, and traces of production related to harbour- and ship-construction and -maintenance. In ch. 13, the Hedeby harbour constructions are compared with other archaeologically known early and high medieval harbour-works found in Northern and Central Europe.

Chapter 14, with more than 50 pages, presents the remainder of the finds from the harbour, ranging from ship’s equipment through tools, weapons, textiles and animal bones to adornments, brooches, metal bars and even a church bell. The main focus is on distribution, disentangling the relationship between the harbour structures and the so-called ‘small finds’. The synthesis of the work, that the harbour of Hedeby was also its market place, is discussed in ch. 15, which is followed by a German and an English summary, presenting the main lines of the argumentation and conclusions. In passing it may be mentioned that in the English summary the name *Hedeby* is used instead of *Haithabu*, which is also the reason for using Hedeby in the present review. The remainder of the book consists of a bibliography and a catalogue of more than 170 pages, presenting the documentation from the excavation.

Before entering into a discussion it may be useful briefly to summarise Kalmar’s results. Before 817 and following a phase with some undetermined use of the area, the first reinforcing of the waterfront and a possible parcelling of the beach can be observed. Shortly after 834 a platform was built into the water, providing dry-footed access to vessels beached next to it. Around 865 a longer platform was built onto its northern side, reaching deep enough water to offer a floating berth to shallow-draught vessels. In the following decades, from 884 to shortly after 894, two further, longer jetties were added to the north and the south, giving the platform a U-shaped appearance, and allowing for vessels with a draught of up to 1.5 m to moor at its ends. About a century later both arms of the platform were further extended, and at some point shortly after, the southern arm was extended yet again. At this point the platform had reached a size of almost 1500 m².

Analyses of the find distribution around the platform show that heavy trade goods—such as iron bars, or soapstone vessels—were over-represented along the long sides and seaward ends of the platform, which is interpreted as a sign that they were lost during transfer between ship and shore, while objects like coins and dress equipment apparently were lost on the platform and fell through gaps into the water. Finds originating from refuse dumps were predominantly found close to the shore, in the inner part of the U-shape, and on the shore there were finds indicating workshops. No signs of buildings were found on the platform. This evidence, plus the fact that the geomagnetic survey of the area inside the rampart revealed no areas which could

be interpreted as market squares, leads the author to the conclusion that the trading in Hedeby first took place as a beach market, but gradually moved out on the platform which was expanded as trade and the need for accommodating larger ships grew. A survey of the existing literature about other early North- and Central-European ports supports this hypothesis by demonstrating market squares to be a high medieval phenomenon. This is a very tempting—and not completely new—hypothesis. But how well is it actually supported by the finds at Hedeby?

It may first be said that the work that Kalmring has conducted to encode and analyse the massive archaeological evidence from the harbour excavation is absolutely outstanding. That the harbour constructions really took the shape of a platform and not of individual piers cannot be questioned, nor can the chronology of the different building phases. But there are some significant points concerning the suggested explanation of the small finds which can. Of central importance for the overall interpretation is the understanding of the coins and their distribution, which, according to Kalmring, shows that coins were lost through the platform as a result of trading activities taking place on the platform. Now it may first be noted that altogether only 68 coins were found on the 2236 m² of the harbour excavation. Even if this makes up almost half of all the coins found in Hedeby, it is not a very large number, compared to what is found, for example, underneath medieval church floors.

Furthermore, it may also be noted that no hack-silver is reported from the harbour, although some was found in the settlement. The platform was gradually developed and in use for a period of more than 200 years—could the low number of coins and the absence of hack-silver actually indicate that trading was *not* taking place on the platform, but elsewhere? Also, the distribution of finds is not necessarily quite as uniform as stated by Kalmring, who says (p.403, my translation, see also p.449) that: ‘Coins with known finding place (59) were, with one exception, all found underneath the platform; apparently they were lost during payment for goods, and fell into the water through chinks in the flooring’. However, comparing the map with the dating of the individual building phases (p.453) with that of the coin distribution sorted after dating (p.653), it appears that ten of 12 coins from the 9th century were found underneath constructions dated after 884/886 and before 990/1010. Obviously the circulation time may account for this discrepancy, but it cannot be denied that, as presented, the coins may not have been lost *on* the platform but *next* to it. In fact several of the 10th-century finds were from underneath the same constructions, and may also have ended up there before the platform was extended into these areas. Another factor is that since the coins have generally only been located to within 4 × 4 m squares, or even larger areas, it cannot be decided for several of the

remaining coins whether they were actually found underneath or next to the platform. It might be worth considering whether the coins could represent a more restricted economic activity, and one that was more related to the ships—for example the payment of mooring fees or, as suggested by Crumlin-Pedersen (1997), taxes?

Another example is the interpretation of the geophysical surveys on land. Even when the author points out that structures which have been documented by these methods are not dated, he does not consider the corollary that a market area which has moved around within the settlement would be very hard to detect using geophysical techniques.

One may ask why the author—who otherwise has spared no effort to get a grip on this massive and complex archaeological material—has not noticed such possible discrepancies between material and interpretation? It might be because he has, as formulated in ch. 2, very clear expectations that it is possible to give a direct, economic explanation of the harbour structures on the basis of their trade, and that this has guided his interpretation. A contributing reason, probably due to the work’s origin as a PhD thesis, is that the focus is very much on the material from the harbour excavation; the rest of the settlement is hardly considered in the interpretation. But even if we accept that there was no market place inside the settlement of Hedeby, does this necessarily mean that trade then could only take place at a beach market, transferred to a platform? The present reviewer does not think so, and would have welcomed it if the author had put some more effort into discussing his ideas in the light of the remainder of the Hedeby settlement, and of other Scandinavian Viking Age ports like Kaupang and Birka, which have been investigated during the last decades. The final, synthesising ch. 14 almost exclusively calls upon sources and examples that are either Continental, high medieval, or both, and does not even mention, for example, Kaupang or Birka.

A minor point is that the essential figure 324, showing the different phases of the harbour platform with construction dates, should have been presented together with the discussion of this theme, and not with the summaries in the back of the book.

The comments above should not overshadow the many qualities of Kalmring’s work. The book is very well edited and produced, and the research on the harbour constructions and chronology is outstanding. The book is certainly a must for anyone who is going to work with Hedeby, or research Viking Age harbours, and in that context it is a minor factor that the author has perhaps stretched his interpretation a bit far. There is every reason to congratulate the author, and the publisher, on a very important, very intriguing, and very impressive publication.

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North Sea Archaeologies: a maritime biography, 10,000 BC—AD 1500

ROBERT VAN DE NOORT

296 pp., 46 illustrations

Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK, 2011, £60 (hbk), ISBN 978-0199566204

This book is the result of more than a decade of research focused primarily on the development of the maritime cultures of the North Sea. Van de Noort's immense experience in wetland archaeology and human/environment relationships come together in this work, presenting a very complete insight into human behaviour. It strongly highlights the lack of appreciation and attention from terrestrial archaeology in considering the sea as an active agent in the creation of social identities. Through a comprehensive analysis of archaeological, oceanographic, and historical evidence, considering the coastlines of Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, France and England, the author offers an epistemological alternative towards the study of maritime communities from the Mesolithic to the 16th century.

The cover of this high-quality hardback showcases the author's own photograph of a contemporary fishing *faering* in the Shetland Islands—an appropriate and graphic statement of the core ideas in this volume. More practically, the book benefits immensely from high-quality greyscale maps and illustrations, giving the text enough presence without compromising the balance between these two components. However, the maps lack orientation, an unfortunate lapse, particularly for readers unfamiliar with the geographical areas.

Structurally, the volume is organised around three main arguments: the nature of research examining interactions between the environment and culture in maritime contexts, the development of social identities and dynamics, and finally the importance of travel in object biographies. For Van de Noort, these areas constitute the essential 'theoretical toolkit' with which to develop an archaeology of the North Sea, which should be investigated in the context of society, a hybridity reached through corporeal and cognitive experience of the sea. It is from this hybridity of the senses that the author suggests that an 'other-than-human' agency could have been attributed to trees, animals, and of course boats and the sea. Chapters 1 and 2 are designed as a preamble to such arguments. Chapter 1 constitutes the general introduction, and as such there is little detailed discussion, but key controversial issues are brought to the fore. In setting out the book's purpose, Van de Noort lays down his first, and explicit, contention with the comfortable attitude taken by landlocked archaeology towards the sea. In

ch. 2 he develops this further, stressing the reductionist approaches commonly adopted, which have focused on exploitation and commerce, and until relatively recently have considered the sea as an obstacle for human development, rather than as an opportunity.

Landscape dynamics constitute one of the main areas where the idea of the agency of the sea could be nested, a constant reconfiguration through climatic change and siltation of rivers and banks, perceived for generations. It is with this in mind that chs 3 and 5 are arranged as a way to understand the North Sea better as an entity and also as an agent. In particular, ch. 3 discusses the presence of deliberate deposits from the Mesolithic through to Middle/Late Bronze Age, which have been recovered by modern trawling. Van de Noort suggests the possibility that prehistoric societies' belief in other-than-human agency could have extended to the sea. He considers these finds as a structured response by societies to the preserving of social memory—a way to record it in the landscape. These events, and the early exploitation of marine resources, stretching back to the 9th century BC, sustains the idea of hybridity between the environment and society, but also the preservation of the other-than-human agency about the sea, which could be traced up to the 19th century's rural myths.

Even though isolated studies of subsistence strategies are criticised by the author in his opening statement, ch. 4 presents an extraordinary analysis of the variations of marine resource consumption and the ways to explore social identities through such studies. The concept behind this chapter is to consider the sea as a 'taskscape', where food and social identities are closely connected. The consumption of fish and sea mammals in the North Sea has been recorded in the 10th millennium BC in Norway and northern Britain, the latter presenting little direct evidence at Star Carr, but sharing similarities in other aspects with the Scandinavian archaeological assemblages. Within this section, Van de Noort introduces the idea that although the roles of fish and sea mammals in the North Sea were important, evidence for a decrease in marine consumption by 4000 BC, and subsequent recovery by 1000 BC, implies that these resources were not valued equally through time. Based on isotopic analysis and dietary studies, the author reintroduces, with added science, the debate generated by Julian Thomas, where a rejection of fish could be a marker of social identity.

As a way to integrate and more fully comprehend the development of maritime social identities, the author uses Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia—an alternative space, which could explain the alienation of sea-societies, and counterpoise those created on land. In a way, this other-place works as non-hegemonic (terrestrial) or free space, a creation yielded from the constant struggle against nature and not its domination or, as the author might say, from its 'enculturation'. Additionally, the concept works as an amalgamation of Van de Noort's ideas throughout the

book, considering the 'lived space' and the means by which this is achieved—the latter being by moving on a boat through the landscape or fishing. Most importantly, the North Sea heterotopia is based on the distinct way in which to face the environment, the activities carried out within it, and the differing perceptions of landscape, whether by foot or sail. Furthermore, Van de Noort finds in Muckelroy's idea of a shipboard society the perfect balance between these themes, seeing shipboard societies as the maritime heterotopia par excellence. Examples of such are presented here as being reflected in the Neolithic and Bronze Age creation of hierarchies through the specialisation of seafaring knowledge, or insurrection against land authorities, as in the case of Viking piracy.

The final chapter constitutes more than its name suggests. Beyond merely concluding general themes, it is all-encompassing. Here, Van de Noort's remarkable ability to synthesise his ideas regarding multi-period landscape and maritime archaeological research also shows how these could survive in today's North Sea social identities. This leaves an open door to further research not only on the sea but on land as well. Whether this could be considered a starting-point, more than a conclusion, the book importantly emphasizes throughout the idea of an alternative way to think about social phenomena and how far our research could develop if we step outside the pre-established research constraints.

This book is a must-read for all those engaged in maritime and land-based archaeological research, regardless of period or locality of interest.

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Tous les Bateaux du Monde

ERIC RIETH (ed.)

208 pp. large format, numerous illustrations, mostly colour

Musée de la Marine, 17 Place du Trocadero, Paris 75116, 2010, €39 (hbk), ISBN 978-2723474504

The name of Francois-Edmond Paris is known to all who have an interest in exotic vessels. His work is rightly recognized as the start of maritime ethnology. An exhibition and the fine book under review are both in his honour. Paris (1806–1893) took part in three trips around the world as a young naval officer, in *L'Astrolabe* 1826–29, *La Favorite* 1830–32 and *L'Artemise* 1837–40. In addition to his work as a hydrographer, he made a series of watercolours and measured drawings of the exotic vessels he encountered. Most of those reproduced in the book are from the trip with *La Favorite*. Paris published the results of his fieldwork in *Essai sur la construction navale des peuples*

extra-européens in 1843. His work in the French navy was mainly connected with the new method of propulsion—steam. He retired from the navy in 1871, and until his death in 1893 was the leader of the *Musée naval du palais du Louvre*. He published a catalogue of the museum in 1883, and started the huge project *Souvenirs de Marine*. In addition to his own fieldwork, he had a large number of correspondents around the world, who supplied information used in building models for the museum.

The book follows his travels, with chapters on Arabia, India, Southeast Asia, China, Japan, the Pacific, America, Africa and Europe. Several authors have shared the task, with Eric Rieth as editor and author of several chapters. There is a section on more recent work in the field, and an impressive list of plans and models based on Paris's work. In addition to Paris's own fine watercolours, plans and many illustrations taken from the *Essai* there is work by other artists and a magnificent collection of photographs both old and new. A number of the models built for the museum are also illustrated.

Even with an extremely wide geographical scope, the title does not quite keep its promise. There are few boats from Europe and America, and it is a bit surprising that the editors have not included more from *Souvenirs de Marine*, for instance some of the Russian boats supplied by Bogoslawski. One Norwegian boat is included, representing 'Northern Europe'. Both drawing and model must be the same vessel, even if the text says two boats. The plan is taken from *Souvenirs de Marine*. Scales for models and drawings differ from 1:10 to 1:50. The metric system was officially accepted by France in 1793, so the selection of scales is logical, even if 1:30, 1:33 and 1:45 all seem a little cumbersome. However, I have trouble understanding why the scale of 1:16.6 has been chosen. Two of Paris's plans from 1828 are in 1:16.6 and so are a number of models. If anyone reading this review has an answer, please tell me.

With its numerous examples of early and exotic boats, the book is an important source, and as a book to enjoy, it is wonderful.

