

# Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium

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This Society is glad to be able to publish this *Symposium* here, in financial collaboration with the Council for British Archaeology, and to announce that the text will also be reprinted separately as that Council's Research Report No. 4 at a price of five shillings, post free. Copies may be obtained on application (with appropriate remittance) to the Assistant Secretary of the Council at the Council's offices at 10 Bolton Gardens, London, S.W.5.—*Editor*.

## I. THE CONTINENTAL BACKGROUND

BY F. TISCHLER

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JUST over a century ago J. M. Kemble pointed out to J. Y. Akerman in a now famous letter the affinity and resemblance between urns found in the vicinity of Stade on the river Elbe and in East Anglia. From this he concluded that a migration of Angles and Saxons to England had taken place, a spark of intuition which has not been improved upon in subsequent years, though much evidence had now been accumulated. Little work was undertaken on the continent for fifty years or more after Kemble's death and in the early twentieth century A. Plettke, F. Roeder and H. Shetelig were almost the only pioneers working on Anglo-Saxon problems in north-western Europe. During the second world war much of the unpublished material accumulated in museums was destroyed, but the gap has been filled during the past decade by new finds of probably greater significance from excavations on the artificial mounds in the marshlands. A. E. van Giffen and W. Haarnagel will always be closely associated with Anglo-Saxon research, because they integrated a typologically stagnating research into a real archaeology of settlements in which all aspects of daily life are examined; housing, domestic culture, handicrafts, economic structure, trade, and the struggle with the sea. Admittedly, in so doing, the prehistorian leaves the fields which were of importance to the ancient historian, whose task was to observe and report upon shifts in the balance of political power. In return, however, new and supplementary accents are unexpectedly placed on the historical sources.

### ORIGINS

The legendary account rests on two sources: Rudolf Monk of Fulda and Widukind of Corvey. About the year 865 Rudolf refers to the early period of the

Saxons in his *Translatio Sancti Alexandri*. They are said to have emanated from the Angles in Britannia, from whence they sailed across the sea and landed at Hadeln in search of new homes. According to Rudolf this occurred when Theoderic, king of the Franks, was at war with the duke of Thuringia in 531 and had laid waste his country. When two battles failed to yield conspicuous results, Theoderic sought the help of the newly-landed Saxons, whose duke, Hadugot, promised them land in the event of victory.

Widukind modified Rudolf's narrative considerably, prefacing his report with a reference to 'fama' or information handed down verbally. According to that, the Saxons were an offspring of the Danes and Norsemen. Others made the Saxons the descendants of the army of Alexander the Great. What was certain, stated Widukind, 'is that the Saxons arrived in their country by ship and first landed at a place called Hadolaun'—the area around Hadeln on the left bank of the mouth of the Elbe. The inhabitants of Hadeln are said to have been Thuringians. The Saxons landed in a harbour and later acquired the country by trickery and fighting, slaughtering all the Thuringian *principes*, during peace negotiations, with their knives. They are believed to have been given their name from the use of these knives, which were called 'Sachs' in German. Widukind then recounts the conquest of Britannia by the Anglo-Saxons, drawing much on Bede as a source of information, and concludes with an account of the joint battles of the Franks and Saxons under Theoderic against the Thuringians.

Dr. Drögereit thinks that both these sources are of no historical value at all.

We must note that Tacitus makes no mention of the Saxons, although Ptolemy describes them as residing in the country between the mouth of the R. Elbe and the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese, adjoining the Chauci. Nowadays it is generally assumed that Ptolemy drew on older sources which could have been collected during the naval expedition of the Romans to the lower Elbe in A.D. 5.

It is not until 268 that the Saxons are mentioned again, when, with the Franks, they ravaged the coasts of northern France, and steps were taken by about 300 to protect the coastal areas along the English Channel from their depredations.

Around 350 the Saxons lived not far from the boundary of the Roman Empire, beyond the Rhine and on the western sea. They provided Magnentius with troops for his rising against the emperor Constantius. We are told that the Saxons were plundering Britain in the sixties of the third century; they were raiding the coast of Yorkshire during the period from 370 to 395 and by the end of the fourth century they had sailed up to the Orkney islands.

In 429 a raiding army of Saxons and Picts were driven off by St. Germanus during his visit to Britain. In 451, Saxons fight as *foederati* under Aetius in Gaul against the Huns. About the sixties of the fifth century, Saxons are residing on the river Loire.

In the sixth century Franks were fighting Saxons and Danes in Frisia, which bears witness to what appears to be an excellent tribal strength, if one realizes that no mention has yet been made of the *adventus Saxonum* in England.

