

The studies of the regional coinages appearing in several areas during Late Antiquity are most welcome, and there is an impression that silver coinages are under-represented among finds. Contrary to the situation on the Continent, the complete absence of any 5th or 6th century minting attempts in the British Isles is highly interesting. The volume is a most welcome and inspiring contribution to a field of numismatics with much potential for future research.

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JOCHEN HABERSTROH / IRMTRAUT HEITMEIER (eds), Gründerzeit. Siedlung in Bayern zwischen Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter. Bayerische Landesgeschichte und europäische Regionalgeschichte volume 3. EOS Verlag, Sankt Ottilien 2019. € 59.00. ISBN 978-3-8306-7941-7 (Hardcover). LII and 958 pages with 195 figures and 2 maps.

In spite of the intensive research and discussion that has taken place since the 1988 exhibition on “The Baiuvarii”, shown in Rosenheim and Mattsee (DANNHEIMER/DOPSCH 1988), the early history of Bavaria, or Baiern as it was then known, still holds many open questions. These concern amongst others the meaning of the name and the origin of the group that proved to be essential for subsequent ethnogenesis, the continuity of the duchy from Late Antique times and the previous area of influence and residence of the Agilolfings, but also extend to problems relevant to settlement history, such as a possible fiscal succession and the continuation of Roman infrastructure, the origin and significance of the Genealogiae, climatic developments and epidemic events, the beginnings of seigniorial relations and ecclesiastical centres or a possible break between the Agilolfing and Carolingian periods. The 2nd Benediktbeuern colloquium, held in October 2015 under the title “From Roman *villa* to Early Medieval village in Bavaria. Structural changes in the settled landscape in Late and post-Antique times” aimed to address such questions (Jochen Haberstroh, Irmtraut Heitmeier, Zeit – Raum – Ort: Einleitung, pp. XIII–XXXI; Time – space – place: Introduction, pp. XXXIII–LI; English translation by Pia Lucas) and to exploit “the enormous research potential of the cooperation between heritage management and regional history” (preface by Mathias Pfeil and Ferdinand Kramer, p. V).

The 26 contributions that have resulted from this colloquium have been divided into an introductory section named “Re-presentations” (pp. 3–243), which also offers comparisons to other regions of the Late Roman Empire, and a section titled “Time – space – place: diachronic, spatial and local dimensions” (pp. 247–927), in which “time” (pp. 247–443), “space” (pp. 447–686) and “place” (pp. 691–927) have been accorded almost equal coverage. The succession of individual chapters is not always logical, which is why this review follows a different order.

The “perceptions” begin with a Rheno-Danubian comparison of Late Antique settlement continuities and discontinuities (Bernd Päffgen, Von der römischen Villa zum frühmittelalterlichen Dorf? Archäologische Befunde und Deutungsansätze aus dem Rheinland und aus Bayern, pp. 3–75). The well-investigated areas show a parallel reduction in settlement intensity in the 4th century AD. Only few *villae rusticae* were being managed into the 5th century (Cologne-Müngersdorf, Burgweinting). While some of their lands were used into the Merovingian Period (Merzbach valley, Lohner Soth) and while newly constructed buildings were added to the still visible remains of earlier ones (Nas-

senfels-Krautgarten), the Roman villa in Aschheim was robbed of its metal objects for the purpose of recycling (p. 40). The “surprising locational continuity” between Roman and Merovingian water mills in the Paar valley near Dasing (p. 44) is notable, but “direct continuity between the Roman villa and the medieval village cannot be proven for either the Rhineland or Bavaria” (pp. 52 f.).

Michaela Konrad (Römische *villae rusticae* als Orte der Kontinuität? Beispiele spät- und nach-römischer Nutzungsformen römischer Gutshöfe in den Nordwestprovinzen, pp. 247–313) confirms this, but like B. Paffgen she stresses the continuity in the siting of mills and notes the continued production of speciality fruit and vegetable crops for example in Sontheim in the Stoben valley (p. 282). Her starting point is that “functional ethnicities” well-disposed to Rome could have oriented themselves on Roman infrastructure for example around Regensburg or in the Hachinger valley, and she asks whether small settlements of the Weßling type could not have formed “the missing link between the Roman and Migration Periods” (p. 289).