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Shipwreck: Tang treasures and monsoon winds

REGINA KRAHL, JOHN GUY, J. KEITH WILSON and JULIAN RABY (eds)

xx + 307 pp., 220 colour and 235 b&w illustrations

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington; National Heritage Board Singapore; and Singapore Tourism Board, 2010, \$65, ISBN 978-0934686181

Firstly, let us define what treasure hunting is: it is the commercial exploitation of underwater cultural

heritage for commercial gain. It is quite simple—or is it? What is treasure-hunting and what is archaeology? In my view, it is clearly defined in the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage that ‘Underwater cultural heritage shall not be commercially exploited’. Simple or complex? This will be a theme that will run through this review and many others to come. I have said this many times before in other *IJNA* reviews; what is the answer? Does the editor give me the difficult reviews simply because I live on the other side of the world, or is it because we, in Australia, somehow, have ended up with arguably the best underwater cultural heritage legislation anywhere in the world? As a person who has been involved in maritime archaeology for over 40 years, ‘Shipwrecked’ pretty much sums up where maritime archaeology is today, certainly in Southeast Asia.

This book, large-format and lavishly illustrated, with well-written articles by numerous well-established international experts, describes the cargo of the Belitung shipwreck, dating from the Tang dynasty (second quarter of the 9th century). It is a great publication—with some reservations. It should have had been written, or edited, by a maritime archaeologist, but that is just a dream. Instead it showcases treasure-hunting, or, in different terminology, commercial salvage. It does absolutely nothing for archaeology, and that is really worrying.

We are told that the site was discovered in 1998 by *bêche-de-mer* divers who subsequently sold the position to a German treasure-hunting company (Seabed Explorations) who, at that time, held a survey and excavation license from the Indonesian Government. The company salvaged the site in 1998–1999. Surprisingly, the site lay less than 2 nautical miles off shore, in 17 m of water. A total of c.60,000 objects (mainly ceramic), weighing c.25 metric tons, was recovered from the site. At this point in the publication, the narrative becomes a bit obscure; it seems that (reading the book), through a generous Singaporean benefactor, the majority of the collection was acquired for the Singapore Government. However, one learns from the internet that ‘most’ of the collection was bought by the Sentosa Leisure Group, a statutory board under the Singapore Ministry of Trade and Industry in 2005, possibly by the benefactor. From then onwards, the collection is referred to as the ‘Tang Shipwreck Treasure: Singapore’s Maritime Collection’.

The publication, which is partly an exhibition catalogue, is the result of collaboration between the National Heritage Board of Singapore, the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution and the Singapore Tourist Board, which resulted in the development of the concept of an exhibition, with the title of this book. The book starts with two introductory chapters by leading experts: Wang Gungwu (discussing ships in the Nanhai) and John Guy (discussing international trade in 9th-century Asia). These chapters both give an overview of the trade in the region at the

time of the Belitung ship. Wang Gungwu states: ‘I am led instead to call on maritime archaeologists to keep probing the seas for evidence—not solely of Chinese wrecks, but any ships that made Southeast Asia vital to the inter-oceanic trade routes, and laid the foundations for what was then, and is now, one of the most strategic economic and political regions’.

It is a shame that Wang Gangwu, Guy and other authors in this publication seem totally oblivious to the fact that numerous shipwrecks, of later dates, have suffered in a similar way, or in most cases, ended up completely lost to the archaeological, or, indeed, to the art-historical world, through auction sales. They seem not to be aware that the Belitung recovery was not excavated by maritime archaeologists, and that a lot more information could have been recovered if the exercise had not been based purely on monetary considerations. It is quite disappointing that many of the authors seem to be totally unaware of the implications of these problems. Wang Gunwu (again) goes on to state: ‘I, for one, have been encouraged to dream again about the endless possibilities of archaeological discovery that would enliven many more lifetimes of scholarship’. Does he not realise that, while some of his dream is being realised by buying collections like this, it is not maritime archaeology? This site has raised a great furore in the archaeological, museum, art-historical and maritime-historical world. There is no doubt that this is a really exciting site, and what is left of an amazing cargo, after salvage, has (as usual) whetted the appetites of a wide range of non-archaeological academics.

Michael Flecker’s chapter describing ‘The first archaeological evidence of direct trade with China’ underlines some of the more worrying aspects of the project, from the point of view of an archaeologist. Throughout the book we see pictures of material on the sea-bed, or which has just been raised from the wreck-site. None of the pictures shows any evidence of contextual recording. There are no signs of tags or tapes to be seen anywhere. Now remember, we are not dealing with a deep-water site, but 17 m of reasonably clear water. We also have to consider that 60,000 artefacts were raised in 2 months in 1998 and an unspecified period in 1999, during which Flecker directed the operation. Flecker goes on to describe the hull-structure which was stitched, suggesting that the vessel was from the Western Indian Ocean. Timber analysis went on to prove that: ‘this was the first ancient Arab shipwreck to be found and excavated’. However, in the following chapter, Tom Vosmer, in describing the reconstruction of the Belitung wreck, mentions in passing: ‘The original ship’s stern, trapped in the coral concretion, was never excavated, so much of the design of the reconstructed stern was speculation based on scattered clues’.

We need to reflect that the 14th-century-BC Uluburun shipwreck, in 70 m of water, took ten years and over 22,000 dives to be excavated by the Institute of

Nautical Archaeology. They certainly did not leave anything as important as the stern behind, but then that reflects the difference between archaeology and whatever this is. To be fair, this is not an excavation report, nor is it an artefact catalogue; it is an exhibition catalogue, with essays. Depressingly, the archaeology (as such) comprises about 12 pages of text (out of a total of 307), one sketch-plan of the site, one drawing of the details of the bow, and 12 coloured plates (eight of which have scales). From the sketch-plan (Fig. 73) we can deduce that not much more than 50% of what is shown has been surveyed (there is no stern shown), the rest is 'assumed configuration'. One wonders if there is to be an excavation report; there is no indication that there will be.

Other chapters, or essays, include an interesting discussion on the dating of the shipwreck, which has turned out to be surprisingly controversial. A Changsha bowl was recovered from the site with a date inscription of: 'the sixteenth day of the seventh lunar month of the second year of the reign of the emperor Jingzong'—that is, a specific day in the year 826. This is a remarkably accurate date, which agrees with some of the radiocarbon dating of the hull-timbers, but simply provides a *terminus post quem* for the site, not the date of the wreck. It is argued elsewhere in the publication that the date could be later, some time in the 840s. This is based on the ceramic kiln chronologies and other material, dated from art-historical considerations. These sorts of chronologies have, at times, been found to be incorrect, simply because they are not based on absolute dating, but rather on relationships with other relative chronologies, which in turn are based on art-historical assumptions. On the other hand, archaeological excavation, particularly of shipwreck sites, often provides (as it does in this case) a *terminus post quem*; presenting an interesting challenge to these chronologies. While it is possible that 20-year-old pottery was loaded on the Belitung ship, or that the potters were putting old dates on the material because those dates were auspicious (sometimes seen with the Ming and Qing dynasty ceramics), the dating issue is not resolved in this publication.

There is a chapter on silver. There was a small number of silver coins, which unfortunately do not assist in the dating. One group dates from some time before 845, and a small number from 758. There were, in addition, 18 large, un-inscribed silver ingots—the largest collection of Tang silver bullion ever found. There is a chapter on Chinese ceramics in the late Tang, reviewing the main ceramic collection from the site. A very interesting chapter discusses the Abbasid reception of Chinese ceramics, looking at the diffusion of Chinese ceramics in the Middle East and its influence on the local pottery industry. The author proposes that Chinese imports to the Middle East stimulated the local industry to imitate the Chinese wares. It is suggested that in the process of copying the white stonewares from Gongxian, Iraqi potters

covered the bowls with a pure white glaze. They then subsequently decorated the bowls with cobalt blue and even inscribed the wares with their Arabic names. This, it is suggested, was the first experiment with blue-on-white pottery. The cobalt-blue painting appears to be an initiative of the Basran potters, which, it is proposed, later spurred the development of 9th-century Gongxian blue-and-white, resulting ultimately in the Chinese blue-and-white porcelain industry. There follows a chapter on the metalware from the site, consisting of silver, silver-gilt and gold objects.

There is a remarkable description, by Vosmer, of the conjectural reconstruction of the Belitung ship which was undertaken in Oman, sponsored by the Omani Department of Foreign Affairs, using traditional boat-building techniques. The construction of the vessel was based on the minimal remains that the commercial recovery was able to reveal. The vessel ultimately sailed to Singapore. A chapter on the navigational route of the Belitung ship is in itself interesting. One has to ask the question: what was the Belitung ship doing *en route* half-way between Singapore and Jakarta? This is not really answered. One might conjecture that the vessel was travelling from China to the Middle East, on a direct voyage, with Chinese wares. In this case, was it making its way to the Straits of Sunda, or was it off course from the Straits of Malacca? Alternatively, was it on a speculative trading venture, calling at multiple ports, selling some things and buying others.

The last few chapters are somewhat of an oddity. They replicate, to some extent, the earlier chapter on Chinese ceramics in the late Tang dynasty. These chapters include studies of Changsha ceramics, white ware with green décor, green wares of South China, white wares of North China, Tang blue-and-white, bronze mirrors and gold and silver wares. There is also an interesting chapter on chemical fingerprinting of the ceramics.

To sum up: one wonders where to start. Clearly the Belitung site has raised some very interesting questions. It has opened the eyes of academics and curators to the potential of these sorts of sites. However, is everyone aware of the complete story? Is it appropriate to sit back and say: 'This is as good as it gets'? Do we accept that the commercial operators recover the valuable material, sell it to a museum which publishes a nice glossy book, give some work to researchers for the future, and say it is a job well done? Or, do we say, this can be done better, much better? The resolution of the problem lies at many doors. For example, Indonesia, the country that the Belitung site lies in, has a record of selling its underwater heritage to the highest bidder: do not expect them to ratify the UNESCO Convention. Maritime archaeologists: no funds, no tradition of working in the region (except for the few enlightened countries which have maritime archaeological programmes). Museums: interested in 'block-buster' exhibitions and getting people through the door, while there is a tokenism of not buying, or being associated

with material that has been recovered by treasure-hunters (in a non-archaeological manner). Exhibitions like the Belitung wreck and the *Titanic* grab the public's attention, and hence appeal to the museum's finance department, creating a museological dilemma.

Currently there is an enormous debate raging on the internet over the proposed Belitung exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution in 2012. Archaeologists within the Institution, and elsewhere, are criticising the decision to mount the exhibition. As usual there is talk of 'the middle ground'; that archaeologists and commercial enterprises can work together to excavate wrecks to the highest possible standards. There is no doubt that until a different paradigm is discovered, this is not going to work. Commercial salvage companies are going to be driven by profits, not archaeology. Any archaeologist becoming involved in salvage will be faced with the reality that objects are only going to be recovered if they have an economic value. Hence the stern of the Belitung wreck still lies on the sea-bed.

On the other hand one reads in the editorial of Wreckwatch website: 'A million miles from the spot where the Belitung cargo and hull were at risk from destruction at the hands of looters and fishermen, some Washington scholars are now criticizing the current show for endorsing commercial wreck recovery. Ted Schultz, chair of the National Museum of Natural History Senate of Scientists, believes that "substantial scientific information was lost due to the methods employed" during the excavation. Bruce Smith, a Curator at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, similarly concludes that "this exhibition would send a very bad message to the public, that the Smithsonian doesn't stand for the preservation of archaeological resources and that mining archaeological sites is OK". These few noisy critics see the recovery of the Belitung wreck as 'treasure-hunting', which flies in the face of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage's demand that "underwater cultural heritage shall not be commercially exploited". Are these scholars ethically right to be affronted by the decision to promote this old ship in a travelling exhibition?' And further on: 'So here's how I envisage the Belitung shipwreck. A site of the highest international importance, saved by the passion for the past and commercial astuteness of the government of Indonesia and Seabed Explorations [sic] ...' (<http://wreckwatch.wordpress.com/>)

Well that is one side of the argument. At least they know what the UNESCO Convention is all about. But until substantial archaeological excavations are undertaken in the Southeast Asian region, which can demonstrate a real alternative, with real benefits to the country, and to underwater cultural heritage in general, the Belitung wreck is what we are going to get. Countries like Indonesia need to wake up to the reality of what they could have—they could have the

material in their country and call it: 'Tang Shipwreck Treasure: Indonesia's Maritime Collection'. They could have done it themselves—they do have maritime archaeologists after all. The wealthy sponsors could have funded a proper archaeological excavation, and while Indonesia would not have got half, or whatever its percentage of the sale was, it would benefit from having a permanent exhibition collection that would generate recurring income, with added long-term benefits for the public in knowledge and understanding, filling the gap referred to in the introduction of the lack of proper archaeological studies of shipwrecks.

I am once again, sadly, singularly pessimistic.

JEREMY GREEN

Western Australian Museum, Fremantle

The Sea and the Marsh: the medieval Cinque Port of New Romney revealed through archaeological excavation and historical research

(PCA Monograph 10)

GILLIAN DRAPER and FRANK MEDDENS, with 5 Contributors

143 pp., 64 plates, mainly colour, 8 tables

Pre-Construct Archaeology, Unit 5A, Brockley Cross Business Centre, 96 Endwell Road, Brockley, London SE4 2PD, 2009, £16.95 (sbk), ISBN 978-0954293895

Sandwich: a study of the town and port from its origins to 1600

HELEN CLARKE, SARAH PEARSON, MAVIS MATE and KEITH PARFITT, with 7 Contributors

326 pp., 187 plates, mainly colour, 34 tables

Oxbow Books, 10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW, UK, 2010, £35 (hbk), ISBN 978-1842174005

These two new books about two of the Cinque Ports provide an interesting study in contrasts. Both, however, are extremely welcome additions to our expanding knowledge of the archaeology of coastal urbanism and in particular of the Cinque Ports, which have been somewhat overlooked by modern archaeology. The first book, on New Romney, is a relatively slim (143-page) volume derived from reactive 'CRM' (cultural resource management); the second, on Sandwich, is a much longer (326-page) volume derived from proactive 'research' (primarily in fact historic-buildings research). There is a PhD thesis to be written on the relative merits and economic effectiveness of the products of these two 'sides' of modern archaeological finance. Both pump considerable sums into

archaeological fieldwork (in the case of New Romney via the development-control system under Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning (1990–2010) and Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning and the Historic Environment (2010 onwards), and in the case of Sandwich via English Heritage grant funding). Both schemes of funding typically produce very different outcomes. There has—as Richard Bradley has proposed—to be a better way which combines the best elements of both systems (Bradley, 2006, *Bridging the Two Cultures: commercial archaeology and the study of prehistoric Britain*, *Antiquaries Journal* 86, 1–13), to get both the immediacy of New Romney's CRM archaeologists and the analytical reach of Sandwich's researchers.