It is clear from this rather scanty information that the ancient writers believed the Saxons came from the north and spread out to the south and west, by land and sea, using both force and political events to attain new homelands. In the course of such expeditions, they are bound to have encountered Chauci, Frisians and Franks.

These reports about the Saxons, which begin around the end of the third century, seem to contain almost identical news about the Chauci, who appear on the lower Rhine from A.D. 41. In 47 they appear on the Gallic coast; in 58 they force the inhabitants of the Emsland to move further west, and in 69 and 70 they were fighting the Romans in the Batavian war under Civilis.

During the second century, Chauci were reported to be living in the province of Belgica, but thereafter no further information is available. Although the Chauci were nearer to the Roman ken than the Saxons, their name disappears during the third century. Their expansion, however, appears to have anticipated the direction in which the Saxons later advanced. One fact emerges: if the Saxons went beyond the Elbe, it could not have been on a large scale until c. 170, because the Chauci are reported to be still residing south of the river Elbe up to that date.

On the basis of the ancient sources, material of a rather uniform nature found along the north-western coast of Germany from the late iron-age onwards has been classified as Chaucian, which means that the regions on the west coast of Holstein, commonly assigned to the Saxons according to Ptolemy, would constitute a group of the *gentes Chaucorum*. However, during the first two centuries A.D. the country north of the Elbe was continuously subjected to influences emanating from the whole of the Jutish area. This 'stylistic thrust' was probably backed also by tribal movements, since the significant features of Saxon ceramics are so firmly established in the system of types that an assimilation will not suffice to explain how these elementary conceptions were maintained throughout the centuries. About the year 170 specific forms can be plotted in the western part of Holstein along the north-western coast (e.g., Eddelak type), of which further modified versions are found on sites south of the Elbe. These forms must be considered direct ancestors of the types from south of the Elbe, with which the Chaucian forms still existed side by side. This means that a northern group of the Chauci comes into the sphere of influence of a Jutish north-south movement, develops its own forms of expression, probably absorbing manpower from outside, and is eventually pushed on to the south. This move to the south and the migration towards the west along known routes across the North Sea is recorded time and again by ancient historians for both Chauci and Saxons.

Of course, the Jutish peninsula was inhabited not only in the western part, but particularly also along the east coast. Here, groups of forms can be found which, in a wider sense, belong to the Suevi family (without being Lombard). Between Kiel and Flensburg, and further on towards the Danish island of Funen, groups of ceramic material are found which can partly be called Anglian later. These are seized by the same trend as the remainder of the Jutish groups, i.e., they expand to the south and west. Thereby they come into the Saxon sphere of

influence and, *inter alia*, reach areas which belonged to the Fuhlsbüttel group. Mixed Anglo-Holstein groups were thus in these parts *c.* 200. Part of the Fuhlsbüttel group, too, shifted to the south and across the Elbe to near Hamburg and Stade. Thus, mixed groups spring up as early as *c.* 200, with either Saxons or Angles predominating, depending upon where the settlers came from; the former apparently more at the Elbe mouth near Cuxhaven, and the latter between Hamburg and Stade. 'Original Saxons' should not be expected, therefore, in the area of East Holstein and Hamburg, if the groups on the west coast and these original Saxons are accepted as identical. About the middle of the fourth century the two groups meet on a wide front-line in the region of the southern lower Elbe. From then on I am inclined to use the term 'Anglo-Saxons' in order to indicate that one can no longer talk of a homogeneous tribal entity. The political name of Saxons as used by the ancient writers is bound to cover Jutes and Angles, Lombards, Chauci and Saxons. I must emphasize, however, that in my view native elements of the population in each case survived with all their peculiarities. Thus, the origins of the Saxon tribe are connected with extremely complex influences which arise from the deepness and wideness of the Cimbric country. These dynamic forces are discharged already very early in the form of naval expeditions against the Gauls and Britons as the first phase of the *adventus Saxonum*. A certain polarity can be perceived to exist within the territory of the later tribal community. On the one hand there are the groups which lived on the coast of the North Sea (with the famous cemeteries of Westerwanna, Altenwalde and Cuxhaven) and on the other hand the East Holstein groups which crowded near Hamburg-Perlberg and Stade. This bipartite idea seems to be reflected by ceramics, in which connexion it goes without saying that very frequently combined forms occur, developed by the mixed Anglo-Saxons, and no longer by the Angles or the Saxons. One of these groups shows a tendency towards the large Suebian sphere, the other is more closely associated with the Jutish northern region. The true Saxon seafarers seem to have exhausted themselves numerically in the fifth century, before the bulk of the Anglo-Saxons sailed over to England. This accounts for the rareness of genuine Westerwanna types in England.