Given the numerous finds of fragmented onion-head fibulae, Marcus Zagermann (Von den Alpen bis zur Donau. Archäologische Spurensuche nach Roms letzten Verwaltungs- und Militärlaktivitäten, pp. 469–504) also suggests that the Weßling settlement may have been a site managed by Roman civil servants and fulfilling a “collection and redistribution function” (p. 480). Comparable sites like Kematen Michelfeld in north Tirol were places where the Annona was collected, while elsewhere lead seals indicate the activities of toll collectors (pp. 487 f.). However, there is no concrete evidence for the planned imperial settlement of “functional ethnicities” in Raetia (Ralf Behrwald, Gab es eine spätrömische Siedlungspolitik? pp. 447–468).

However, independently of the discussion surrounding such questions of continuity, it is becoming clear that the 4th century saw the growth of the oak forests that characterised Bavaria at the time of the Agilolfings and which were rarely threatened by large-scale logging before the 7th century (Franz Herzig, Der Übergang von der Römerzeit zum Frühmittelalter. Strukturwandel im Spiegel der Dendroarchäologie, pp. 187–204). It is only in the last decades of the 7th century that the mixed forests that had been growing on the floodplains since Late Antiquity were being cleared (p. 200). Barbara Zach (Äcker und Gärten im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern, pp. 205–218) describes what was growing in the fields and gardens of the until then rather few settlements, whose numbers only began to increase with the beginning of territorial expansion around AD 700. Palaeobotanical samples, which should ideally not be collected sporadically and *ad hoc*, but systematically and as part of large open-area excavations, have yielded remains illustrating a change from Late Antique and Roman times, when cereals and pulses, supplemented with grafted fruit, formed the mainstay of the diet, to a subsequent period with a wider spectrum of cereal species, but when the previously so popular wheat no longer dominates. Local supply with millet, barley, flax and poppy took the place of Roman long-distance and bulk supply, and the reason why fruit growing ceased almost completely is probably because orchards require continuous and knowledgeable care over many years (p. 214). During processing, lentils, peas and beans are far less frequently exposed to fire than cereals and are therefore more difficult to recover, remaining under-represented in our data (p. 215).

Hubert Fehr (Agrartechnologie, Klima und Effektivität frühmittelalterlicher Landwirtschaft, pp. 219–243) focuses on the conditions under which these plants grew and the tools with which they were harvested. However, when the reversible plough began to dominate over the large iron hoes that were used for weeding in Roman times is ultimately just as unclear as the timing of the spread of the long scythe, which made it possible to cut grass while long, dry it into hay and therefore to keep a larger number of cattle and horses stabled over the winter. The strategic emphasis on growing naked cereals decreased harvest losses, and the small number of specialists not working in agricultural production could, alongside reduced taxation, have meant that the population in

rural areas were able to directly benefit from the fruits of their labour and were able to convert this into population increase. However, this was countered by climatic deterioration setting in in the 5th century, as well as by the Little Ice Age (LIA), which lasted into the middle of the 7th century. Neither of these events was able to prevent the Merovingian period from becoming “a golden age for the rural population” (p. 238).