So much for the politics underlying these books. In truth both are very good indeed, and it is useful to review them together not in order to draw out their differences but rather to compliment them on their similarities. In both cases, these are carefully researched, written and edited works by archaeologists at the top of their game. Anyone who doubts that world-class scholarship is alive and well in British archaeology—especially CRM archaeology—should read these two books and be relieved. These are also extremely well produced, keenly priced and, in particular, well illustrated books that their publishers should be congratulated on. Both include a wealth of colour photos, carefully drawn maps and insightful speculative illustrations that really bring to life the world of what are now relatively sleepy towns but which in their heyday were lively and cosmopolitan centres of trade and war.

For nautical archaeologists in particular, both books provide extremely useful data on the form and development of harbour topographies and works, and on related activities like shipbuilding and -breaking. They also place the towns in a broader hinterland context, including topographic and environmental contexts that explore the major shifts to and fro of the exceptionally fluid coastline of this area. Interestingly, both follow a broadly similar structure: introduction/background; origins, development and environmental setting; urban development and chronology as influenced by port development; urban characteristics in terms of religious and secular buildings; ship service, defence and offence, war and trade; specialised studies (in the case of New Romney, the specifics of a major excavation, the Southlands School Site that drove the project behind the publication, and the related specialist reports on finds; in the case of Sandwich, the detailed layout of the town, and historic buildings surveys); and discussion and conclusions. They also include useful appendices: in the case of New Romney, a single appendix on distribution of pottery types; in the case of Sandwich, one appendix of archaeological sites excavated between 1929 and 2007, and another of houses in the town which appear on historic maps. Each volume is

fully indexed, and both have summaries in French and German.

Of particular interest to readers of *IJNA* are a series of detailed 'nautical' chapters in each volume (which again complement one another neatly). In the case of New Romney these are chs 4 (on the port, quays, watercourses, sea defences and salt manufacture), 5 (on ship service, piracy and trade) and 11 (on ship-construction and -breaking, fishing and diet). In the case of Sandwich these are ch. 5 (on the port and town—especially sections 5.6 and 5.7 on the defence of the port, the development of the haven and the route through the Wantsum Channel), ch. 9 (on trade and the haven) and ch. 14 (on the landscape of the town—especially section 14.1 on the waterfront).

To consider these in detail, New Romney's ch. 4 on the port has an valuable discussion of the chronology and geology of the port in relation to the River Rother and management of the changing landscape through seawalls (illustrated by some exceptional maps). Similarly, ch. 5 on ship-service usefully considers the archaeological and also the documentary evidence for the types of ships in use in New Romney, especially in the 14th and 15th centuries. Chapter 11 is then broken down into a series of detailed reports on specific archaeological finds from the Southlands School Site, including Damian Goodburn on ship-construction and -breaking; Ian Riddler on fishing implements and practices; and Philip Armitage and Ian Riddler on mammal, bird and fish bones. Similarly, Sandwich's ch. 5 on the port of the town (especially section 5.7 on the haven and Wantsum Channel (pp.72–5)) has much relevant discussion of the types of vessels that visited the Haven—especially cogs.

This once again raises the possibility of finding the remains of a cog in England, which, apart from re-used fragments, we are so far lacking. Surely the now silted-up Wantsum Channel is a likely find-spot, equivalent to the reclaimed land of the IJsselmeer Polders in the Netherlands, which have produced so many cog wrecks? Sandwich's ch. 9 on trade and the haven again provides much welcome data and analysis on the varied connections of the port during in particular the 14th and 15th centuries; and again, Sandwich's ch. 14 on the landscape of the town has a tremendous section (14.1, pp.214–17) on the waterfront facilities of the town, where the formalised structures there contrast particularly well with the relatively more informal waterfront evidence from New Romney (ch. 8, especially pp.60–68, which explore the phasing of the foreshore deposits and the impact in particular of a disastrous storm that denuded the waterfront to 7 m depth in some places, dramatically indicated by a damaged building at one location (see New Romney, pp.67–8 and fig. 38)).

JOE FLATMAN

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The Anthony Roll of Henry VIII's Navy

C. S. KNIGHTON and D. M. LOADES (eds), with 6 Contributors

198 pp., 58 colour plates, 4 b&w images, various line drawings

Navy Records Society in association with The British Library and Magdalene College Cambridge, 2000, Ashgate Publishing, £80 (hbk), but available by special arrangement from NRS via Mrs Annette Gould, 8 Hawthorn Way, Lindford Bordon, Hants GU35 0RB at £30 (hbk). Alternatively via NRS membership (£40), ISBN 07546-0094-7

Most readers will be familiar with a few selected images of ships from Henry VIII's navy, culled from the Rolls prepared by Anthony Anthony and presented to the king in 1546. That of the ill-fated *Mary Rose*, which sank in the Solent in 1545 and is now the focus of a major museum following the ship's recovery in 1982, is undoubtedly the most frequently reproduced, but few books on the Tudor navy fail to include the imposing royal flagship *Henry Grace à Dieu*. The image of the *Jesus of Lübeck*, abandoned to the Spaniards in the course of John Hawkins' close-quarter action at San Juan de Ulua 22 years after her appearance on the Roll, is an almost mandatory acquisition for picture researchers seeking to illustrate that desperate struggle, while the same image is often pressed for more general service to depict the characteristics of a Hanseatic hulk (albeit one much modified as a warship). And the richly decorated *Galie Subtille*, the king's favourite (and consequently given special treatment by Anthony, who knew which side his bread was buttered), is a natural choice for biographers who want to illustrate Henry's interest in naval affairs and his predilection for ostentation and show.

But these are just four of the 58 royal vessels depicted on the Roll, or more properly Rolls, for there were three in all. As originally prepared each was a strip of laminated vellum more than 5 m long and 70 cm wide, with a vertical succession of named ships each progressing horizontally from left to right across its width, as if in frozen review. All except the smallest tow a boat astern. The vessels float on thin strips of blue-green sea with a penned indication of rippling waves which run from one side of the roll to the other, isolating and giving emphasis to each ship in a manner which the tight cropping demanded by reproduction has usually obscured. Inventories of armament and munitions are presented beneath in columns extending across the width of the roll, with further text placed around the ships and in the margins to record their names, tonnages, and the numbers of mariners, soldiers, and gunners on board.

Relatively little is known of Anthony Anthony. Of Flemish extraction, he was a naturalised Englishman and a prominent member of the brewers' company in

London. With his appointment as a groom of the chamber in 1530 he acquired courtier status, and in 1533 he became one of the gunners in the Tower, a position which implies technical as well as administrative ability. He was a clerk of the ordnance when he completed the Rolls in 1546.

The subsequent history and survival of the Rolls is an interesting story in its own right. In 1680 Charles II, seeking to placate Samuel Pepys, who had wrongly been accused of popish treason, gave him the first and third Rolls. The second had been mislaid. Ten years later it turned up, but by then Pepys had fallen into disfavour under the new regime of William and Mary, and although he was permitted to examine it briefly the Roll once again disappeared into obscurity. At this point Pepys had the first and third Rolls cut and bound in volume form (a process which involved some cropping and folding of the originals) and in due course they were deposited in Magdalene College, Cambridge, where they are today. Meanwhile the second Roll apparently remained in the possession of the royal family, still in its original scrolled condition, until the early-19th century. It then fell into private hands, and in 1857 was bought for the manuscript collection of the British Library.

The Rolls have never before been published in their entirety. This is probably because of the formidable difficulty of making facsimiles in so awkward a format, which for full reproduction requires an accommodation of the text across the width of the Roll with the relatively small ship sitting in the middle. In the present instance the difficulty has been circumvented by discarding the written elements around each ship portrait and cropping it to as large a scale as is practicable (which varies according to editorial requirements, but averages 65.6% or about two thirds of actual size). The missing text is fully transcribed opposite each portrait in a modern typeface which retains the original rubric and spelling. All that is lost is extraneous sea and blank parchment. A very full illustrated glossary is provided, with modern as well as archaic spellings. Great care has been taken to retain the clarity and colour balance of the images, and the excellent new photographs (by Gerry Bye at Magdalene College and Laurence Podes at the British Library) deserve special commendation.

As well as providing all the reference needed for a full study of the Rolls (apart from research requiring direct contact with the originals) the volume contains analytical essays by the two editors and six specialist contributors. Between them they summarise not only the present state of scholarship on these remarkable documents and their contexts but examine critically their reliability as sources of evidence. From an art-historical perspective Ann Payne notes that the illustrations are strikingly and boldly executed, and observes that the draughtsmanship, while naïve, is 'consistent with the abilities of a government official with a decent amateur grasp of form and colour'.

While conceding that the Rolls may be an official inventory of the royal fleet in 1546, she suggests that the ship-portraits go much further than would have been required for purely bureaucratic recording. Their format, she points out, would allow them to be opened up for symmetrical exhibition across a table, a floor, or indeed a palace wall. The impression that this was a visual feast designed to impress and delight the king, whose ships these were, is overwhelmingly strong.

How true to life are the portraits? Normally such a question would be unanswerable, but in this instance one of the subjects—or at least a substantial part of it—is available for comparison. We do not know whether the *Mary Rose* was still afloat when Anthony prepared her portrait (she sank on 19 July 1545), or whether he worked from some secondary source. At any event his depiction and the ship's appearance at the time of her loss (she had undergone a major rebuild and re-equipping in 1536) were closely contemporary. Stuart Vine, in an essay which compares the surviving section of the hull with the illustration, notes that while some details are extremely accurate there are discrepancies which make it unlikely that the ship was drawn objectively from life. He concludes that the illustration is more about conveying the power and splendour of the ship than attempting an accurate depiction. It can be assumed that the other illustrations in the Roll have a similar bias.

Alexandra Hildred, on the other hand, in assessing the munitions of the *Mary Rose* as recorded on the Roll, observes a correlation in many respects with items recovered during the excavations. She cautions, however, that the archaeological assemblage is incomplete, the wreck has suffered from past interference, and parts of it remain to be excavated. Nonetheless this is a rare and encouraging example where archaeology, documentary sources, and iconography have been brought together in ways which can test and refine one another to their mutual advantage.

Interested readers, guided by the volume's excellent critical apparatus, will find little difficulty in navigating their way around this fascinating source of information and exploring its many complexities. Two aspects may however be highlighted. First are the 14 oared vessels, headed by the iconic *Galie Subtille*, which are the subject of an essay by John Bennell, who rightly stresses the often under-emphasised significance of these manoeuvrable self-propelled support craft. Second is the visually very evident contrast between the high-charged floating fortresses of carrack build such as the *Henry Grace à Dieu* and *Mary Rose* and the low hulls of the *Harte*, *Antelope*, *Tegar*, and *Bulle*, whose continuous single gundecks and absence of raised castleworks presage the frigates of two centuries later. Elizabeth's race-built galleons of the 1580s were nothing new.

The book has a final bonus in the transcription (published here in full for the first time) of a 1514

inventory (National Archives E36/13) of the 13 ships decommissioned following the conclusion of Henry VIII's war with France. This is unusually complete, and as well as the usual listings of guns and munitions there are full records of rigging items and domestic utensils. Three of the ships—the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, the *Mary Rose*, and the *Peter Pomegranate*—are also present on the Anthony Roll, which makes for interesting comparisons across the 32 years that separate the two sources.

£80 from Ashgate Publishing is a hefty price, even for a book as authoritative, lavishly produced and beautifully illustrated as this. However by special arrangement it is being offered to *IJNA* readers for £30 (see heading for details). Alternatively, joining the Navy Records Society for £40 would allow you to get any back numbers available for £5 each (<http://www.navyrecords.org.uk/publications.htm>).

COLIN MARTIN

University of St Andrews, Scotland

The First HMS *Invincible* (1747–58): her excavations (1980–1991)

JOHN M. BINGEMAN

208 pp., illustrations, some colour, plans etc., CD Rom 'Artefact Record'

Oxbow Books, 10 Hythe Bridge Road, Oxford OX1 2EW, UK, 2010, £40 (hbk), ISBN 978-1842173930

In recent years we have been fortunate to see a number of new publications on significant early-modern vessels excavated in the second half of the 20th century: *Vasa*, *Mary Rose*, and the Basque whaler at Red Bay. Now, three decades after the start of his excavations in 1980, John M. Bingeman provides us with a report on yet another important warship: the Royal Navy's first *Invincible*, a 3rd-rate which served between 1744 and 1758. This vessel's story is compelling in so many ways. Its innovative design would influence naval construction for decades; its career was associated with memorable people and events; the wreck yielded spectacular finds and insights into the mid-18th century naval world; and the decision by the excavation's backers to sell artefacts by auction and internet generated great controversy in the late 1980s and early '90s.

Invincible began its career in 1744 as *l'Invincible*, a new style of 74-gun warship adopted by the French navy. The robust design provided a stable platform for heavy guns, a capacious hold for long cruises, and excellent sailing qualities; everything, in short, that contemporary European navies were seeking in a line-of-battle warship. The vessel served the French well for three years until its capture in 1747 by a British squadron under Admiral George Anson. 'She is a prodigious

fine ship', wrote Anson. *Invincible* provided a striking contrast to the relatively small, over-gunned, poor-sailing 'establishment' ships which characterized the Royal Navy in the first half of the 18th century. Not surprisingly, Anson's prize inspired copies which would greatly improve the navy's effectiveness in the following decades.

Invincible's British career lasted just over ten years, and included service as the flagship of Admiral Edward Boscawen. The end came in February 1758 when the tiller-ropes jammed at an inopportune moment while the ship was tacking out of the Solent. *Invincible* grounded on a sandbank and the hull subsequently bilged; the crew, the guns and some of the equipment and stores were saved, but the vessel was otherwise a complete loss. The wreck was discovered in 1976 when fisherman Arthur Mack's nets caught on a sea-bed obstruction. Local divers Arthur Broomhead and Jim Boyle determined that the snag was a very large wooden ship, and it was later identified as *Invincible* by Commander John Bingeman RN.

In 1980 the Board of Trade issued a licence to investigate the wreck to Bingeman, and the finders formed 'Invincible Conservations Limited' (ICL) to fund the project. Conservation would prove to be a considerable—and very expensive—part of the undertaking, as the next decade's surveys and excavations produced a vast and diverse array of equipment, stores, and personal effects. The Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust acquired representative examples of the finds in exchange for funding part of the conservation, but the project was never backed by a major museum or public institution. ICL was left with the challenge of preserving and maintaining everything else. In a move that stunned and dismayed archaeologists around the world, ICL's directors raised £64,000 for the project by auctioning 298 items at Christie's in 1988. Bingeman withdrew from the company around this time, and three years later ICL folded. More artefacts were then sold via the internet to pay off creditors.

The sale of finds cast something of a pall over the *Invincible* project's many discoveries and laudable accomplishments. Over the years the research and excavation generated museum and travelling exhibitions, journal articles, and a 1988 book by Brian Lavery, *The Royal Navy's First Invincible: the ship, the wreck, and the recovery*, which examines the vessel's history and some of the equipment and personal finds. John Bingeman's new book, *The First HMS Invincible (1747–58): her excavations (1980–1991)*, provides a very welcome companion volume, covering the archaeological discoveries in much greater detail.