Much more pronounced is the second group, which Kemble referred to when comparing Stade to East Anglia. From this area, which has more of an Anglian touch, the impact is directed to the south on one hand,<sup>1</sup> and towards Bremen, Groningen, the lower Rhine, the river Weser, Westphalia and England on the other. From there, cruciform brooches, bowls and pots with panel-type decoration found their way across to England, a fact perceived by Myres twenty years ago. But Anglo-Saxon migration did not end in the fifth century. A fresh influx into England from the north can be seen in the sixth century. Typically Anglian vases, as found, for example, in Süderbrarup, can be found from then onwards in England. Square-headed brooches, bracteates or specific decorative elements all point to Denmark, the Angles and Norway. Very few of these types can be found on the southern coast of the North Sea, where the Anglo-Saxons (in

<sup>1</sup> G. Mildenerger, *Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*, xli-xlii (1958), 497.

the sense mentioned) were spreading along the coast and into the hinterland. This is shown by the well-known characteristic Anglo-Suebian style elements. The bulk of the Anglo-Frisian pottery as published by Myres or Boeles can be well accounted for in that way. This applies equally to the material from sites on the river Weser near Minden at the gates of Westphalia, and in the eastern part of Westphalia proper.

#### ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SETTLEMENTS

The excavation of three artificial mounds has thrown much light on the subject just outlined. Large-scale excavations have been carried out at Ezinge, north of Groningen, at Feddersen-Wierde, north of Bremerhaven, and near Tofting on the Eiderstedt peninsula. Haarnagel has described the excavations at Feddersen Wierde during the past three years.<sup>2</sup> The settlement was founded shortly before the beginning of the Christian era and came to an end during the fifth century; it was not resettled until the early middle ages. Haarnagel distinguishes nine different layers beginning with the first-century settlement built on the flat countryside without fear of floods. Precautions against flooding are visible in layer II and by the end of the first century the houses of layer III are embanked with a miniature dyke. During that period the houses varied in size, perhaps reflecting the differing conditions of their occupants. In the second century the individual units coalesced to form one large artificial mound, apparently the property of a single owner, which was destroyed by fire (layer IV). The mound was extended in subsequent centuries although the number of houses remained unchanged during the third century. The economic system may have changed during the fourth century, as the four granaries originally noted on the site decreased to two, and agriculture may have been rendered impossible by reason of more extensive flooding of the area. In the fourth-fifth century the settlement appears to represent the estate of one large farmer, with smaller houses arranged irregularly and not, as in previous periods, flanking the roads.

Of equal importance is an analysis of the pottery found on this marshland site. During the first century it can be compared with the grave ceramics of the sandy coastal region inhabited by the Chauci. In the second century, the Eddelak and Fuhlsbüttel types appear more frequently. There is evidence for relations with the Schleswig-Holstein west coast, but contact with western Germany or Frisia is comparatively insignificant. In the third century the Eddelak type is manufactured and found more frequently still. Notched ledges on the neck of the pots in the style of north Elbian or Jutish ceramics can be noticed more and more frequently. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries the pottery of the artificial mounds is identical with material from the graves of the large Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the Elbe-Weser district.

The large numbers of granaries on the farms and the observations made in the river marshes of Schleswig-Holstein go to prove that agriculture was carried on in the marshes as long as this was possible. A plough was used which turned the clods over and was fitted with a so-called mould-board for this purpose. The

<sup>2</sup> W. Haarnagel, *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (1958), p. 215.

calcareous subsoil was dug up and included in the agricultural soil in place of any other fertilizer.

The artificial mound at Tofting began in about A.D. 100 in much the same way as all the other marsh settlements in Schleswig-Holstein so far known. In fact, the impression is created of an organized utilization of the marshes similar to a colonization. The mound at Tofting is known to have been inhabited up to the beginning of the sixth century; and pottery and traces of building work suggest a certain continuity right up to the middle ages. The ceramic of Tofting compares with that of the remaining area of western Holstein and furthermore with that up to the river Weser. Bantelmann is against attributing the advent of new types during the third century to a change in population, since neither building style nor other cultural goods reflect the change noted in the ceramic. In the fifth century, earthenware deteriorates in shape and decoration and only roughly-made vessels are found. This process can be observed throughout the whole of the former *Germania libera*. Naturally, certain groups of forms remain recognizable. Thus a new common ceramic culture comes into being along the north-west coast on the basis of early Anglo-Saxon elements (starting from A.D. 350) which, in connexion with the advent of animal style II about the year 600, may be called middle Anglo-Saxon.