The contributions by Hans-Peter Volpert (Hof, Weiler, Dorf. Frühmittelalterliche Siedlungsformen in der Münchener Schotterebene, pp. 87–124), J. Haberstroh (Transformation oder Neuanfang? Zur Archäologie des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts in Südbayern, pp. 523–572) and Sebastian Grüninger (Die Suche nach dem Herrenhof: Zur Entwicklung der Grundherrschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern, pp. 659–686) are dedicated to settlement appearance and organisation. For H.-P. Volpert, the lack of small finds in the settlements of Kirchheim and Aschheim, which have been investigated at a large scale, cannot be explained by excavation methodology, but rather indicates the organised recycling of metals, facilitated by the absence of major catastrophes (pp. 92–95). Isolated farmsteads (pp. 108–110), hamlets (pp. 110–115) and villages with repeated construction activity on the same site (pp. 116–121) are all archaeologically attested. Following Haberstroh, large settlements begin in the second half of the 6th century (p. 544); a process of settlement nucleation began in Aschheim around AD 800. At this time or a little later, the “*Brevium exempla*”, used as a key source by S. Grüninger, describes the farm at Staffelsee with a demesne of 250–300 hectares and 610 loads of hay from the lord’s meadows. There were 72 unfree residents (*provendarii*) and 41 associated farmsteads, a mill, a *genitium* for 24 women “and probably a brewery” (pp. 659f.). This reflects a bipartite ownership of land, with a lord’s manor farmed by attendants and with further small farmsteads dependent on it. Scholarship has long seen this as an ideal type which began to spread eastwards from the regions between the Loire and Rhine in the second half of the 7th century. However, it is debated whether this system reached Bavaria already in the Agilolfing period or only with the Carolingians. Stefan Esders argues that levies and corvée labour had once been “public services rendered within the framework of Late Antique–Early Medieval military organisation” (p. 663). At Staffelsee, the levies were termed *annona*, while the so-called coloni statute of the “*Lex Baiuvariorum*” calls them *agrarium* and *pascuarium* (p. 673). All these terms originate in the tax system of Antiquity and are reminiscent of *munera sordida* (p. 674). Perhaps they were copied from the situation in Salzburg, where a Late Roman population needed to be integrated and was described using the terminology of an earlier military organisation (p. 676). In any case, there is no indication of “a fundamental structural change in Carolingian times” (p. 679).

Peter Höglinger (Das Salzburger Umland zwischen Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter, pp. 383–413) describes the Salzburg region based on archaeological finds. Much here points to continuities since Late Antiquity, but without building up much persuasive power. The cemeteries of Siezenheim, Grödig, Untereching and Liefering-Lexengasse appear to have been in use continuously (pp. 401–406). The long-term settlement activity at the Niederalm site, discovered in 2009, is also notable (p. 401). Although this invites to a discussion of the Genealogia of Albina, given that this has been connected with both Ober- and Niederalm, I will first outline two comparative studies within the volume. Thus, Vittorio Fronza (Timber buildings in Italy [5th–8th c. AD]: a socio-economic indicator, pp. 315–354) offers a view on post-Antique Italy, where wood had become the favourite building material after the end of the Gothic wars (p. 315), as a result of a “collapsing economy and society” (p. 332). Even pit houses, which the Langobards and Gepids might have adopted from the Slavs in East Central Europe, are frequently found there (pp. 344f.). Frans Theuws (Merovingian settlements in the southern Netherlands: development, social organisation of production and symbolic topography, pp. 355–382) presents his research along the River Dommel in the Kempen region in the southern Netherlands. After successive settlement and abandon-

ment phases in the Roman period, the reforested area was settled once more in the 6th century. The small cemeteries established at this time document the reduced size of these groups, whose settlements changed in every generation. Around AD 600, nucleated settlements appeared whose inhabitants demonstrated a new attitude to space by orienting their farmyard burial groups towards the settlements' public space. This might have constructed a new kind of identity, and these people may already have lived in seigniorial relations. F. Theuws conjectures that Plectrudis (†717), the wife of the Carolingian Mayor of the Palace Pepin of Hersdal (AD 640/50–714), may be behind this reorganisation of the settled landscape. The latter was to see a further episode of change in the 8th century, when royal monasteries brought about the diminution of nucleated settlements and instead encouraged the establishment of new isolated farmsteads within existing settlement areas.

Attempting to locate the driving force for the changes in the settlement landscape which took place between the Danube and the Alps from the 6th century onwards, the authors of this volume offer a spectrum of solutions, from the dukes of the Agilolfings, via the indigenous Genealogiae and on to the external influences of the Merovingian and later Carolingian monarchies. This is already indicated in the research-historical overview by Martin Ott (*Siedlungsgeschichte in der landeshistorischen Frühmittelalterforschung*, pp. 77–86). Ludwig Rübkeil (*Huosi und Husibald. Tradition, Interferenz und Kommunikation mit Namen*, pp. 415–443) employs linguistic means in order to contribute to the etymology and localisation of the Genealogiae mentioned in the “*Lex Baiuvariorum*” and of the name of the Agilolfings. He breaks with long-cherished interpretations like the connection between the *Habilinga* and the Haching Valley (pp. 428 f.), traces both Gothic influences on early naming practices and an interest in the Gothic language in Carolingian scriptoria and makes no secret of his preference for relating the name of the *Huosi* to the *Osii* mentioned by Tacitus (pp. 433–437). In sum, he can identify no unified logic in naming practices in the Genealogiae (pp. 438 f.). Equipped with a much more modest linguistic toolkit, Hans-Georg Hermann (*Deskriptiver Reflex und normativer Anspruch von raumordnenden Elementen in der Lex Baiuvariorum*, pp. 125–186) attempts an explanation of the name and localisation of the *Drozza* (pp. 134–147).