The First HMS Invincible has seven chapters. The first three are background, and include a short, somewhat garbled look at *Invincible*'s history; an overview of ICL's organization and operations, production of exhibits and publications, and a discussion of the decision to sell artefacts; and a chronological examination of the surveys, excavations, and conservation. The real

meat of the book lies in the following chapters, which present three broad categories of artefacts from the wreck. Chapter 4 looks at finds relating to the ship structure, rigging elements and tools, and navigational equipment; ch. 5 covers guns, powder stowage and handling, and military accoutrements; and ch. 6 examines food-related and personal finds. The final chapter is a brief, one-page conclusion. Also included are two appendices (one on *Invincible*'s record of repairs and deck-plans, and the other on military buttons); a CD inside the back cover provides a spreadsheet of artefact data and additional illustrations.

The book has some idiosyncrasies. Chapter subsections are sometimes non-sequiturs (for example, in ch. 5 a paragraph on iron-conservation techniques is randomly sandwiched between discussions of gunwads and gun-lints). Bingeman occasionally drops in illustrations of artefacts he recovered from the Royal Navy's 5th-rate *Pomone* (lost in 1811), presumably to show changes in technology over the 50 years that followed *Invincible*'s loss. You have to pay close attention to the captions. These are minor distractions, however, from the nicely-illustrated bonanza of information on *Invincible*'s contents which lies in chs 4 to 6.

Bingeman's book will be welcome addition to the shelves of anyone with an interest in 18th-century ships, seafaring, and naval technology. He is to be congratulated for wrapping up years of research and providing present and future scholars with much new material on this important ship.

KEVIN CRISMAN

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The East India Company's Maritime Service 1746–1834: masters of the eastern seas

JEAN SUTTON

xiv + 311 pp., 14 b&w plates, 19 maps

Boydell Press, PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 1DF, UK, 2010, £60/\$115 (hbk), ISBN 978-1843835837

Only a few years after its collapse, the *Illustrated London News* described the East India Company as 'the most celebrated commercial association of ancient or modern times'. Even during its lifetime, economists and politicians in Britain were constantly weighing up its impact. The Company not only influenced the daily lives and material tastes of Britons—what they wore, ate and drank—but also the political and economic well-being of the country as a whole. In hindsight, this commercial venture straddled two worlds (or 'business models', if you will): the medieval world of mercantilism and monopoly on the one hand, and today's world

of the modern multinational on the other. Given its many impacts, as well as their range, depth and diversity, it is hardly surprising that historians should find the East India Company a source of fruitful fascination.

However, approaches focusing on the political machinations of the directors in London or the territorial empire acquired (and subsequently lost) by the Company in India during the last century of its existence only tell part of the story. Indeed, such analyses run the risk of excluding one of the most crucial facets of the Company's business: the maritime aspect. Jean Sutton's latest work on the maritime service of the East India Company provides an important corrective to this trend. This book comes as a timely reminder that the waters of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans were the super-highways of their day, facilitating the trading activities of the Company. East Indiamen plied the seaways of these oceans over the course of the Company's career, carrying millions of pounds of bullion from Europe to Asia, and returning with the fruits of that money: spices, textiles and tea to name but a few. *The East India Company's Maritime Service 1746–1834* offers a study of the maritime logistics and the ship-board context of Company business.

It achieves this by focusing on a single family. The book follows the careers of three generations of the Larkins family, from the early sea-going adventures of William Larkins as second mate in 1746. His sons and grandsons followed him, playing a significant part in the establishment of the Company's dominance in Asia in the late-18th century. By charting their respective successes and failures in the shipping service of the Company, Jean Sutton provides a case-study that reflects wider themes and issues in the history of the Company's maritime service.

The lives and careers of various members of the Larkins family are contextualised in the maritime commercial world of which they were a part. This approach has the natural advantage of tracking the changes that took place over time, and to which different members of the family were exposed. For example, younger members of the family were influenced by the empirical and scientific methods that increasingly held sway in the latter half of the 18th century, popularised by the work of people like James Cook and Nevil Maskelyne. William Larkins, the man who began the long association of the family with the Company, already had a command when a new method of calculating longitude was introduced, and was not required to learn these new skills. His son, Thomas, however, was forced to master the complicated method of taking lunar observations introduced in 1768. He seems to have revelled in meticulously recording every aspect of the voyages on which he served.

In adopting an approach like this, Jean Sutton has achieved a rare feat. She has managed to combine global history and contexts with the genuinely local

and individual. Sutton's analysis is one that gives space and prominence to both these important threads of the Company story. There are a number of instances where the grand, overarching narrative of the Company's history intersects with the personal concerns of individual members of the Larkins family. On p.63, for example, we find just such an instance of broader historical contexts being interwoven with micro-history. Here the story of Commodore William James's capture in 1755 of Severndroog fort—the stronghold of Angrian marauders on the west coast of India—sits on the same page as information about the first voyage of the nine-year-old Thomas Larkins where he befriended the young Nathaniel Dance (the future commander of the convoy at the Battle of Pulo Aor). Likewise, the infamous tragedy of the *Halsewell*, an East Indiaman wrecked off the coast of Dorset in 1786, is given added poignancy by the knowledge that young William Larkins—son of Thomas and grandson of the founder of the family's Company interest—was on board.

As one would expect from a book which deals with the maritime aspects of the Company's business, there is also much valuable information about the role of ships, shipbuilding and shipbuilding technology. For example, on p.37, we read about the revolutionary design of the *Boscawen*. This new ship of 650 tons, built for Captain Benjamin Braund, was launched at Blackwall on 29 July 1748. Its revolutionary design—the upper deck was flush, the traditional waist covered over so that the quarterdeck was on a level with the rest of the ship—influenced the design of future East Indiamen. Between 1740 and 1770 the number of Company ships trebled, as well as increasing in size. Some could be up to 800 tons, taking the same scantling as a naval ship of 50 or 60 guns. Information about the technical details of shipbuilding and design was not purely academic at the time, nor should it be so today, because the size of a ship had a material impact on the Company's trading activities. For example, the Chinese authorities assessed the customs duties due on a ship with reference to its size. So, for instance, while at Canton, the *Royal Duke* was charged according to the physical measurements taken by the representatives of the Emperor. Based on its size, about £453 was added to a fixed charge of 1,950 taels per ship (c.£650).

One of the most innovative and successful things about the book is the prosopographical approach taken by the author. Through comparing and contrasting the careers of earlier and later members of the same family, the book's conclusion reiterates some of the commercial changes and technological advances which had taken place over the course of barely a century. Jean Sutton's book is an important addition to the sum of our knowledge on this most important of maritime trading companies.

JOHN McALEER

National Maritime Museum, London

The Sea! The Sea!: the shout of the ten thousand in the modern imagination

TIM ROOD

262 pp., 19 b&w plates, 1 map

Duckworth Overlook, 90–93 Cowcross Street, London EC1M 6BF, 2006 (2004), £12.99 (sbk), ISBN 978-0715635719

‘This book tells the story of “Thalatta! Thalatta!”, the shout uttered by some Greek soldiers in 400 BC and echoed by others since’. ‘It has been evoked in literary masterpieces by writers as diverse as Heine and Joyce and in stirring adventure stories’ (p.2). (For those who may have come across the form ‘*thalassa*’, *thalatta* is the Attic form, *thalassa* the Ionic). Xenophon’s *Anabasis* records the journey of 10,000 Greek mercenaries hired by the Persian prince Cyrus after the end of the Peloponnesian War, to oust his brother Artaxerxes. This army was confronted by Artaxerxes near Babylon. Cyrus was killed, and the Greeks had no option but to make their way home. After a long journey north through Armenia, avoiding capture and living off the land, they reached Mount Theches, from which they got their first glimpse of the Black Sea, and knew they were on their way home. Their long journey was immortalised by one of their generals, the Athenian Xenophon, and his accessible narrative, almost like adventure fiction, has been a text for generations of schoolchildren learning Greek (including this reviewer). Xenophon wrote other works, and it was only in the 19th century that the *Anabasis* came to be preferred, because of its descriptive power. *The Sea! The Sea!* follows echoes of the cry through later writings, ‘Many later responses to “Thalatta! Thalatta!” may seem tenuous—yet their very tenuousness is proof of that shout’s hold on the modern imagination’ (p.13).

Chapter 2, ‘Eastern Adventure’, discusses echoes of Xenophon ‘the gentleman adventurer,’ in tales of escape in the East during and after the First World War, and Xenophon the general, in accounts of military exploits in the area during the 19th century. From a possible reference by Defoe in 1720, allusions are traced through Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818). Nineteenth-century explorers of Australia and Africa appreciated Xenophon for his geographical exploits. Analogies were drawn with the joy of sailors sighting land, or shipwrecked sailors sighting a rescue vessel (as for example in Géricault’s painting of the raft of the *Méduse*). Arctic explorers trapped in ice echoed the cry when they saw open water. T. E. Lawrence has subtle echoes of Xenophon in his writings, and references were more overtly used by his biographers. Adventurous echoes in the 20th century are more muted. Peter Fleming in *News from Tartary* (1935) used the shout when at last reaching an oasis.

The next chapter, ‘Our Friend of Youth’, discusses the use of the *Anabasis* as a school text. The equivalent

of Caesar’s *Gallic Wars* in Latin teaching, Xenophon’s language was straightforward, and the *Anabasis* was, from the mid-19th century onwards, often the first Greek text encountered at school in the original language. Many children, however, would not have progressed as far as Book 4, in which the Greeks reached the sea. Both Caesar and Xenophon were more interesting for boys than girls (Virginia Woolf found Xenophon ‘too dull’), and use as a school text put most people off Xenophon in later life.

Chapter 4, ‘Images of Eternity’, discusses the romanticisation of landscape in the 18th and 19th centuries, starting with Heine’s 1827 *Sea-Greeting*. Other poets have used the words *thalatta! thalatta!*, but they have stood the test of time less well, often too sentimental for modern taste. Homer, too, had memorable descriptions of the sea, including ‘*poluphloisbos thalassa*’ (‘loud resounding sea’), which was often echoed, ending up as Joyce’s ‘polyfizzyboisterous sea’. The sight of the sea could rouse religious thoughts, on the majesty of creation, or the closeness of death. Some found Xenophon’s account too terse, though others admired his simple precision. It is the simplicity of the words which have allowed for such wide interpretations.

‘The Sea is English’ (ch. 5) starts with the retreat to Dunkirk, which evoked several allusions to Xenophon, including the title of the chapter on Dunkirk in Churchill’s history of the war, ‘The March to the Sea’. Louis MacNeice adapted the *Anabasis* as a radio play in 1941. The author traces Xenophon’s ‘link with the British feeling for the sea and for national freedom’ back to the 18th-century poet James Thomson, who traced the development of liberty from ancient Greece to contemporary Britain, and a few years later wrote the words of *Rule Britannia*. After the Napoleonic Wars the British saw themselves as the ‘military heirs’ of the Athenians, emphasised by the purchase for the nation in 1816 of the Elgin Marbles. Shelley made ‘The Sea! The Sea!’ ‘a universal cry of freedom’. ‘While both the English and the Athenians liked to think that they helped the oppressed, they also gloried in their imperial and mercantile control of the waves’ (p.104).

Chapter 6, ‘A Stray Genius’, turns its attention to painting. In 1832 Benjamin Robert Haydon, a friend of Keats, and now considered a better writer than a painter, exhibited his *Xenophon and the Ten Thousand on First Seeing the Sea from Mount Theches* (3.5 × 2.9 m, and not done justice to by a 3/4-page black-and-white reproduction). The painting baffled the 12-year old Princess Victoria, and did not sell (it had to be raffled). ‘In the Tracks of the Ten Thousand’ follows the attempts of topographers and travellers, antiquarians, surveyors and spies to pin down the geography of the *Anabasis*, and in particular the identification of Mount Theches. Among these was Austen Henry Layard, the first excavator of Nineveh. The cairn erected by the Ten Thousand,

which identified Mount Theches, was finally located in 1996.

'The Snotgreen Sea' (a parody of Homer's 'wine-dark sea') covers James Joyce's *Ulysses*, which quotes *Thalatta! Thalatta!* on its third page. The cry here is described as 'the joyful shout of the modernist release from literary convention' (p.163). There are numerous echoes and parodies of Xenophon in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake*. The final chapter, 'Thalatta! Thalatta!', summarises the range of literature and other arts discussed, and the range of interpretations (and misinterpretations?) of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

The illustrations are wide-ranging, from a book cover, through history painting and early photographs to a scene from *Ill Met by Moonlight*, a 1957 film starring Dirk Bogarde. The last 42 pages consist of endnotes, bibliography and index, a great help for any reader wishing to follow up ideas or return to a particular point. The author, a lecturer in classics at Oxford, has achieved an entertaining and stimulating book.

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A History of Arctic Exploration: discovery, adventure and endurance at the top of the world

MATTI LAINEMA and JURA NURMINEN

349 pp., 268 colour & b&w illustrations, 4 maps

Anova (Conway imprint), 20 Southcombe Street, London W14 0RA, 2009, £40/US\$60/Can\$77 (hbk), ISBN 978-1844660692

For a number of years the John Nurminen Foundation in Helsinki has been associated with some beautifully illustrated books on maritime history. The first was *The Northwest Passage from the Vikings to Nordenskiöld*, by Nils-Erik Raurala, published in 1982 through Helsinki University Library. Next, in 1996, came *Mare Balticum*, on 2000 years of the Baltic, edited by Ulle Ehrensvar, Pellervo Kokkonen and Juha Nurminen, published by Otava, Helsinki, with the celebrated Swedish historian of cartography as the principal author. This had Finnish, Swedish, German and English editions. The third, *Ultima Thule: Arctic explorations*, by Matti Lainema and Juha Nurminen, was published in 2001 by the newly-established J. Nurminen Foundation, and is the original of the work under review. This was followed in 2007 by *The History of Seafaring: navigating the world's oceans*, by Donald S. Johnson and Juha Nurminen, published by Conway Maritime Press. *A History of Arctic Exploration: discovery, adventure and endurance at the top of the world*, the new title for the 2001 volume, appeared first

in 2009, published by the Foundation, and the following year in English under the Conway imprint. All these truly sumptuous volumes were presumably also translated from Finnish into other languages. The original *Ultima Thule* was launched in Helsinki in October 2001 in conjunction with a special exhibition in which the wicker basket of the lost Swedish explorer Salomon Andrée's balloon was, to the present writer, the most unusual exhibit.