#### CHRONOLOGY

Since Eggers proposed an abbreviated chronology of the Roman imperial era, there has been some concern about the problem of dating. Certain datum points must be accepted, namely, the extremely well dated 'Laeti' phase of the second half of the fourth century, as described by Werner, and, secondly, the beginning of the animal style II around 600, on which there is not yet full agreement. If we are in a position to compare the material available on the continent with the dating possibilities inherent in the 'Laeti' phase, we should also be able to ascertain when the *adventus Saxonum* began in England on a large scale. Myres has stated that this migration constituted a long-lasting process which started before 400 and had not yet come to an end in the sixth century. A climax during the fifth century is apparent. But about 450, and somewhat later, it was not only Anglo-Saxons who came to England across the sea. At the same time we have recognizable connexions between England and Gaul, especially the district around Namur. In their recent paper on the Haillet cemetery, Werner and Roosens pointed out these important connexions in relation to the late-antique life of Gallic workshops. I suggest that the idea of an extensive germanization of life on the left side of the Rhine may have been partly wrong, as far as the fourth and fifth centuries are concerned. The latest excavations at Neuss (Novaesium) and Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana) show how intact Roman life remained along the Rhine during the fourth century. In the same way, the tradition of Roman trade stayed alive along the Rhine, and one wonders how much of the so-called Saxon material in Frisia and on the Old-Rhine in Holland between Katwijk and Nymwegen or Krefeld must be explained as the results of trading activities. The cruciform brooches found in Frisia and near Krefeld-Gellep may

have got there in that manner, just as many an Anglo-Saxon fibula from Kent may have found its way into the Rhineland. This means that we have to keep on asking ourselves whether material which bears distinctive Anglo-Saxon marks got into the ground on its way from England or en route to England. In particular, we have to investigate the possibility whether an Anglo-Saxon brooch has perhaps been worn, for example, by a Frisian, a Briton or a Gaul. A mere statistical record of individual finds is certain to render an incomplete picture in interpreting the ethnic situation. These difficulties apply especially to the evaluation of material from the period before or about the year 400. For how long may Saxons have been established as *foederati* at Yarmouth or Norwich? In the case of Krefeld-Gellep, the contents of early Franconian graves look Roman initially, and in the Gallic grave-fields of the fifth to seventh centuries on the banks of the Rhine we find partly Franconian commodities, which Dutch archaeologists consider merely as goods imported for a native population. For the time being, the efforts made by Mr. de Boone to derive Warnian tribal characteristics from these cemeteries can neither be confirmed nor rejected by archaeology. One thing, however, appears certain: our new analytical approach, which concentrates on the history of settlements, promises to do more justice to the archaeological sources than former attempts to derive political history from material of this kind. This new approach will furthermore assist the historian in converting the so-called dark ages into real early-medieval history.

#### SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF CONTINENTAL FINDS OF THE PERIOD

A. Genrich, 'Siedlungsleere oder Forschungslücke,' in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, xxxiii (1959), 358.

K. Kusten and P. La Baume, *Vorgeschichte der nordfriesischen Inseln* (1958).

K. Waller, *Das Gräberfeld von Altenwalde, Kreis Land Hadeln* (5. Beiheft zum Atlas der Urgeschichte, Hamburg, 1957).

*Ibid.*, *Die Gräberfelder von Hemmoor, Quelkhorn, Gudendorf und Duhnen-Wehrberg in Niedersachsen* (8. Beiheft zum Atlas der Urgeschichte, Hamburg, 1959).

## II. ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY OF THE PAGAN PERIOD

BY J. N. L. MYRES\*

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ANGLO-SAXON pottery of the pagan period, that is, roughly the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries, is important to the historian because of the help it can give him in the settlement of three historical questions: (1) When and in what circumstances did the Anglo-Saxon settlements begin in Britain on a large scale? (2) From what regions did the settlers come? (3) What were the economic and social conditions in England at the time of the settlement, and what changes occurred, particularly in the latter part of the pagan period? These questions will be considered separately.