Irmtraut Heitmeier (*Das „planvolle“ Herzogtum. Raumerschließung des 6.–8. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Toponymie*, pp. 573–657) searches the onomastic landscape for clues concerning planned settlement processes, although her comparison of onomastic data with an (in contrast to the latter) intentionally built-up archive (p. 636) may not be entirely correct. She first established that many of the settlements and landscapes ending in the root *-gau* and located along the *via Claudia* were obliged to provide military service and public works (pp. 586–589). A similar fiscal connection exists for the pre-Bavarian, non-Romance place names on **wihs*, got. *Weih*s = village, hamlet. I. Heitmeier asks whether these places could document the first Merovingian seizure of Raetia after 536/37 (pp. 593–600). Similarly, the Weil-names based on *-villa* “in the Early Middle Ages seem to denote domains which developed directly from Roman structures” (p. 605). Further investigations are dedicated to the place names ending in *-dorf*, *-beuern* and finally to the 15 places named Feldkirchen, which she believes are “elements of a planned spatial organisation in the surroundings of Late Roman waystations and forts”.

Heitmeier's willingness to attribute these naming strategies for specific places either to Roman tradition or to royal Merovingian influences meets both more recent and earlier scholarly insights concerning so-called fiscal succession. Thus, Stephan Ridder (*Zu den Verkehrswegen im römischen Raetien und ihrer nachantiken Bedeutung*, pp. 505–521) draws out the continued importance of the Roman road system, into which the *villa publica* at Aschheim was also integrated – a site that Gertrud DIEPOLDER (1988) had already surmised might have been a base for Frankish power in

Bavaria. Other indications, some seeming almost too certain, have also been collected by Rainhard Riepertinger (Der zentrale Ort Aschheim. Eine Spurensuche in den historischen Quellen, pp. 721–737), who for instance opines that Emmeram, after having been gravely wounded by the son of an Agilolfing prince, was heading towards Aschheim because he knew he could expect protection from the Frankish official residing there (pp. 727 f.). Doris Gutmiedl-Schumann and Anja Pütz (Aschheim: Ein zentraler Ort? Eine Indiziensuche in den archäologischen Funden und Befunden, pp. 691–720) summarise the archaeological excavations of the last decades in Aschheim. They suggest that the large post-built structures uncovered there may have had storage rather than representative functions (pp. 700–702), stress the singular tufa wells which are found all over the settlement (pp. 702–704) and see Hermann Dannheimer's reconstruction of the buildings preceding the church of St Peter and Paul (pp. 708–711) just as critically as Haberstroh does elsewhere (pp. 548 f. note 53).

The importance of early churches is also traced by Christian Later (Kirche und Siedlung im archäologischen Befund – Anmerkungen zur Situation in der Baiouaria zwischen Spätantike und Karolingerzeit, pp. 823–864) and Heike Johanna Mierau (Kirchliche Zentralorte in der frühmittelalterlichen Diözese Freising: Beobachtungen zu Siedlungslandschaft und Seelsorgestationen auf dem Land, pp. 865–902). It is possible that the role of churches in increasing settlement permanence has been overstressed; it is not until the 8th/9th century that churches became the centres of settlements, and indeed the fact that they only appear from the mid-7th century onwards should make us wary, even though Bavaria was long Christian by this point (p. 855). However, portable altars from Adelshausen and Ennabeuern show that church buildings were not always necessary for liturgical activities (p. 896).