The John Nurminen Foundation was established in 1992 on the initiative of the Finnish shipping and transport firm John Nurminen Oy. Its aim is to preserve and foster Finnish history and cultural heritage connected with international trade, concentrating on the development of seafaring, exploration and cartography. It has built up a fine collection of charts (late 1400s to 1930s), paintings, graphics and sculpture (mainly covering seafaring through the eyes of Finnish artists), also ship-models, nautical instruments and tools from the age of sail to that of steamships. The captain's saloon of SS *Inkeri* built in 1892 in West Hartlepool is included after restoration. The renowned collection of charts and maps amassed by the Swedish explorer and navigator Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, of the *Vega*, is in Heksinki University Library (1902 acquisition). In this ship he was the first to traverse the North East Passage north of Eurasia (the Russian Northern Sea Route). Thus Finland's capital city holds extensive sources (artefacts as well as documentary) for all these books, besides the authors' own private collections.

In *The History of Arctic Exploration* the authors divided their responsibilities. Matti Lainema wrote the text while Juha Nurminen chose the illustrations, maps and certain items for highlighting. Its scope is outlined in the Introduction—the emphasis being on the mapping of the lands north of the Arctic Circle, told chronologically, from Pytheas to Peary as it were, but not forgetting the Peoples of the North, 'the real discoverers of the Arctic'. The aim has been 'to tell of the human victories and failures of northern expeditions both in the East and in the West', whether these were European (including British), American or Russian. Their commercial, scientific, political aspects and even personal adventures have been considered, together with the personalities of the protagonists.

The illustrations are numerous and beautifully reproduced. They include some of the 20 'new and precise' models of historic polar ships made under the supervision of the Maritime Museum of Finland and financed by the Foundation. Among these is the *kotch*, 'a pioneering polar vessel', probably employed by the Cossack Semen Dezhnev in the Bering Sea. A small number of maps from the Russian State Archives are a special feature. The Viking voyages and settlements in Greenland are described, but there is an error in the caption on p.61. The picture is of a ruined church, Hvalsø Kakortok, with the statement that there were

17 settlements on the west coast and three on the east coast of Greenland. In fact, the belief in any eastern settlement was finally put to rest in 1883–85 by two Danish naval officers, Gustav Holm and V. Garde (Kirsten A. Seaver; *The Last Vikings*, London, 2010, p.xiv). All the settlements were on the west coast. Otherwise, whaling is one of the commercial activities covered and splendidly illustrated by the print on p.136. It is good to see Spitsbergen, a Dutch discovery, correctly spelled: often the 's' is mistakenly replaced by a 'z'.

The history of circumpolar Arctic exploration is much more complicated than that of the Antarctic, bounded as it is by the great Southern Ocean guarding its approaches for so many years. The fine maps in this book help us on our way. These are either sketch maps (for example on p.261) or reproductions of those contemporary with the expeditions concerned (p.263), both examples relating to the attempts to reach the North Pole in the 19th century. In describing the expedition of Sir John Franklin (1845–48) and Sir George Nares (1875–6) the authors are quite critical of the Royal Navy and its traditions, repeating Stefansson's crazy assertion that the complements of HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* 'perished as victims of the manners, customs, social outlook and medical views of their time' (p.242).

Official and private efforts since the 1960s to locate the wrecks of *Erebus* and *Terror* have been unsuccessful, despite their having been fitted with steam-engines. The transport, HMS *Breadalbane*, was dived on by Dr Joseph McInnes in May 1983 and her wheel was brought up and ceremonially handed over to Robert Grenier of Parks Canada. She nipped the ice of Lancaster Sound, sinking in August 1853 (J. McInnes: *The Search for the Breadalbane*, 1985). As a result of this private unscheduled investigation, the *Erebus* and *Terror* are officially designated Canadian National Historic Sites, wherever they may be. Presumably the same applies to another 'Franklin Search' vessel, HMS *Investigator*, located in Mercy Bay, Banks Island, by a Parks Canada team: her epic story is briefly told in this book. Since *Arctic Exploration* came out, Glyn Williams's *Arctic Labyrinth*, a life of James Fitzjames, 'the mystery man of the Franklin expedition', by William Battersby, has been published, not to mention Andrew Lambert's new life of Franklin (reviewed in *IJNA* 39:2). We must always remember that the British search for the North West Passage in the early-19th century to find a sea-route north of the Americas deep enough for ships to navigate was so that all nations could benefit.

In its scope and the beauty of its many illustrations and maps this book deserves enormous praise, despite a few shortcomings inevitable in a work of this kind.

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A Civil War Gunboat in Pacific Waters: life on board USS *Saginaw*

HANS KONRAD VAN TILBURG

378 pp., 42 b&w illustrations

University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville FL 32611–2079, USA, 2010, \$69.95 (hbk), ISBN 978-0813035161

This work has relevance to underwater archaeologists studying the remains of early paddle-steamers and their disintegration on shallow coral reefs. While there is apparently not much remaining of the wooden-hulled USS *Saginaw* at Kure Atoll near Midway Island, this book demonstrates how shipwrecks can effectively be used as an entry into much wider studies. Van Tilburg has produced an essential reference for historians of the 19th-century North Pacific and its adjacent seaboard. The work is also of interest to archaeologists and anthropologists studying shipwreck survivor behaviour and the material remains at their camps.

On another level, Van Tilburg has also produced a work which, while worthwhile to historians and naval buffs, is quite surprisingly an entertaining, informing and quite uplifting maritime read. The potential draw of this work is so wide, I would expect to find it in academic libraries, as a course reader in universities and even in airport bookshops. In some ways it is an example of successfully and entertainingly bringing naval and regional history to all. It should also grace the wardroom libraries of all American serving ships—for *Saginaw* is undoubtedly the stuff of naval legend, and it is on stories such as this that countries build their naval traditions and inspire their crews.

Saginaw, a relatively small paddle-steamer gunboat was commissioned in 1860 and sent to the US East India Squadron. There it could be found protecting American people and property during the Second Opium War and the Chinese Taiping Rebellion—generally considered one of the most important events in 19th-century Chinese history. It was also found 700 miles upstream from Shanghai on the Yangtze River, then bombarding a battery in Cochin China (later Vietnam), suppressing pirates, and calling in to Japanese ports soon after they were opened to western incursions. There, as in China, it was hardly welcome. As America slid into its Civil War, Van Tilburg also examines nascent Union-Confederate tensions on board and in the Far East generally, which to me echo the Royalist-Republican enmities festering decades earlier on board the French explorer d'Entrecasteaux's ships in the Indian and Pacific oceans as the French revolution built to its equally tragic climax.

After it was decommissioned in Hong Kong, USS *Saginaw* sailed home, and in a chapter on the Civil War along the Pacific coast we learn that it was refurbished

and to be found patrolling the north American continent's western seaboard and down to Panama against the Confederate threat. In Van Tilburg's hands we are ably informed of these events, their lead-up and aftermath. *Saginaw* was also sent down to revolutionary Mexico, protecting US interests in the war which saw the demise of the Emperor Maximilian, puppet of Napoleon III, and the rise of Benito Juarez. While there it guarded the recovery of specie from the SS *Golden Gate* which was run ashore at a beach known as Playa de Oro (beach of gold) near Manzanillo, and at Acapulco its crew led a charge in defence of the consulate and American residents. From there it was off back on coastal patrol in adventures too numerous to list.

Then it went north to help maintain order during the hand-over of Alaska from the Russians, after the controversial and much-derided purchase by the American Secretary of State. There *Saginaw* was also involved in suppressing the native inhabitants, a low point in an otherwise illustrious career. From Alaska it was back to Midway Island to help establish a coaling station for American steamers. Then it turned for home, bound for San Francisco with 'hard-hat' divers exhausted from their unsuccessful attempts to blast a channel into the lagoon at Midway. But *Saginaw* slid up onto a coral reef at nearby Kure Atoll at a very slow, though ultimately devastating, 2 knots—its remarkable career at an abrupt end.

Not only does Van Tilburg most entertainingly and informatively take us through these events, but he also describes their antecedents and aftermath with considerably narrative skill and apparent historical authority. A real bonus for many will be his treatment of the personalities involved. *Saginaw* had many captains and crews over the years—some individuals of indifferent maritime quality, others remarkably heroic and effective. Its officers' subsequent careers and those of others who served on board lend a very entertaining human aspect to this story. Many prominent 'Saginaws' had USN ships named after them and many became flag officers. In his treatment of these men, of their surroundings and of the events that befell them, we often find Van Tilburg transporting us seamlessly backwards and then forwards into the 20th century to the modern day, expanding on some historical moment or in commenting generally about the history of the northern Pacific region.

After the wreck in October 1870 much was salvaged from the ship; the last remaining match was carefully used to light a fire; a freshwater still was built from a boiler; a survivor's camp was established and extremely well maintained by *Saginaw*'s Commander Montgomery Sicard. Indeed he was quite outstanding in that regard, a complete contrast to some who have since become infamous for their inability to cope with the aftermath of shipwreck. *Batavia*'s Pelsart and the horrific consequences of his mistakes in 1629 springs immediately to mind. Com-

mander Sicard could well be used as an example against which to judge them all.

After some considerable time ashore, the gig was rebuilt, armed with provisions and navigational equipment, including a sextant fashioned out of salvaged boiler-gauge parts by *Saginaw*'s enterprising engineer, and readied for what was to become an epic 28-day, 1600-sea-mile dash to safety. Shades of Bligh and Ernest Shackleton here! The five-man crew did wondrously well, only to be capsized in the surf at Kaua'i in the Hawaiian Islands. All were drowned bar one, William Halford, who staggered ashore and delivered his news. Rescue ships were soon sent out, finding the survivors busy building a schooner from timbers prised off the wreck, and all were saved. Following Sicard's directions, the camp was left neatly packed up, the schooner was left on the stocks, and a full account of what transpired, what was loaded and what was left behind was made before the survivors embarked. This is truly epic stuff. The story, the gig and other relics, including the sextant, then entered the American historical and naval psyche and its museums, leaving the wreck itself to be forgotten in all bar name.

A remote-sensing and visual search by Van Tilburg, the Maritime Heritage Co-ordinator for the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and his own crew ensues. The wreck was found in 2003 after many attempts. A 'popular' account of the search and its results—that is a description of the search, the locality, the wreck and its appearance and the survey process over the next few years—occupies the concluding chapters of the work. Mention is also made of other wrecks in the vicinity.

In essentially non-disturbance studies such as that conducted by Van Tilburg's team, shallow, turbulent-water sites such as these generally produce little other than 'confirmative' data about the location and circumstances of the wreck, and this is certainly the case at *Saginaw*. Little mention is made of the remains at the adjacent survivor camp, though there is enough in Van Tilburg's vivid descriptions of life on Ocean Island to attract those such as myself with a professional interest in such things. Van Tilburg leaves us wanting in our knowledge of what evidence of Sicard, his men and their struggle for survival might yet remain at Ocean Island. More is needed on this for unless the island shores have since been eroded by typhoons, the *Saginaw* camp, from what Van Tilburg himself tells us, should prove an important maritime heritage site in itself. There are a growing number of examples where maritime and terrestrial archaeologists and anthropologists have combined in interdisciplinary studies to examine shipwreck survivor camps. Examples drawn from my work alone are those at the wreck of the VOC ship *Zuytdorp* (1712) on the north-west Australian coast and the French exploration corvette *L'Uranie* (1820) in the Falkland Islands. There are many others from which to draw

comparative data, attesting to the potentially important archaeological resource there might be at *Saginaw's* Ocean Island. Furthermore, it is also evident from the study of survivor camps across the globe that there are times when more information about human behaviour can be gleaned from them than from the wreck itself.

Though that is the only negative for me, initially this work started very badly indeed after noticing an egregious (if somewhat humorous) semantic error at the end of the second paragraph on the second page of text. This caused me to shelve it for quite some time after receiving the work for review in fear of encountering more. Its subsequent delights (on the 'good read' and 'entertaining history' fronts alone) added further to that age-old mantra 'a bad start ... a good finish' that I often use as a means of getting the inevitable hiccups in any fieldwork program or 'dig' out of the way early. Others use it as a motivational tool to help folk cope with the vagaries of life. This might prove an apt comparison, for the book appears otherwise editorially of a high quality (sunspot on fig. 42 excepted). And it is not Van Tilburg who is to blame. Somewhat ironically the offence is the work of the Series Editors themselves. Having encountered this phenomenon elsewhere in my own work, and in an (in) famous case where a well-known colleague was described as an 'underwear archaeologist' I expect it to be a manifestation of extremely busy editors relying too heavily on their 'spell-checker'.

On that score J. C. Bradford and G. A. Smith's series 'New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology' is wide-ranging, impressive and numerous. With eight works published in 2010, including *Saginaw*, they have been very busy indeed, and this series has gained considerable momentum since it first appeared with a single offering in 2000. Their list is well worth viewing—including titles on steamship archaeology; the German Navy; epic sea voyages; whaling; Maltese maritime history; American naval activities including riverine warfare and naval aviation and some of its leaders; the Anglo-Russian invasion of Naples; the industrialisation of American shipbuilding; and another work from Van Tilburg on Chinese Junks in the Pacific (reviewed by Michael Flecker in *IJNA* 37.1, 217–19).

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Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola

JUDITH A. BENSE (ed.)

294 pp., 37 b&w illustrations, 24 tables

University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Avenue, Gainesville, FL-32609, USA, 1999, \$59.95 (hbk), ISBN 978-0813026610

Presidio Santa Maria de Galve: a struggle for survival in colonial Spanish Pensacola

JUDITH A. BENSE (ed.)

492 pp., 98 b&w illustrations, 61 tables

University Press of Florida, 2003, \$95.00 (hbk), ISBN 978-0819026602

The Log of HMS *Mentor*, 1780–1781: a new account of the British Navy at Pensacola

JAMES A. SERVIES (ed.)

297 pp., 8 b&w illustrations, 5 maps

University Press of Florida, 1982, ISBN 0813007045

Pensacola during the Civil War: a thorn in the side of the Confederate

GEORGE F. PEARCE

285 pp., 25 b&w illustrations, 3 maps

University Press of Florida, 2000, \$24.95 (sbk), ISBN 978-0813032771

Throughout history the interaction of land and sea, urban space and hinterland have made ports endlessly dynamic spaces. As we move into the second decade of the 21st century old questions about their origins and development have become enmeshed in debates about how to interpret and present the past, the balance to be struck between archaeology and economic activity, and the critical role of public support in sustaining research. While these volumes provide various approaches to the past, they are linked by the location, Pensacola in Florida, and all were published by the University Press of Florida. Most of the work they represent has been produced by scholars connected with the Pensacola-based University of West Florida, linking student and local amateur research into a coherent synthesis.

