

zudringen. Ihre Sprache ist klar und präzise, ihre Analysen sind gut verständlich dargestellt und prägnant ausgewertet. Wünschenswert wäre lediglich eine stärkere Verknüpfung zwischen dem Katalog und dem auswertenden Teil der Arbeit gewesen. Die von der Autorin gewählte Variante macht es dem Leser nicht immer leicht, sich alle Bezüge zu erschließen. Die Dissertation trägt als Langzeitstudie, mit umfassender Fundvorlage zum 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr., zur in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten intensiv diskutierten Debatte des Konzepts von Werten und Wertstellungen sowie deren Transformation bei. Die vorliegende Studie weckt daher nicht nur das Interesse der an der baltischen Archäologie des 1. Jahrtausends interessierten Wissenschaftler, sondern bietet einem breiteren Publikum Anknüpfungspunkte als grundlegendes Werk zur Problematik des Forschungsgegenstands ‚Depotfund‘ und dessen (auch nach der Lektüre dieser Arbeit) nicht weniger kontroversen Interpretation.

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**MICHAEL HERDICK, Ökonomie der Eliten. Eine Studie zur Interpretation wirtschaftsarchäologischer Funde und Befunde von mittelalterlichen Herrschaftssitzen.** Monographien des RGZM volume 124. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz 2015. € 90.00. ISBN 978-3-88467-236-5. xi + 453 pages with 155 illustrations (mostly black and white, 2 full coloured).

This book is the printed version of Michael Herdick's PhD thesis which was accepted by the Department of History and Cultural Studies at Philipps-University Marburg in 2011. The voluminous study is based on the state of research on medieval economy reviewed in a separate paper already in 2008 (M. HERDICK / Th. KÜHTREIBER, *Burgen, Handwerk und Gewerbe – Anmerkungen zum Forschungsstand*. In: W. Melzer [ed.], *Archäologie und mittelalterliches Handwerk. Eine Standortbestimmung*. Soester Beitr. Arch. 9 [Soest 2008] 37–59), and it mostly reflects the state of research before 2009 (p. 308). Delayed publishing is a widespread problem in the humanities, usually either due to a lack of resources or to the workload of the author, which was the case here.

Apart from the foreword and bibliography, the body of this book consists of eight main chapters followed by a synthesis and four concluding theses instead of a summary. The introduction (Einleitung, p. 1) presents a survey of the empirical basis, research question, and objectives of this study. Moreover, the author discusses the relevance of an “economic archaeology” for the history of economy on the one hand and the importance of controlling resources for a lordship on the other. “Economic archaeology” is as odd a discipline as “social archaeology” or “landscape archaeology”, because economy is such a central part of human existence that defining and studying it in a separate discipline does not make any sense. This opening chapter implies that economy of elites can be understood primarily in terms of craftsmanship, i. e. the exploitation and processing of non-agricultural resources. Husbandry and farming, which in pre-industrial times comprised at least 90 % of the world's economy, are not the focus of this study. Neither the geographic area nor the timeframe are properly defined in this introduction. However, emphasis is placed on the German speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire (in this book sometimes referred to as the “Deutsches Reich” – a quite anachronistic term to refer to periods before 1871) and on the period between AD 800 and 1600; some excurses include aspects of the Roman Iron Age and even Greek and Roman Antiquity.

The research question can be paraphrased as: “Which relevance did the supervision of craft and industry for a lord of a medieval castle or *palatium* have and what economic influence did a lord have on the whole economy in his dominion?” The author aims to approach these questions by examining existing research hypotheses in the area of the German-speaking Middle Ages and to discuss the economic engagement of lords in craft and industry. It may astound the international reader that neither a theoretical background is defined nor a clarification of methods and sources is given in this introduction. This is a widespread and characteristic trait in German-speaking archaeology, which must not be misunderstood as a lack of theory (cf. R. KARL, *Macht und Ohnmacht des positivistischen Denkens. Beitr. Ur- u. Frühgesch. Mitteleuropa* 58 [Langenweißbach 2010]). In fact, this study is based on a theoretical concept derived from Thorstein Veblen’s model of conspicuous consumption (TH. VEBLEN, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* [New York 1899]) within the economic framework of housekeeping; this essential theoretical reflexion is remarkably well hidden in the synthesis chapter (pp. 297–389, esp. pp. 302–308 and 331–339).