As regards the first, until a few years ago there was thought to be virtually no overlap between the start of the Anglo-Saxon settlements and the period of

\* I wish to thank the Society of Antiquaries of London (PL. I, A-B), the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies (PL. I, C) and Messrs. Methuen & Co. (FIG. 1), for their great kindness in lending blocks. I am also grateful for the opportunity given by the Sachsensymposion meeting at Münster in 1957 to sketch the sherds illustrated in FIG. 2.

Roman occupation. The two ceramic traditions seemed to be distinct. Roman pottery with its hard, well-made wares, wheel-turned technique, and mass production by commercial firms, was quite different from the hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery with its soft, ill-fired fabric and great variety of barbaric ornament. In terms of civilization they appeared to be, and indeed are, the products of two totally different levels of culture.

But it has recently been realized not only that there is some overlap in time between them, but that there are a number of hybrid forms, especially among the latest pottery from Roman sites. Material of great importance from York, Great Casterton in Rutland and other sites can now be added to the distribution-map of Romano-Saxon pottery.<sup>3</sup> This new material extends the distribution northward into Yorkshire and somewhat farther into the eastern midlands, but the emphasis on the east coast and the neighbourhood of Saxon-shore forts and the supply areas behind them remains most marked. The recent discoveries include pottery of all the known hybrid types and add some fresh combinations of them. There are, for example, instances where the type with round shoulder-bosses and groups of small dimples is linked with that in which the bosses are each surmounted by a single stamp. The latter type has previously seemed to derive from Kent, two characteristic pieces having come from Richborough, but it would now appear that it was made also further north, perhaps in the Castor region. This is suggested by an important pot (PL. I, c) from the Great Casterton Roman villa found in a level which makes a date after 380 certain. The arrangement of the decoration on the Great Casterton pot is very close to a common Saxon scheme as shown, for example, on a fine urn (PL. I, A) from the North Elmham cemetery, Norfolk. Both are decorated with a raised collar, vertical lines of stamps and bosses and circular panels with stamps arranged as a rosette around a central boss. The similarity in ornament between these Saxon and Roman pots implies a close relationship and, since the Great Casterton vessel belongs to the end of the fourth century, one is bound to wonder whether such urns as that from North Elmham can be very much later, although it is not generally supposed that Anglo-Saxon settlement began much before 450.

The commonest type of Romano-Saxon pottery, which occurs in the region of Great Yarmouth and on various sites on the east coast down to Colchester, is decorated (FIG. 1) with shoulder-bosses in the Anglo-Saxon manner alternating with triangular groups of little dimples made with the end of a stick or a round bone.<sup>4</sup> Although Saxon in form and decoration, the fabric is a normal late Roman commercial red or grey ware, often burnished. The origin of the characteristic triangular grouping of dimples is one of the problems of this type of Romano-Saxon pottery. It is not a normal decorative motif in the Anglo-Saxon homelands in the late fourth century, yet the whole scheme of decoration is certainly Teutonic rather than Romano-British. There is, however, one region in the Germanic world where this precise technique occurs. It was in vogue in Westphalia in the middle of the fourth century A.D. before tribes of more northerly Germanic

<sup>3</sup> *Dark-age Britain: studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (ed. D. B. Harden, 1956), p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 27.



origin began to press down into that region. Sherds with this design, which has a long history going back to the bronze age, come from at least four different sites in this locality (FIG. 2),<sup>5</sup> and, though examples with bosses have not been