The key to understanding the history and archaeology of Pensacola is the Bay, one of only two safe deep-water anchorages on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the other being Mobile. The name Pensacola was taken from a local Native American tribe, and means 'long-haired people'. Systematic colonial settlement by Spain, after a brief occupation in 1559–61, began in 1698 and ended in 1821, with the cession of the territory to the United States. Judith Bense's edited collection *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola* provides an ambitious and effective overview of the town through history and archaeology. Exploiting a rich collection of site-reports and archive-based research publications, including critical work

conducted in the Spanish Archives at Seville, the authors have produced a coherent narrative linked to a series of themed chapters dealing with the town, Native Americans, maritime activity, fieldwork, the wider colonial context and the public interpretation and display of colonial archaeology.

The key issues to emerge are the essentially negative nature of colonial occupation. The Spanish only occupied Pensacola to deny it to the French, or the British, who could exploit the Bay to attack Spanish communications between Veracruz in Mexico and Havana in Cuba, the route of the annual *flota*. In all other respects it was a costly, useless settlement, unhealthy, uneconomic, constantly threatened by hostile locals, erosion, disease and the sheer disinterest of the Mexican viceroyalty, which had to pay the bills and provide the soldiers. In a telling passage we discover that when the Spanish recovered the town after a brief French occupation between 1719 and 1721 the new Governor was ordered to lower the water-level in the harbour, to make the place useless. While such a grand engineering project proved impracticable, the ambition was obvious. For the Spanish the best solution would be to destroy the harbour. At heart this was a question of culture. As a Continental power Spain wanted to keep ships and trade out of the closed markets and controlled lands of its empire. By contrast Britain, a maritime power, saw the harbour as the only reason to remain—it opened up economic possibilities. They secured the town in exchange for Havana, and within a year of taking control naval surveyor George Gauld had produced an accurate chart of the bay, the key to economic expansion (Ware, J. D., 1982, *George Gauld: Surveyor and Cartographer of the Gulf Coast*, Gainesville, provides a thorough treatment of the hydrographic work during the British occupation).

British merchants soon developed useful trade with local Native Americans, a trade that survived the return of Spanish rule in 1781 and even the arrival of the Americans in 1821. In assessing the evolution of ports and other maritime spaces it is essential to recognise that Spain and Britain held fundamentally different cultural visions of port towns. By the time the Americans occupied Pensacola they had become Continental, spending their money on massive defences. It is to the credit of the authors and editors of this volume that the obvious local focus has not obscured the international context of war, trade, settlement and interaction. This was essential because Pensacola had no local economic value before the arrival of the railway. The rivers that flow into the bay cannot compare with the Mississippi or the Alabama.

Bense's *Presidio Santa Maria de Galve: a struggle for survival in colonial Spanish Pensacola* provides a more detailed assessment of the original Spanish settlement, which lasted from 1698 to 1719, with considerably more detailed archaeological reportage and analysis. Once again the key is the ability of the text to place the

settlement in a broad context, that of the Spanish American Presidio. The coastal Presidios of Florida and California defended strategic bays and rivers from invasion, and economic penetration. The only reason to occupy and hold the site was to keep the French and British out. Yet when the town faced the test of famine, fire and attacks by native tribes supported by the British it depended on the support of the French settlement at Mobile to survive. In truth the Spanish position was little more than a cheap bluff. When the French attacked in 1719 the town and the ramshackle wooden-framed fort could not be defended by the tiny, ill-equipped and under-supplied garrison. The French, who already occupied a more productive site at Mobile, showed what they thought of Pensacola. They burnt the town to the ground and left just 24 soldiers to hold the site. The mere existence of Pensacola served Spain well enough, and when they recovered the ruined site from the French they rebuilt it, on a new site, and kept the harbour closed for another century.

Although the Spanish, and especially the British, spent significant sums on defences at Pensacola these were never going to be adequate to resist a major offensive, because there were never enough troops to defend the port. Both Spain and Britain hoped the fixed defences would slow down any attack, and enable the regional centres, Havana, Veracruz or Port Royal, to send out a suitable relief force. Ultimately this was a naval question. The town could only be held while the occupying power had control of the Gulf of Mexico. Small blockhouses and coastal batteries could stop native raids, and force any European attackers to assemble a large amphibious task force. In 1781 the British lost Pensacola because they lost command of the sea; the Spanish exploited the new-found freedom to move an army by sea, and conduct a regular siege of the town. Despite a brave defence, occupying several weeks, there was never any prospect of a British relief force. The British were too worried about the sugar islands of the Caribbean to risk substantial naval and military forces to defend an isolated outpost. The British soon discovered that Pensacola, which lacked a significant export crop, or access to inland communications, was an expensive liability, rather than a rich resource. It did not fit in with the maritime model of empire. Extensive fort-building kept the town busy, but failed to provide security.

Rea and Servies's edition *The Log of HMS Mentor 1780–1781: a new account of the British Navy at Pensacola*, presents a full transcript of a Captain Robert Deans' personal log-book now held by the archives of the University of West Florida. Both the introduction and the editorial work are of a high standard, opening up what might easily be considered no more than a narrowly professional record of events into a multi-layered text that opens up larger questions about British power, Royal Navy careers, and the defence of Empire in adversity. Robert Deans was one of many young officers making his way up the career ladder during the

Revolutionary War, his immediate peer-group on the West Indies station included Horatio Nelson and Cuthbert Collingwood, either of whom could have ended up in Pensacola when it fell. Unlike those heroes Deans did not make his name in this war, or go on to command great fleets in titanic battles; he was one of many solid, professional officers 'who also served'.

His command, HMS *Mentor*, was a suitably insignificant warship, formerly a privateer, purchased locally and never formally entered on the list of the Royal Navy. Her role was to support the town defences and, when Bernardo de Galvez landed, Deans deployed his men and guns to reinforce the forts, and sent the ship up the Middle River, where she was burnt to prevent capture. As if to emphasise the limits of history and archaeology her remains have yet to be found. Facing overwhelming odds the defenders, loyalists, Native Americans, German troops and sailors, held out until a mortar-shell detonated one of the main magazines, wrecking a key bastion and killing 100 men. Deans's log-book provides a unique day-by-day record of the siege, and the loss of the entire British flotilla from teredo-worm damage, storm and fire. The fall of the town was a significant event for Imperial Spain, perhaps the last hurrah of the Bourbon Empire, but it hardly registered in Britain. The great event of the Anglo-Spanish war that ran alongside, but never intersected with, the Revolutionary War was the last great siege of Gibraltar, a battle the British won.

Suitably equipped with George Gauld's excellent charts the British did not forget Pensacola, and when the War of 1812 broke out they planned to use it as a staging-post for the capture of New Orleans. Recognising the danger of leaving such a commodious anchorage in Spanish hands, American General Andrew Jackson drove them out, and British and American demolition left the place defenceless. In 1818–19 Jackson again occupied the town, to prevent the Spanish supplying weapons to Native American tribes resisting the advance of plantation agriculture. In 1821 the town was acquired by the United States, and soon had a new fort-building programme under way, to make sure the British did not return. By 1860 £1.5 million had been sunk into forts, with further sums expended on a small Navy Yard. The belated arrival of a railway link to Montgomery, Alabama, finally gave Pensacola a substantial economic hinterland, only for the Civil War to intervene.

George Pearce's study of the town during the Civil War emphasises the critical role of the harbour, for both sides. The town was largely Confederate in sympathy, like most of Florida, and the Navy Yard was surrendered intact to the State Militia. However, the forts were held by 46 Federal troops. In the absence of their commanding officer, a secessionist sympathiser, the officer in command moved his men into Fort Pickens, the key to the harbour, and refused to surrender. While Fort Pickens remained in Federal hands the Confederacy could not use the harbour. Professional

Confederate Army officers, including the engineer who had built Pickens, urged the State Militia to take the fort, but they lacked the equipment. Finally a naval convoy arrived with Federal troops, and after a long stand-off they reinforced the tiny garrison. With enough men in place Fort Pickens easily withstood a siege, because its maritime connections were intact. This cost the Confederacy the best harbour on the Gulf Coast for the entire war.

Once again a continentally-minded quasi-state was content to keep the port closed, rather than risk it being used for an attack from the sea. When the Confederates evacuated the town Federal forces took over, but returned to the Fort when they realised that anything more was a waste of scarce manpower. Pensacola became a dead zone, militarily inert, and economically inactive, down to the end of the war. Pearce provides this largely forgotten backwater of a major war with both national and local settings. In contrast to the modern port city, Colonial Pensacola was a marginal settlement without a hinterland, and of limited economic value. As the occupying power Imperial Spain saw the harbour and the region as a problem, something that should be denied to imperial and commercial rivals. It required the advance of plantation agriculture and rail communications to exploit the excellent natural harbour. Today a major naval air station occupies the site of the initial Spanish settlement, and the co-operation of the Navy was essential for the archaeological work on the Presidio site.

These studies of a single location across time, and using differing methods, emphasise the essential interaction of history and archaeology in reconstructing lost communities and ways of life, of the culture and economics of an emerging colonial settlement. These wider cultural issues were still at play in the sectional war that split the United States, showing how developing ports depend on access to a dynamic hinterland, something that was only obtained when Pensacola became part of the greatest of all Continental states. Quite how to tell that story may be the next challenge, one that is addressed in Thomas Muir Junior's chapter in 'Public Interpretation and Presentation of Colonial Historical Archaeology in Pensacola' in the first essay collection. Muir offers an integrated assessment of how the past has been recorded, across more than half a century of fieldwork, and how it has been received within the local community. If his stress on the need to integrate serious research on the ground, under water and in the archives into museum interpretation for the public is hardly novel, the local learning process and the emergence of a shared interdisciplinary professionalism offers an important reminder to all those involved. Ultimately the public drives the process, and they need to be convinced that the results are significant in their terms, as well as ours.

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Maritime Maryland—A History

WILLIAM S. DUDLEY

294 pp., 25 colour plates, 46 b&w pictures

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 North Charles St, Baltimore MD 21218-4363, USA, 2010, \$50/£26 (hbk), ISBN 978-0801894756

Maritime Maryland—A History examines Maryland's maritime past using a broad scope, exploring the rich history of the Chesapeake Bay through both chronological and topical approaches. Eleven chapters shed light on everything from Maryland's first settlers to its inhabitants' roles in various naval campaigns, ship-building, commercial and passenger transportation, and recreational boating. A chapter is also included on the role of maritime archaeology in solidifying a state maritime archaeology programme. In general, the book targets as an audience the general public, particularly those new to Maryland's maritime history, as well as 'Joe the historian'. At the same time, the book strikes an excellent balance in introducing Maryland's maritime history, ecology, and underwater cultural resources.

After reading the first chapter, one's first impression might be that this is a humdrum, historical narrative about great men and great events, but after delving into the subsequent chapters, it is apparent that the book takes an interesting turn into describing the colourful lives of individuals and their exploits on the sea. For example, shipwright Benjamin Sallier is described as one of the local characters of colonial Maryland. Having broken out of the Arundel County gaol in May 1742, he was described in a resulting sheriff's notice as 'a sour looking fellow about 30 years of age, brown complexion, impudent, talks bold, and wears handkerchiefs tied in a careless manner around his neck' (p.15). Dudley successfully weaves the personal stories and antics of those like Benjamin Sallier into the larger context of Maryland's maritime past, providing the reader with colour and levity throughout the book.

While much of the research seems to be tied in to larger naval campaigns, the chapter on oysters, crabs, fish, and watermen takes a more relaxed approach, exploring how the commonly-held view that Maryland's natural resources were inexhaustible and for all to exploit has impacted the local shellfish and finfish industry. He also discusses the oyster wars of the 1870s, involving oyster dredgers on the Eastern shores who are described as an 'unruly and lawless band that had its own sense of vigilante justice' (p.112). That the state established 'oyster police' in order to control the situation, and that people fought and were shot over oysters, is something I did not know before reading this book.

As for the publication's general layout, the book contains beautiful colour plates and black-and-white

illustrations. The colour plates can all be found near the centre of the book. While this means of presentation is not something I like, as the reader only encounters these halfway through the book and must backtrack, such a layout is usually the decision of the publisher and not the author. This volume uses an endnote referencing system and includes an extensive essay on sources. A glossary of nautical terms is also included. Since the audience of this book is the general public, this approach to referencing is useful in that it does not distract from the flow of reading.

Although Dudley's book eschews innovative theoretical interpretation and methodological approaches, the colourful images and the often quirky stories of individuals presented within the context of major events in both Maryland and the United States makes this work an enjoyable and an enlightening read. Having personally sat in one of Dudley's history classes at East Carolina University, I can literally hear his voice tell the story of Maryland's maritime past as I read the words. In this way, I believe that this book is a successful presentation that benefits from Dudley's personal interest and lifelong research on this topic.

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Sailing into the Past: learning from replica ships

JENNY BENNETT (ed.) with 13 Contributors

192 pp., 176 illustrations many colour

Seaforth Publishing, 47 Church Street, Barnsley, S70 2AS, UK, 2009, £25 (hbk), ISBN 978-1848320130

Jenny Bennett is a doughty sailor of replicas and other quaint craft. I first supposed this attractive volume was a personal account of her replica sailing, with other projects filling in the gaps. It is not. In her Preface she writes: 'this book is not a directory, rather it is a cross-section that illustrates the rise of the replica and reveals the on-going developments in the search for authenticity and use of such vessels'. The title is not new, Ole Crumlin-Pedersen and M. Vinner used it as the title for the publication of papers from an international ship replica conference in 1986.

In an elegant personal essay (ch. 1) Richard Woodman dwells on replicas that represent ship-types, such as the cog, and sets them apart from reproductions of actual ship recoveries. Seán McGrail (ch. 2) further refines this classification by distinguishing between a reconstruction based on facts—ship plans, iconography, texts—and a 'floating hypothesis' based on the interpretation of partial evidence, principally actual ancient ship-remains, as in the case of the

Skuldelev finds (ch. 5). He only considers the latter archaeological. He adds another category, by far the most numerous but happily not represented here: the romantic 'look-alike' beloved by the film industry and waterside tourist centres, and relying on 19th-century artists' impressions seen through rose-tinted spectacles. McGrail obligingly sorts out the ten specimens presented in this volume: six are 'specific'—Skuldelev, Bremen cog, *Duyfken*, schooner *Sultana*, *Endeavour*, and, surprisingly, the Jamestown fleet. As 'generic' or representational he cites the trireme *Olympias*, the northern caravel, the Japanese *bezaisen*, and the *Pride of Baltimore* clipper. An article by Colin Palmer on measuring performance under sail (ch. 3) completes the background section of the work and makes it a reference work in its own right.

The bulk of the book (170 pp.) is concerned with named replica projects, separated into 'Ancient and Medieval' with 4 chapters; and a post-medieval section in six chapters (misleadingly entitled 'Ships of Discovery 1600–1750') covering a ship per half-century from the 17th century and ending in the 19th.