The next chapters discuss different types of lordship and the relevance of the lordship’s seat for the control or benefit of economy in a more or less chronological order. The chapter on the economic potential of episcopal castles (in Saxony) and its relevance for the early development of towns during the Early Middle Ages (“Das wirtschaftliche Potenzial der Domburgen und seine Bedeutung für die frühe Stadtentwicklung”, pp. 25–73) focuses on Saxon episcopal seats roughly between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The episcopal castles housed and protected artisans in competition both with other noblemen and with the rising economy of the surrounding town. During the High Middle Ages, these craftsmen left the castles and settled in urban areas under the bishop’s supervision.

The next main chapter, “Pfalzen und Wirtschaftshöfe: Ökonomische Fixpunkte mobiler Herrschaft” (*Palatia* and royal home farms: economic ledger of mobile lordship, pp. 73–121), faces the problem of how to differentiate between a “Pfalz” (*palatium*) as a residence and a “Königshof” (royal home farm) as the economic support of dominion. Two main branches of economic activity are discussed in a very systematic manner in studying the cases of *palatia* in Werla, Tilleda, Helfta, and Gebesee: textile manufacturing and iron work. The first is regarded as a special, developed craft driven at a proto-industrial level on *palatium* sites, especially Tilleda. Contrastingly, iron work is recognised as more or less ubiquitous both within and outside of *palatia*. M. Herdick interprets this as an economic “weakness” of the kingdom during this period. However, this could also be discussed in light of the manorial system: if weapons and other iron work were part of ordinary levies, there was no need for a lordly monopoly of this craft. Here, the structural problem of this volume, i. e. that current research could not be integrated due to the long delay of publication, becomes again visible: the analysis does not account for new publications about *palatia* such as Tilleda (M. DAPPER, *Musterbeispiel einer Herrscherresidenz – Die Pfalz Tilleda im 11. Jahrhundert*. In: R. Atzbach / S. Lükken / H. Ottomeyer, *Burg und Herrschaft. Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Historischen Museums Berlin, 25. Juni bis 24. Oktober 2010* [Berlin, Dresden 2011] 65, cat. no. 2.37 with further references); Pöhlde (B. SCHÜTTE, *Mittelalterliche Königshöfe und Pfalzen im heutigen Niedersachsen. Pöhlde als herrscherlicher Aufenthaltsort* [München 2015] with further references); Ingelheim (H. GREWE, *Auf den Spuren Karls des Großen in Ingelheim* [Ingelheim 2014] with further references); and the imperial region around Salz Palatium (P. ETTEL ET AL., *Die Pfalz Salz und das Neustädter Becken – Lebensraum für Könige* [Jena 2016] with further references).

The main chapter on the function and use of the production of non-agrarian goods in royal and ecclesiastical *palatia* (“Überlegungen zur Funktion und Verwendung der nichtagrarisches Güterproduktion in königlichen und kirchlichen Pfalzen”, pp. 121–152) takes into consideration a new

craft: non-ferrous metal work. From a systematic point of view, rather than discussing different crafts in different chapters it would have made more sense to regard all kinds of crafts in a common main chapter. The home farms (or *palatium?*) of Karlburg and of Helfta are chosen as case studies. Discussing some types of fibulae as signifiers of a “Christian sphere” (p. 121) between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries is not beneficial, since Christianisation was completed at that time in nowadays Franconia. Furthermore, although M. Herdick states the opinion that the use of recycled material declined during the Middle Ages, he lacks any evidence for this hypothesis (p. 135 note 594 only deals with spoils that definitely cannot be considered as recycled material). The lack of material appropriate for reuse does not contradict that material was reused. Moreover, he constructs a “central workshop” for the production of sheet metal fibulae / bracteates on the basis of a single find from Bonn-Petersberg, North Rhine-Westphalia, with similarity to other casting mould finds. Similarity between finds is not necessarily proof that they were produced at a single site. The conclusion that non-ferrous metal workshops were associated with centres of power is correct, but there is no evidence for a monopoly or special survey of that branch of artisanship at these sites. The production of non-ferrous metal goods could be seen as a performative act existing within a ritual frame focused on the exchange of gifts: beyond any doubt, a guest could be impressed by the lord’s ability to produce fine goods at his seat (pp. 138; 152). While this model presented by the author is brilliant and inspiring, it implies that such workshops should be expected at all royal or bishopric seats, evidence of which though plausibly could be found is currently lacking. In addition, specialised artisan settlements in remote positions not associated with seats of power but belonging to the manorial systems are also known. Nevertheless, this model calls for a need to carefully scrutinise the areas surrounding home farms and castles.