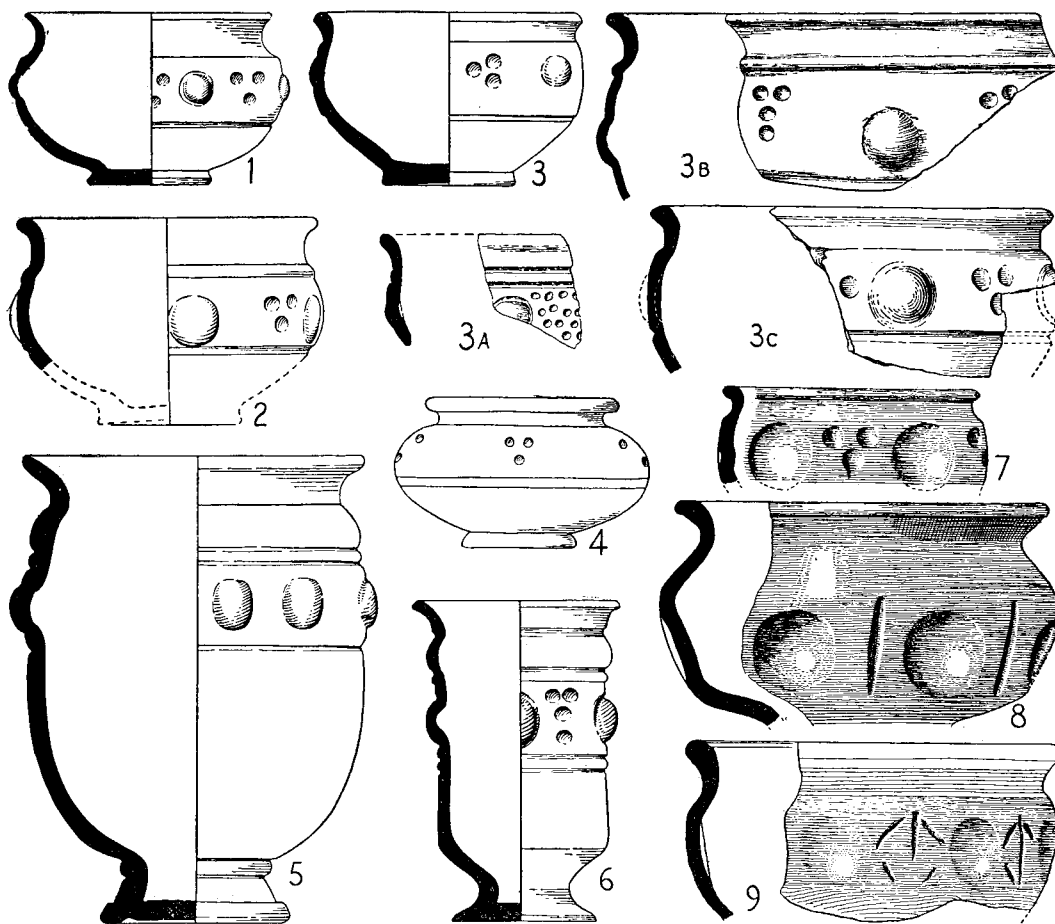


FIG. 1

ROMANO-SAXON POTTERY (p. 8). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1, 6. Colchester, Essex; 2. Verulamium, Herts.; 3. Sittingbourne, Kent; 3A. Brundall, Norfolk; 3B. West Acre, Norfolk; 3C. Clipsham, Rutland; 4. Richborough, Kent; 5. Lakenheath, Suffolk; 7-8. Caister-by-Yarmouth, Norfolk; 9. Burgh castle, Suffolk

After Dark-age Britain (1956), fig. 4, by courtesy

noticed, this could be the source of this decorative device on our Romano-Saxon pottery. We know from Ammianus Marcellinus that a king of the Alemanni with his people came over and settled in Britain in the mid-fourth century and, although this precise decoration does not seem to occur among the Alemanni

<sup>5</sup> Erin; Dehne (Kr. Minden); Südlengern (Kr. Herford); Liebenau (Kr. Nienburg). An unusual Anglian example from Süderbrarup (Schleswig) is illustrated by A. Genrich, 'Formenkreise und Stammesgruppen in Schleswig-Holstein,' *Offa Bücher*, x (1954), p. 29, no. 14.

themselves, it is to historic events such as this that the mixed traditions of our Romano-Saxon pottery may be due.

As regards the date of the earliest Anglo-Saxon pottery found in English cremation-cemeteries, some interesting possibilities are emerging. There are, for example, a number of pieces from the Caistor-by-Norwich cemetery which appear earlier than the traditional date for the *Adventus Saxonum* in the middle of the fifth century. Among them is a pot (PL. I, B) of the Cuxhaven type, on Tischler's classification datable before 450, or possibly even 400.<sup>6</sup> Its rounded contour, linear arcading and dimple rosettes would place it, if it were a continental urn, quite early in the fifth century. It is a type normally treated as ancestral to the *Buckelurnen*, the great bossed urns which occur in the Elbe-Weser region in