Boris Rankov writes on the representative trireme *Olympias* (ch. 4), one of the most costly and controversial ventures, initiated in Britain and ending in Greece where the vessel is now on permanent display at the Navy Museum, Neo Faliro, and no longer sailing. It chiefly endorsed the 3-tier rowing system and confirmed accounts in classical texts. This warship is deemed to have dominated the Mediterranean seas for ten centuries from the 6th century BC. The trireme chapter is one of the best-illustrated in the book, including ten relevant colour plates of *Olympias*.

Five full-scale vessels drawing on thousands of pieces of excavated timbers are packed into ch. 5, 'The Viking ships of Skuldelev'. They are all 'sailing hypotheses' and have all performed brilliantly in their own class, from an inshore fishing craft to the merchant *knarr* which sailed to America. In the course of half-a-century's work volumes of knowledge have unfolded—shipbuilding, social organisation, contemporary forestry, tool-making and -use, sailing techniques, survival strategies, and much much more—undoubtedly the most fruitful replica enterprise yet undertaken and the methodological role-model for all such projects. The author does not quite match up to her subject and fails to set fire to theme or readers. The drawings and Werner Karrasch's colour photography are exemplary.

Chapters 6 and 7 covering the Hanseatic cog and caravel are best read together. The cog is a 'specific' or sailing reproduction of the Bremen cog of 1380, 'strong, sturdy, and stable', found in the muddy banks of the port in 1962 and the subject of years of research. The northern caravel *Lisa von Lubeck* was designed by a committee and launched in 2003. It represents the all-purpose large trader which took over from the cog in the later Middle Ages. Both types were rather angular cargo-carriers that proved

successful work-horses for the Hanse, but the caravel had the advantage of size through carvel planking (as reflected in its name) and a lateen sail on the mizzen-mast adding manoeuvrability. They traded in all manner of goods along the Atlantic fringe, including salt cod, timber, grain, furs, honey, jute, iron ore and even horses.

'The 1600s can be regarded as the final phase of the great European Age of Discovery. In 1606 the United Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) sent a small versatile vessel *Duyfken* on a voyage of exploration to New Guinea and beyond, and it was to be the first historically recorded voyage to Australia. She was known to outsail her accompanying ships and the replica has proved a fine sailor and completed more and longer voyages than any of her rivals (*Halve Maen*, *Batavia*, *Kalmar Nykel*). Chapter 8 centres on the experience with the *Duyfken* copy. The replica was built in Fremantle based on shipwreck evidence and launched in 1999. Nick Burningham's treatment of *Duyfken* is so detailed and thorough that one could almost build and sail her oneself.

Cook's first exploration ship *Endeavour* (ch. 12) naturally follows on from consideration of the *Duyfken* and other early Dutch East Indiamen. Evidence from building and researching *Endeavour* fertilised the *Duyfken* replica, as both were built by master-shipwright Bill Leonard. *Endeavour*'s design rested on Admiralty documents and a cache of drawings and 18th-century draughts in the National Maritime Museum archives which abundantly helped guide the team in Australia. The project was conceived as a showpiece for the 1988 bicentennial celebrations, to be followed by an extensive programme of world navigation including a six-week voyage filmed and shown by the BBC. The NMM asserted she was the best 18th-century replica ship ever built, and every effort is being taken to keep her historically accurate. She is now used for educational voyages and for exhibition visits.

Perhaps the most inspired choice in this replica miscellany is ch. 10 on the *bezaisen*, the Japanese coastal traders of the Edo period (1609–1868). For 250 years coinciding with the West's expansion eastwards the Japanese shogunate banned contact with foreigners and ships for overseas travel. These years of exclusion effectively killed Japanese shipbuilding and development, though the coastal craft for inter-island trade and fishing survived. In the 20th century's last decades shipwright Niinuma decided to build a replica *bezaisen* before the craftsmanship was quite lost. It is by far the weirdest construction in the book. There are no curved frames within the hull, the deck-planking is unfastened, the huge rudder can be raised and lowered (when it hangs feet below the hull). Only a small crew is needed to lower the mast and to handle the single large mainsail. The sail is made up of loosely-linked vertical panels, each of which has its own sheet. Four *bezaisen* have been built by Niinuma and given

successful sailing-trials and an archive established. They have benefited the flurry of museum development in the 1990s but what the future brings to the *bezaisen* and replica work in Japan is unclear.

The Jamestown 'first fleet' (ch. 9) is the joker in the pack. The fleet consisted of three small vessels of less than 100 tons used for carrying cargo and settlers to the new colony. Are they here to make up the false hopes of copies of the Columbus fleet which proved premature for the technology? The builds of the three ships, *Discovery*, *Godspeed* and *Susan Constant*, rest on very shaky foundations. In the contemporary documents not even their tonnages are consistent; for *Susan Constant* they give 100, 120, 140, 150, 174, and 200 tons (p.126). Contemporary records do not define the rigging, sail-plan or hull-shape of vessels below 80 tons, though larger vessels followed established formulae since Elizabethan times. The documentary research is fascinating but inconclusive in terms of the authenticity of even the most recent Jamestown replicas. It is complicated by the subsequent careers of the vessels. *Discovery*, for instance, sailed four times to find the north-west passage, once under Hudson of Hudson's Bay fame, once for Baffin, and was finally wrecked off the Azores in 1622. There have been three modern versions of *Discovery* (1957, 1984, and 2007) and of *Godspeed* (1957, 1984, and 2006), and two of the larger *Susan Constant* (1957 and 1991). Subsequent versions were bigger than the earlier ones and managed to stay afloat. The three most recent still sail and give a better performance than their predecessors.

The book is more tantalising than definitive, and may tempt many beyond this reader to make their own ship selection and list of values. The unevenness of the pieces detracts from the volume—this applies to both textual presentation and picture choice. The visual material is overall outstanding, well reproduced with full informative captions. One could get a great deal from it without reading the text. Tighter, more systematic editorial control would have benefitted the written treatment. But, altogether, a thoroughly stimulating work, strongly recommended to any replica buff and for discussion.

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Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia

MICHAEL NASH (ed.) with 12 Contributors

224 pp., 120 mostly colour illustrations, 15 location maps

University of Western Australia Press, Crawley, WA 6009, 2007, £33.50/A\$44.50/€37, ISBN 978-0980296433

This book is a comprehensive, and often lively,

compilation of accounts of shipwreck sites in Australia. It charts the course of the discipline of maritime archaeology from the first shipwreck discoveries in the Indian Ocean off Western Australia in the 1960s, and their subsequent protection by heritage legislation in response to vigorous looting, to stand-alone reports of the investigations of other significant underwater sites. Each chapter discusses an individual shipwreck from its discovery and its ship-history to excavation and post-fieldwork research. The editor has been careful to include the equally significant but less glamorous examples which are 'representative of the normal business of the thousands of vessels that plied Australian waters' (p.111). The authors are well placed to comment. Most have been involved since the birth of the discipline in Australia and are able to give the reader a colourful insider's glimpse of the archaeologist's work.

British readers will note similarities to the development of the discipline in the UK, which also began with small teams of amateurs, often using explosives to dislodge specie, guns and other valuable artefacts. The subsequent enforcement of protective legislation, first in Western Australia (p.3), which was among the first heritage legislation in the world, allowed the discipline to develop. This book serves as a showpiece for the history of shipping in Australia from the moment the VOC ship, *Batavia*, accidentally smashed against Australian shores, to the development of Australian-built ships, trade and steam technology. Noting the 'strong public interest in shipwrecks' in Australia, this book is aimed as much at the interested layman as at the professional, making little attempt to dumb down. What can often appear an esoteric and complicated process veiled in mystery by untouchable, grey academics is laid bare and well told. The story of the final identification of the China trader, the *Rapid*, is a fine example of the detective clues an archaeologist often needs to follow (p.70). Notable for its absence here however, given the book's emphasis on protective legislation, is any critical comment on the use of a prop-wash (p.72), an indiscriminate and often uncontrolled tool, to excavate the shipwreck in 1982.

The advance of technology and the speedy growth of expertise in the investigation of underwater sites is an important thread in the book. The relatively early use of a magnetometer in the early 1980s to detect iron on HMS *Sirius* is noted. The *Sirius* excavation went some way to proving that British convict ships were not 'rotten old tubs' (p.36) but were in fact well constructed. With this hypothesis shattered, archaeologists were able to show that Botany Bay was not just a temporary expedient to relieve crowded British gaols.

However, despite comments on the development of technology employed not only to locate, but also to record underwater sites and analyse artefacts, there is a surprising absence of high-resolution imagery to

illustrate such accounts. The *Cheviot*, one of the few whaling vessels found in Australian waters, was located using a Differential Global Positioning System, a magnetometer and a depth-sounder, yet there is no geophysical image. The chapter on the SS *Tasman* could also have benefited from a good high-resolution geophysical image. Many chapters could also have been improved with site-plans, key to the realisation of any kind of archaeology. An aerial photograph of the shipwreck graveyard on the Tamar River in Tasmania, however, is an excellent example of the use of surveying technology in archaeology.

The chapter illustrations are often inadequate. Sometimes excellent old prints are squeezed into underservedly small spaces (pp.28, 29, 40, 80, 132, 139). Many photographs do not do justice to the story they are illustrating, and some are of poor quality or of questionable relevance. The launching of Heritage Victoria's workboat (p.9) adds nothing. Neither does a thumbnail photograph of Cegrass artificial matting being prepared (p.105). This photograph in larger format could have been quite striking, whereas one of the timber casks from the *William Salthouse* on the preceding page is blurred. Photographs of divers surfacing with artefacts are often iconic. However that of a diver returning brandishing a bottle from the *City of Launceston* is annoyingly spoiled by the bottle being concealed by the diver's hand (p.141)—a missed opportunity.

While the book maps the development of maritime archaeology in Australia, from the first major excavations to later, more focused, research designs with greater emphasis on *in situ* conservation, it could have benefitted from some discussion of the future of the discipline. From Nathan Richards's important thematic study of abandoned vessels in South Australia in the final chapter, parallels could have been drawn, particularly with the UK where shores and inland waterways are littered with ship graveyards. The study of a large number of abandoned watercraft over a lengthy period meant that the author was able to conclude that even the mundane can disguise, within its archaeological record, the fabric and context which give an insight into much broader economic, political and social history.

A further, 'what next?' chapter, would have been useful. Richards's section deserves to be followed by some sort of conclusion tying in the various chapters and noting the massive technological advances now available to archaeologists. The book was published before the discovery of HMAS *Sydney* (see *IJNA* 39.1, 186–9), yet a discussion on the future interdisciplinary use of technology and its effect on the discipline could have been part of a useful epilogue, particularly since, as noted in the chapter on the SS *Tasman*, access to shipwrecks has now widened enormously to include anyone with the right technology. This has significant implications for heritage law.

This book provides a skilful and novel approach to maritime archaeology which is refreshingly free of footnotes, though chapter-by-chapter endnotes, a glossary and an index are provided at the back of the book to help serious researchers. The authors, each of whom was directly involved with the sites discussed, have transferred their passion. It is proof that publications can serve the interested public and the academic simultaneously, serving both the coffee table and the desk. Australia has taken a leading role in the discipline in the southern hemisphere, and this volume can be seen as a successful attempt to draw in a wider public. There should be more books like this.

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Sons of Sindbad

ALAN VILLIERS (with Introduction by William Facey, Yacoub al-Hijji, and Grace Pundyk)

442 pp.50 b&w photographs

Arabian Publishing, 4 Bloomsbury Place, London WC1A 2QA, 2006, £25 (hbk) £20 (sbk), ISBN 978-0955889462

This reviewer cannot be the only ethnographer of the 'traditional' wooden boats of the western Indian Ocean who feels frequently that he has arrived on the scene 60 years too late. While once such craft were plentiful, being built and sailed in their great variety throughout the region, we latecomers must content ourselves with searching among the fibreglass vessels which today dominate the ocean's coastlines for the few wooden remnants—almost everywhere motorised—of an almost vanished material culture, and otherwise depend on the reminiscences of a kind but dwindling band of elderly seamen and boatbuilders.

Thank goodness, then, for Alan Villiers (1903–82), whose unique and gripping account of his travels by dhow in the southern Red Sea, the Western Indian Ocean, and the Gulf in 1938–39 has recently been re-issued in paperback by Arabian Publishing. *Sons of Sindbad* is a joy to read. It is rare to find in one author the many qualities that make this book great: his storytelling is gorgeous; his knowledge of sailing ships is comprehensive and well deployed; and his capacity to empathise with and admire his fellow seamen (though perhaps less so his fellow passengers) is boundless. There can be few such closely observed accounts of another people's sailing culture which manage at the same time to be real page-turners: Villiers' narrative of the rescue of a child overboard, or the arrival of his *būm* in Mogadishu and again Zanzibar are hair-raising.

Yet this is no collection of ripping yarns. Villiers's technical knowledge and attention to detail make this book an invaluable tool for scholars of the Arabian 'dhow'. It is packed with details about hull-types, rigging, construction materials, cargoes, sailing and navigational practices, routes and, above all, people: the roles and hierarchy of the crew and passengers, the social topography of the vessel, and daily life on board (and below decks, for women passengers) are beautifully elucidated. Villiers had a sense that he was witnessing what would soon be no longer: his great gift is to have recorded so much in such detail. At one point he tells us that, in the face of monotonous food, pervading damp and the clamour of his fellow passengers, 'I sometimes wondered why I had come'. This reviewer cannot be alone in being very grateful that he did.

Readers of *Sons of Sindbad* in its earlier editions were often left wondering about the author who created it, and struggled to picture the people, vessels and places he describes (see review of *Sons of Sinbad, the Photographs: Dhow Voyages with the Arabs in 1938–39*, 2006, in *IJNA* 37.2, 435–6). The great service of this edition is to include a biographical introduction to Villiers, and 50 of his superb photographs—the author was not only a brilliant writer, but also an exquisite photographer, his images now lodged in the National Maritime Museum archive at Woolwich, London. The introduction reveals Villiers as a working-class Australian of socialist parents who first attempted to go to sea at just 11 years old, later gaining sailing experience on the European grain route and the Antarctic whaling fleet. He published journalist articles on the latter, and it was this writing success which eventually led him to seek out and join the crew of a dhow on the Indian Ocean.

Villiers was, of course, an outsider, and it is a matter of regret that there survives no published Arab seaman's narrative of travel at sea to parallel *Sons of Sindbad*. The editors of this edition seek to pre-empt the kind of knee-jerk charge of orientalism that such an account is wont to attract—on the very strong evidence of his palpable empathy with his fellow seamen, and a more suspect notion of his 'Australian outlook'. In truth, Villiers is not immune from the perspectives generated from his ethnicity, class and time—unsurprisingly so—and he does have occasion to reach for jarring and generalising characterisations of 'The Arab', which for the modern reader may leap from the page. But these are few, and stand in contrast to the highly individualised and respectful portraits he paints of his fellow seamen. They detract not at all from the author's supreme achievement in creating a unique portrait of a way of life which very soon after ceased to be.