Elisabeth Weinberger (Frühe Gewerbesiedlungen im Spiegel der Ortsnamen auf -ārum/ārun, p. 805–821) then presents a notable feature of Bavarian settlement development. In Schäftlarn (“at the spear- or shaft makers”), Triftern (“at the ore washers”), Kolbing (“at the haft makers”) and elsewhere lay sites without access to the Roman road system, but which were named after the professions of their inhabitants and thereby reveal a system of functionally specialised settlements whose distribution suggests a connection with the Agilolfings. Unfortunately, the author does not see any relation to the service settlements in High Medieval Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, which are named in a similar fashion. Martin Straßburger's somewhat overlong chapter (Spezialisierte Eisenproduktion und -verarbeitung in Siedlungen des ländlichen Raumes in Bayern, pp. 739–804) discusses the few indications of ore mining and metallurgy in Early Medieval Bavaria.

The volume ends with two contributions concerning the alleged arrival area of the men from Bohemia, the **Baiavarii*. Günther Moosbauer (Siedlungsentwicklung in Grenzlage. Archäologie des 4. bis 6. Jahrhunderts in und um Straubing, pp. 903–914) summarises the continued development of *Serviodurum*-Straubing from a 1st century port to the mention of a 10th century royal court and presents the many cemeteries, forts and fortified places documenting this development. Christof Paulus (Grundfragen zur Frühzeit Straubings aus historischer Sicht, pp. 915–927) argues that Thomas Fischer's theory of an in-migration of the users of Friedenhain-Prešťovice pottery (cf. FISCHER 2018) has been disproved by Haberstroh and asks whether the name of the Bavarians “denotes their origin or is substantially a militarily based reminiscence to the ethnic group of the Boii” (pp. 918 f.).

The volume is rounded off by a list of authors (pp. 929 f.), an index of place names (pp. 931–950) and personal names [somewhat mis-spelled in the table of contents] (pp. 951–955), as well as an explanation of the maps at the start and end of the book. Taken together, it offers a multifaceted collection of scholarship on Bavarian settlement history in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Yet overall, this has made Bavarian early history more confusing again. Whether the

men from Bohemia arrived – and if so, where from –, whether they worked on their ethnogenesis with Ostrogothic or Frankish help and how their settlements and belief system (and that of their wives?) developed remains very much uncertain, yet the methodological and disciplinary variability brought to bear on researching these themes has never been greater and offers many more perspectives than ever before.

Translated by Daniela Hofmann.

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BENDEGUZ TOBIAS, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber mit Beigabe von Werkzeugen zur Metallbearbeitung. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Band 153. Verlag des RGZM, Mainz 2021. € 129,00. ISBN 978-3-88467-330-0 (Hardcover). 2 Bände, 412 Seiten mit 62 Abbildungen und 340 Seiten mit 314 Tafeln. doi: <https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.1262>, <https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.1263>.

Das hier zu besprechende Werk ist weit umfassender, als es der Titel suggeriert. Es ist im Text zwar viel von „Schmiedegräbern“ die Rede, aber es geht um alle dem Autor bekannten „Gräber mit Beigabe von Werkzeugen zur Metallbearbeitung“, also auch solche mit Schmelzriegeln, Gussformen, Probiersteinen usw. Zeitlich umspannt die zweibändige Dokumentation die Epochen von den frühesten Metallzeiten bis zum Ende des Frühmittelalters (S. 3); geographisch ganz Zentraleuropa. Westeuropa, Skandinavien und das östliche Mittelmeer werden nur in Ausnahmefällen berücksichtigt, was sich auf den Verbreitungskarten niederschlägt.

Der 412 Seiten starke Textband, bei dem es sich um die 2008 am Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien abgeschlossene und um neuere Literatur ergänzte Dissertation des Autors handelt, gliedert sich in ein schlankes, aber dichtes Kapitel zu den verschiedenen Quellen (S. 5–10), in eine ausführliche Auflistung der „Schmiedegräber von der Bronzezeit bis ins Mittelalter“ (S. 11–73), eine besonders umfassende „Analyse ausgewählter Grabkomplexe“ (S. 75–290) sowie den kurzen Abschluss „Diskussion ausgewählter Grabkomplexe“ (S. 291–292) und die dreiseitige Zusammenfassung in Deutsch und Englisch (S. 293–299). Bezüglich der Zielsetzung und Forschungsfragen seiner umfassenden Dokumentation bleibt Verf. jedoch vage (S. 3; 293). Seine