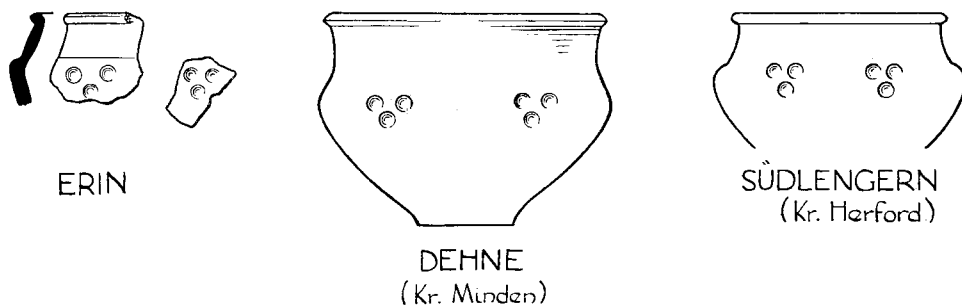


FIG. 2

FOURTH-CENTURY POTTERY FROM WESTPHALIA (p. 9). Sc.  $\frac{1}{3}$

the second half of the fifth century. This raises the question whether some other English urns decorated with simple linear designs of this general character may also precede the elaborately bossed *Buckelurnen*, as is taken for granted in the case of the parallel continental types. Or are they more likely to mark the decadence of the *Buckelurnen* style and thus belong rather to the sixth than the early fifth century? This problem applies not only to pots obviously related to the *Buckelurnen*, but to a great range of types with simple linear ornament and chevrons. Plettke put some such types right back in the fourth century, and, if he is right, we must reckon with a substantial Saxon penetration of England much earlier than is generally recognized. Even if Plettke's dates are fifty years too high, a number of English examples will be nearer 400 than 450. Such urns are widely distributed in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire—in fact, mainly in those areas where early settlement might be expected.<sup>7</sup> They not uncommonly occur in close proximity to Roman towns or fortified sites: for example, all the urns known from Roman Ancaster are of this type,<sup>8</sup> and there are others from the immediate neighbourhood of York, Lincoln, Leicester, Cambridge, and

<sup>6</sup> F. Tischler in 35 *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (1954), p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> J. N. L. Myres in *L'Antiquité classique*, xvii (1948), 453-72.

<sup>8</sup> *Archaeol. J.*, cviii (1952), 96.

Caistor-by-Norwich, all Roman fortified towns. We may have here traces of the use of Saxon *foederati* in the days preceding the final collapse of Roman rule. Among the distinctively early fifth-century types are bowls with simple linear decoration such as are found in Holland as well as north Germany<sup>9</sup>: in this country they occur on several sites in East Anglia, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

Turning to the second question, that of the invaders' origins, it is clear that at Caistor, and less obviously in other English cemeteries, we have a direct link with the Anglian districts of Schleswig and southern Denmark. There are certain types of urns from cemeteries in Schleswig-Holstein, formerly in the collection at Kiel, and now at Schleswig, which I described in 1937 as Anglian, an identification now generally accepted.<sup>10</sup> It is now recognized that the movement of folk from Schleswig-Holstein to the lower Elbe produced congested conditions and a mixed culture which was one main source of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. But the settlers represented by the early cremation-burials in urns of the pure Anglian type at Caistor-by-Norwich or Sancton (Yorks.) might have crossed direct from Schleswig and seem to show little sign of having had contact with cultures further south. The urns they used both at home and in England are characterized by rippled or corrugated linear decoration, horizontal on the neck, vertical on the shoulder, often with shoulder-bosses and surfaced with a high metallic burnish. Caistor and Sancton examples (PL. II, A-D) are extraordinarily like those from Süderbrarup and other sites in the heart of Angeln. Shoulder-boss urns of this Anglian type with high conical necks occurred in some quantity at Caistor and Sancton, though at Sancton they mostly have chevron-decoration instead of vertical corrugation on the shoulder. It is not common to find continuous vertical and horizontal corrugation outside East Anglia and the *motif* is not typical of English cemeteries as a whole. But it is a normal technique on pottery from Schleswig, Denmark and southern Scandinavia in the first half of the fifth century, and where it occurs in England it is a sure sign of direct contact with these regions.<sup>11</sup>

Quite different are the characteristic features of the Saxon pottery. *Buckelurnen*-with-feet belong to the second half of the fifth century and derive from the Elbe-Weser area. They are elaborately ornamented with curvilinear bosses and rosette decoration, and in the later stages of their development have stamped ornament on a considerable scale. They occur only in small numbers in this country, but are significantly distributed in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire, with two in the Thames valley and north Berkshire, and a couple from Thurmaston, just north of Leicester. This strongly suggests a rapid movement from East Anglia into the midlands in the second half of the fifth century.<sup>12</sup>

*Buckelurnen*-without-feet, another type of Saxon antecedents, began about the same date, but they are less useful for dating purposes as they go on longer in

<sup>9</sup> L. 'Antiquité classique, xvii (1948), 456. A dated example from Helle (Oldenburg) is illustrated by J. Werner, *Bonner Jahrb.*, CLVIII (1958), 385, fig. 11, 5.