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Mirror of the Seas: a centenary history of the Society for Nautical Research

HUGH MURPHY and DEREK J. ODDY

277 pp., 6 colour plates, 31 b&w figures, 2 tables

Society for Nautical Research, c/o National Maritime Museum, London SE10 9NF, 2010, £25 (hbk), £15 (sbk) (free to SNR members), ISBN 978-0902387010

On 14 June 1910 in the Royal United Services Institute, London, 40 people attended a meeting to discuss the formation of a 'society for the study of nautical antiquities'; one week later a provisional committee held its first meeting. In preliminary discussions this nascent society had been referred to as the 'Jal Society' (after Auguste Jal, 'the French compiler of the vast *Glossaire nautique*'), but in correspondence between the principal founders they referred to themselves as 'nautical antiquaries', and their association as a 'Society for Nautical Antiquaries'. Nevertheless, at their meeting on 19 July 1910 the provisional committee adopted the name 'Society for Nautical Research' (SNR). By December 1911 it had 248 members (including institutions), of whom 80 were naval officers including 23 admirals. There were only two women members.

At the society's first general meeting on 2 December 1910 its aims were given as: to encourage research into nautical antiquities, into matters relating to seafaring and shipbuilding in all ages and in all nations; to publish periodically a journal; and to collect material with a view to the ultimate publication of a complete and scholarly nautical encyclopaedia or dictionary. That encyclopaedia never reached publication, whereas the first issue of the journal appeared on 1 January 1911 under the editorship of L. G. Carr Laughton, naval correspondent of the *Morning Post* and son of the historian Sir John Knox Laughton. It was called *The Mariner's Mirror* (MM) after a 16th-century precursor, Anthony Ashley's translation of L. J. Waghenauer's *Speculum Nauticum*, and, as the authors of this volume point out, the SNR's existence proved to be 'indelibly linked to, and determined by, the future and viability of its journal'. At first the journal was published monthly, then quarterly, as it continues to be today. A gap of four years during World War 1, when every member of the Society's executive volunteered for war service, means that the journal for the SNR's centenary year, 2010, is volume 96, rather than 100.

On the cover of the early issues, and on the title page of subsequent volumes, the *Mariner's Mirror* proclaims that within it may be discovered the mariner's 'Art, Craft & Mystery after the manner of their use in all ages and among all Nations'. Until the early 1970s (say, vol. 58) this comprehensive aim was more or less achieved; as the authors of this absorbing chronicle point out, not only were the early issues of the *Mariner's Mirror* devoted 'to maritime history in its widest

sense', but the journal can also claim 'to have been the pioneering journal of nautical archaeology'. The authors, Dr Murphy, editor of the *Mariner's Mirror* since 2005, and Professor Oddy, a member of the editorial board, have produced a splendid history of the first 100 years of the Society using back issues of the journal and such of the society's papers as have survived in the archives of the National Maritime Museum. The writing is lively and enjoyable; the narrative is of great interest.

The *Mariner's Mirror* apart, the Society's main achievements during its first 100 years are probably the two in which it was the principal driving force: first the rescue, preservation and display of Nelson's flagship, *Victory*, and the establishment of the 'Victory Museum'; and secondly the foundation of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (NMM). As this volume records, the Society did not find these tasks easy; all appear to have been bedevilled, to a degree, by the personal ambitions of some of the protagonists, especially in the case of the National Maritime Museum. Although the Society was clearly the leader during the foundation of all three establishments, it no longer has any direct say in the management of *Victory* or of the two museums. However, as again recorded here, the SNR remains the guardian, and controls the use, of public funds that were subscribed to the 'Save the Victory Fund' in the early-20th century for the rescue and restoration of *Victory*. This fund is now used to pay for the continuous process of maintaining this historic ship: in 2008 its assets amounted to £1,829,383. Moreover, the Society also controls the MacPherson Collection Endowment Fund to which the National Maritime Museum has access to acquire and maintain the museum's art collection: in 2008, this fund was valued at £351,403.

Although the SNR's relations with Greenwich have, for many years, not been more than lukewarm, it seems that they are now cordial and may well develop. Over the years the Society's relations with the Royal Navy at Portsmouth were variable, but for some time now have been set fair. Moreover, at annual gatherings in Portsmouth, reports are presented to the Society (to be subsequently published in the *Mariner's Mirror*) by the Commanding Officer of HMS *Victory* and the Director of the National Museum of the Royal Navy, the latter a composite body recently formed from the former Portsmouth Royal Navy Museum (itself based on the earlier Victory Museum), the Royal Marines Museum, Eastney, the Submarine Museum, Gosport and the Fleet Air Arm Museum, Yeovilton.

This book gives a vivid account of the Society's first 100 years, from 'Launching the SNR' in ch. 1 to 'Making fast and paying off' in ch. 8. There are four useful appendices: lists of 'Patrons, Presidents & Officers', 'Honorary Vice-Presidents' and 'Lectures and Publications'; a Consolidated Financial Summary for 1911 to 2008; and 84 obituaries of selected former members of the Society. These are ordered by date of

death and their subjects range from Sir Douglas Owen, a founder member who died in 1920, to Professor Jan Glete (2009), a renowned Swedish maritime historian. Prominent among these notables is Sir James Caird of Glenfarquhar (1954): as his obituary states, but for his munificence, '*Victory* would not have been saved for the nation and the NMM would not have been created and filled with his magnificent donations. In monetary terms, he gave the huge sum of £1,250,000 to the NMM alone, and as a result his cultural legacy has endured'.

The 16-page index is readily usable, and the illustrations include many that this reviewer (and probably most readers of the *IJNA*) had never before seen. As frontispiece there is a colour illustration of a portrait of the Patron of the Society since 1980, the Duke of Edinburgh, in naval uniform. Among the eight colour plates are portraits of: the Earl of Stanhope, an earlier Chairman of the Society; Dr Roger Anderson, prolific contributor and thrice editor of the *Mariner's Mirror*, and President from 1951–1960; Prince Andrew, the current President; and a group photograph of the current society officers.

In ch. 8 the authors evaluate the Society's past and conclude that by 1970 the Society was 'resting on its laurels'. This reviewer must note here that it was around this time that the first issue of the *International Journal for Nautical Archaeology* appeared. It seems likely that this precipitated the *MM* into taking a decisive turn away from maritime archaeology (in those days known as 'nautical archaeology'). From then onwards, articles and notes on such topics appeared only rarely, not in the numbers that would have matched the quantity of excavated evidence that became available.

Murphy and Oddy also note that, from 1970 to the mid-1980s, the Society made 'no attempt to support or fund the various vessel-preservation projects'. Moreover, 'there was no attempt to maintain overall responsibility for nautical archaeology as its funding and provision was dismantled at the NMM. Indeed, as has been noted elsewhere, the latter problem was not publicly raised by the Society until the AGM of 1987, more than a year after the Archaeological Research Centre at Greenwich had ceased to function and the NMM's archaeological staff had been dispersed.

The authors conclude that the Society's revival originated in the late-1980s when a 'new and far more critical cohort of influential members emerged'; this resulted, they say, in the establishment of the *Mariner's Mirror* as 'the leading peer-reviewed, high-quality, international journal of maritime history'. Moreover, they believe that, with this change in the journal, 'the hobby of nautical antiquarianism' has been turned into 'the academic discipline of maritime history', a change that may be considered as a counter-balance to the Society's loss of influence at Greenwich and within Portsmouth Dockyard. The final sentence invites a re-appraisal of the Society's mission: is it time for the Society's members to muster aft bearing a round robin

setting out their wishes for the future of the SNR? This maritime archaeologist's answer must be 'Yes'.

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PS from the Reviews Editor

Although the SNR has effectively abandoned its founders' principal objective, to promote nautical archaeology in its widest sense (p.9), today's practitioners (and *IJNA* readers) need to be aware of the great debt owed to the Society in its earlier manifestations and especially to its longest-serving Honorary Secretary (1947–77), George Naish FSA, and the original chair of the body responsible for starting this journal (1972). A dry ¹/₄-page biography (p.277) does not reflect this, nor his practical role in identifying the huge wreck in the Hamble as Henry V's *Grace Dieu* (always pronounced 'grass dew'). That any of the pre-historic Ferriby boat's timbers survived when the NMM's Trustees ordered them destroyed because of the reek is due to George squirreling away the best bits into store beneath the Queen's House (pp.186, 190). The *Mariners' Mirror* may continue to avoid the archaeology in maritime studies but the SNR does not do itself any honour by ignoring its founders' wise prescription.

ANGELA CROOME

Oceans Odyssey: deep-sea shipwrecks in the English Channel, Straits of Gibraltar and Atlantic Ocean

GREG STEMME and SEAN KINGSLEY (eds) with 13 Contributors

288 pp., 339 mostly colour illustrations, 2 tables

Oxbow Books, 10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW, UK, 2010, £20/\$25 (hbk), ISBN 978-1842174159

The purpose of this volume as expressed by Stemme, co-founder and CEO of Odyssey Marine Exploration, is specifically to address the interests of the archaeological and academic community through detailed archaeological analysis of some of the projects Odyssey has undertaken (p.viii). However, on reading these reports one wonders just what Odyssey's long-term contribution to the study and preservation of underwater cultural heritage will be.

Half the book covers a description of the wreck-site of the SS *Republic* and the finds made there. The vessel was launched in 1853 and sank 12 years later. The wreck-site was discovered some 150 km off Georgia. Surveying and excavation was undertaken between October 2003 and February 2005. The coins, bottles and particular religious artefacts found are analysed in

some detail. Consigned to New Orleans, these objects are said to produce a 'unique image of daily life in post-Civil War America' (p.1). Furthermore, 'the excavation of the *Republic* has yielded the largest collection of American coins, numbering 51,404, ever discovered on a shipwreck' (p.99).

The second half of the book contains material on wreck-sites claimed to be those of HMS *Sussex* and HMS *Victory* (1744). There is a preliminary report on a pre-disturbance survey and limited trial-trench excavation done on a site which is possibly the wreck of HMS *Sussex*, a British warship which sank in 1694. Odyssey claims the wreck lies at a depth of 821 m in international waters south-east of Gibraltar. A remotely-operated vehicle (ROV) was used to undertake the work in accordance with a project-plan accepted by 'a team of archaeological consultants approved by the Government of the United Kingdom' (p.159). The survey and excavation did not prove that the site was the resting-place of the *Sussex*, but nor did it prove that it was not. 'Therefore, the working assumption that this site can be considered an ongoing candidate for the *Sussex* remains valid' (p.189).

According to work carried out by Odyssey, HMS *Victory* (1744) lies 'around 100 km west of the Casquets off the Channel Islands, beyond the territorial seas or contiguous zone of any country' (p.239). The site was surveyed; several trenches dug and, with the permission of the British Government, two cannon were raised for purposes of identification. There is considerable discussion of the *Victory's* successive commanders and her construction.

A major chapter by Kingsley concerns methods of deep-sea fishing and the effect of these on wreck-sites. Between 2005 and 2008 Odyssey conducted surveys of the western English Channel and the Western Approaches looking for wreck-sites. Some 267 wrecks were found 'beyond the territorial waters of the UK and France' (p.191). Of these, ten sites are said to warrant further archaeological survey and/or excavation (p.224), including HMS *Victory*. It is alleged that many of the sites have been badly disturbed by fishing activities.

As a result of this work, the author states that '*in situ* preservation emerges as an inappropriate all-encompassing managerial policy for the protection of maritime heritage, either in the short or long term' (p.231). This is a more nuanced assessment of *in situ* preservation than appears elsewhere. The principle is said to be 'clearly not working' (p.viii); leads to 'benign neglect' (p.155); it is called 'a myth' (p.156) and 'sometimes an inappropriate utopia of maritime cultural heritage management' (p.188). *In situ* preservation is a key provision of the Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage 2001. It is to be considered as the first option 'before allowing or engaging in any activities directed at this heritage' (Article 2(5)) and further in Rule 1 of the Annex which is an integral part of the Convention). The Convention

came into force on 2 January 2009 and now has 37 States Parties. Although States such as the United Kingdom are not yet party, they have said that they will implement the rules contained in the Annex. Consequently, the principle of *in situ* preservation as the first option in considering activities directed at underwater cultural heritage is now the internationally-accepted standard.

These reports clearly show that the authors believe that the underwater environment does not preserve wreck-sites. They consider that underwater currents, fishing and other human activity including the depositing of rubbish are causing great damage even at very significant depths. However, there are few indications of how to deal with the problem. Fishing in particular was a major issue during early negotiation of the 2001 Convention. It was only resolved by limiting the scope of the Convention to 'activities directed at underwater cultural heritage' (Article 1(6)). Perhaps, in light of the evidence produced, the time has come to re-examine ways of dealing with the impact of fishing.

Tolson, in the report on the 'Blue China' wreck, does not so much attack the principle of *in situ* preservation as allege that some resource-managers and archaeologists embrace it 'as a preference and excuse to justify an absence of protective or preservative measures on many shipwreck sites' (p.145). Unfortunately, he does not indicate who these managers and archaeologists are or what country they come from.

Odyssey has had serious problems with Spain and the United Kingdom. The final paragraphs of the report on HMS *Sussex* note that Odyssey had hurriedly abandoned the site under pressure from the Spanish Govern-

ment. Odyssey entered into an agreement with the Ministry of Defence in the UK regarding work on HMS *Sussex* which led to an uproar in archaeological circles there. The Spanish Government and Odyssey are engaged in litigation in the United States over specie recovered from a site in the Atlantic, brought to Gibraltar and flown out to Florida. Spain alleges that the specie comes from a Spanish ship entitled to sovereign immunity. Sovereign rights also apply to HMS *Victory*. Odyssey was paid for raising the two cannon authorized by the Ministry of Defence, but no further work has been done on the site. The UK Government may well implement the *in situ* preservation provision of the Annex to the 2001 Convention and its prohibition on commercial exploitation of underwater cultural heritage.

Material raised from the Jacksonville 'Blue China' wreck is said to reside in 'Odyssey's permanent collection, where it is available for study and educational purposes' (p.155). What is the nature of this collection? Are all objects Odyssey raises kept there, or are some sold? What records are preserved and in what condition? Who can gain access? These are very serious issues, particularly considering Odyssey's scale of operations and the fact that it is a commercial enterprise. What is the situation if Odyssey is put into liquidation or otherwise goes out of business? It might be argued that these are questions beyond the purpose of this book. If that be the case, the archaeological and academic community referred to by Stemm in his Preface could well ask that future reports address these issues.

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