The chapter “Entstehung und Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Burgenökonomie – statische Verhältnisse oder dynamische Prozesse?” (Origin and development of a medieval castle economy – static settings or dynamic processes?, pp. 153–205) seeks to explore economic consequences of the transition from older lordly dwellings in rural settlements to castles as a new seat and centre of lordship. The process is also known as the “vertical shift of nobility” from a village onto a *château à motte* and took place in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. M. Herdick’s hypothesis is that the shift of a seat from a village to a castle also implied a shift in economy. The early medieval hill fort of Runder Berg close to Urach (3<sup>rd</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries) is introduced here. The subsequent consideration of economy, transport, and communication associated with the Runder Berg focuses on the Carolingian period and discusses the relationship between fortified seats (hill forts) and home farms. In the case of Unterregenbach, the economic potential of the lord’s seat is determined based on the dimensions of the adjacent church and the origin of the found pottery (p. 177). In other words, this is a comparison of deeply different types of archaeological sites: a Migration Period hill fort (Runder Berg), temporary Carolingian hill forts related to the conquest of Saxony, and the “Miracle of Unterregenbach” (Günter Fehring), an ecclesiastical settlement lacking any written sources. One of the most valuable conclusions of M. Herdick’s study is already obvious at this point: the lack of reliable and comparable archaeological sources prevents in-depth analysis of the available material.

The next main chapter, “Wirtschaftliches Denken im Mittelalter oder die Frage nach der ökonomischen Rationalität adeligen Handelns” (Economic thinking during the Middle Ages or the question of the economic rationale behind noble activity, pp. 205–235), appears at first to go off on a tangent as this part introduces economic ideas from ancient Greece, ancient Rome, and the Bible. However, the objective of this excursion is to develop a proxy for medieval economic ideas which are difficult to detect in medieval writers’ statements. Beyond this rough proxy, the ideas behind the economic activity of medieval noblemen remain unknown and no direct written sources concerning this topic are available. From a theological point of view, the economy should enable a nobleman to live properly, while his interest in profit must match the ethical framework

of Christianity. Unfortunately, there is currently no possibility to check how far the economic reality of a lordly seat was subject to this proposed medieval ideal.

The next chapters reject the idea of the late medieval period as an age of decline (“Spätmittelalterliche Adelsökonomie – Wirtschaften in einer ‘Achsenepoche’ oder während einer ‘Verfallszeit?’”; Late medieval noble economy – an activity in a transition period or during an age of decline?, pp. 235–253) and the perception that economic activity on castles was reduced as reaction to the flourishing urban economy (“Die spätmittelalterliche Burg als ökonomischer Faktor”; The late medieval castle as an economic factor, pp. 253–297). The important argument is made that a castle’s economy is difficult to assess because of its (unknown) shattered belongings and outer resources. The given example of Hausberg Castle comprises an “Erdstall” (earth cellar) interpreted as storehouse. This might be seen as a courageous interpretation; nevertheless, this chapter for the very first time in this book touches the backbone of medieval economy: husbandry and agriculture. The stated rising importance of outer baileys might be an exaggeration; it does not take into consideration the use of outer baileys in Outremer or as a widespread element in urban fortifications (p. 279) already during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Outer baileys had both military and economic functions. Furthermore, the difference between main castle and outer bailey fades out in coincidence with the growing need for comfort. Consequently, residential buildings were also erected in the outer bailey area – and we have to supply here: in towns! This is a surprising blind spot in M. Herdick’s argumentation: the role of towns in terms of lordly seats. Hanover and Berlin are typical examples that anticipate the post-medieval rise of cities as new centres in territories; castles remained mighty symbols of power, but towns became capitals.

In addition, in these chapters, the presentation of the case of Neideck Castle once again neglects recent intensive research and excavations that have revealed a large older main castle erected during the 13<sup>th</sup> century (reviewed by G. BRÜTTING / D. BURGER / G. U. GROSSMANN, *Burglengenfeld [Oberpfalz] und Neideck [Franken]*. Rundbrief Wartburg-Ges. 48, 2010, 10–12). This does not support M. Herdick’s interpretation of this castle primarily as a home farm rather than the seat of a dynasty. Nevertheless, the economic function of castles as centres of feudal administration continued into the Late Middle Ages and M. Herdick’s rejection of an age of “dying” castles (“Burgensterben”) is absolutely right and has been discussed intensively before (G. U. GROSSMANN / H. OTTOMEYER [eds], *Die Burg* [Dresden, Berlin 2010] with further references).

The title of the last main chapter “Synthese: Handwerk im Bereich mittelalterlicher Herrschaftssitze – Facetten einer Prestigeökonomie” (Synthesis: Craftsmanship at medieval lordly seats – Aspects of prestigious economy, pp. 297–389) makes the reader expect an in-depth analysis of the cases; unfortunately, M. Herdick refuses to develop a new overall narrative with respect to the insufficient archaeological sources. Although this is a difficult, recurring issue in the field at large, this chapter is the weakest part of the volume. Large parts of this “synthesis” (starting with p. 308) simply repeat the arguments given in the first eight chapters, sometimes enlarged with examples of current research. This chapter reveals a severe lack of editorial work: A careful revision and update of the first chapters – which were evidently written long before the “synthesis” – and a sharp and clear conclusion would have certainly benefitted the volume.

The book concludes with four theses for “economic archaeological research concerning craftsmanship on medieval lordly seats”, which are as true as they are generic or even trivial: 1. There is no immediate relationship between the volume of craft relicts and their relevance for the economy: Formation processes and the environment of a lordly seat must be taken into consideration. 2. The focus of archaeology on development and growth manipulates and distorts the view on history. Future research should rather concentrate on ordinary supply and demand as factors of economic processes in a region. 3. The knowledge of contemporary ideas concerning economy is a precondition

tion for the study of archaeological sources – this must be seen more as wishful thinking than reality. 4. Archaeological research on economic processes based upon theoretical and methodological research questions is a desideratum. Yes, it is!

All in all, this volume contains an impressive amount of empiric data. The author is not to be blamed for the central weakness of his courageous project: we lack reliable archaeological data that enables us to scrutinise economic ideas – or even the economic reality – during the Middle Ages. It might also be a pipe dream to describe the major part of medieval economy – agriculture – on the basis of archaeological sources. However, it would have been worth taking into consideration the known remnants of this part of economic activity such as tithe barns, storehouses, mills, account books, rent-rolls, etc.

Of course, it is sad that such an important topic waited four years for its final, and in some respects still overhasty edition. Nevertheless, this volume is an important contribution to the field of economic research as it shows the possibilities as well as the limitations of studying archaeological sources.

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**GERGELY CSIKY, Avar-Age Polearms and Edged Weapons. Classification, Typology, Chronology and Technology.** East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450 Band 32. Brill, Leiden, Boston 2015. € 201,-. ISBN 978-9-00422-661-6 (Hardcover). € 197,-. ISBN 978-90-04-30454-3 (E-Book). ISSN 1872-8103. 529 Seiten, 55 Karten, 24 Diagramme, 104 Abbildungen.

Der hier zu besprechende Band über die awarenzeitlichen Stich- und Hieb Waffen von Gergely Csiky ist die englische Übersetzung seiner 2009 an der Lóránd Eötvös Universität Budapest eingereichten PhD-Arbeit unter dem gleichen Titel. Die Aufnahme in die oben genannte Brill-Reihe zeigt, dass frühmittelalterliche Bewaffnung ein international reflektiertes Forschungsthema darstellt. Es handelt sich tatsächlich um die erste monographische Behandlung awarenzeitlicher Waffentypen, obwohl in den letzten Jahren eine Reihe neuer Studien zu diesem Themenbereich erschienen sind, die das einschlägige Fundmaterial des frühmittelalterlichen Mitteldonauraumes behandeln (bei G. Csiky noch nicht zitiert: F. SZÜCSI, Avar kori balták, bárdok, szekercék és fokosok a 6.–8. századi Kárpát-medencében [Awarenzeitliche Streitäxte, Beile und Äxte im 6.–8. Jahrhundert aus dem Karpatenbecken]. *Alba Regia* 42, 2014, 113–186; A. P. KISS, Huns, Germans, Byzantines? The origins of the narrow bladed long seaxes. *Acta Arch. Carpathica* 49, 2014, 131–164).

Die Archäologie der Awarenzeit (567–796/800) mit ihren über 60 000 Bestattungen ist eindeutig durch die typochronologische Auswertung der Grabfunde bestimmt. Im Rahmen einzelner Gräberfeldvorlagen wurden die Grundlagen der awarenzeitlichen Chronologie gelegt (zusammenfassend: F. DAIM, Avars and Avar archaeology – an introduction. In: H.-W. Gotz / J. Jarnut / W. Pohl [Hrsg.], *Regna and Gentes. The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* [Leiden, Boston 2003] 463–570). Auch wenn diese Periodisierung in der letzten Zeit einiges an Kritik erfuhr – vor allem bezüglich eines mittelawarenzeitlichen Horizonts (vgl. Beiträge in *Antæus* 29–30, 2008) –, liefert sie dennoch die Basis für regionale Studien und die Bearbeitung einzelner Fundgruppen. Diese ermögli-