<sup>10</sup> F. Tischler in 35 *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (1954), p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> A. Genrich, *op. cit.* in note 5, p. 29; M. B. Mackeprang, *Kulturbeziehungen im nordischen Raum* (1943), pl. 21, 2-5; H. Norling-Christensen, *Haraldstedtgravpladsen* (1957), pp. 79-80, figs. 15, 1: 33, 34, 35.

<sup>12</sup> J. N. L. Myres in *Antiq. J.*, xxxiv (1954), 201-8; xxxvii (1957), 224-5.

this country and have a wider distribution. These urns developed a great deal of stamped ornament. Decadent types continued into the middle and late sixth century, and an example was found at Lackford with a late-sixth-century square-headed brooch.

There are many other types of pagan Anglo-Saxon pottery in England, some of which are closely paralleled in Holland and Belgium. Many of the newcomers derived directly rather from the Low Countries than from either Angeln or the Elbe-Weser region. But much of this pottery is difficult to date, and some of the close links with Holland and Belgium probably belong to the sixth century. In that case they may sometimes reflect the backwash or reverse movement from England to the continent at that time for which there is some evidence in the literary authorities, as Tischler has indicated (p. 2).

The development of the cremation-pottery also throws light on the third historical problem, that of the political and economic conditions which grew up after the establishment of the early settlements. It reflects the increasing mixture of cultural elements derived from different parts of the Germanic background. It must be remembered that even before the invasions began there had been a great mingling of peoples. In speaking of pure Angles and Saxons before the invasions took place, we strain the evidence, particularly in relation to the Saxons, who in the fifth century represented a fusion of several earlier peoples. Social disruption produced by the movement to England extended this process further, and a variety of elements derived from Angle, Saxon, Frisian and other continental sources can be recognized in the Anglo-Saxon pottery of the sixth century. A case in point is the evolution of panel-style pottery.<sup>13</sup> This started with simple linear ornament on shoulder-boss urns of mainly Anglian antecedents. This style may cover a considerable range of time. But soon stamped decoration comes in, often a single line of stamps round the neck and a single vertical line in the panels. This stage is dated early in the sixth century: at Caistor such a pot had with it a Group II cruciform brooch. By the middle of the sixth century stamped ornament often fills the panels and dominates the design: the bosses are less conspicuous and soon disappear altogether leaving the panels as a line of pendent triangles or loops filled with stamps. Eventually stamps tend to run riot over the whole pot, and the panel design breaks down altogether. Several urns from Lackford show these later stages associated with cruciform and square-headed brooches of the second half of the sixth century or later.<sup>14</sup>

It is also possible to discern the gradual development of something approaching the commercial production of pottery. In the earlier periods it is rare to find two or more pots so closely similar as to be likely to come from the same workshop, and, when this does occur, they are usually not merely in the same cemetery but in contiguous graves, suggesting the products of one family or, at most, a small domestic industry. Some communities, such as that using the Elkington cemetery in Lincolnshire, seem never to have progressed beyond this point. But the

<sup>13</sup> J. N. L. Myres in *Antiq. J.*, xvii (1937), 429-32.

<sup>14</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk* (Cambridge Antiquar. Soc., 4° publ., n.s. vi, 1951), figs. 17 and 22.

increasing use of stamped decoration in the sixth century appears to signalize in the east midlands the emergence of professional potters. At any rate it makes much easier the identification of one potter's work. The most striking case is that of a potter or group of potters who worked for the communities using the cemeteries of Illington (Norfolk), Lackford (Suffolk), and others in the Cambridge region.<sup>15</sup> Illington is remarkable as a cemetery which in the sixth century seems largely to have been served by such commercial potters and nearly 25 per cent. of the decorated pottery there (PL. II, E-H) appears to be the work of one or two closely related workshops. Most of these workshops turned out vessels of more or less standard forms.<sup>16</sup> But sometimes it can be shown that one potter made a considerable range of types which would not otherwise be known to be contemporary. Cases are known where a potter's more elaborate products are in an older, more conservative, style than his normal output. This is true of the Illington/Lackford potter and also of one of the Girton potters.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, as time goes on, the products of one workshop are found over an increasingly wide area. The Illington/Lackford potter was by no means the only potter serving a number of different cemeteries. One late potter in East Anglia used a combination of animal, swastika and interlace stamps. Urns decorated with these very unusual stamps have been found at Lackford (Suffolk) and at Markshall and Caistor-by-Norwich in Norfolk, a very wide geographical spread. Another Lackford urn bears four stamps, all of which occur also on an urn from Thurmaston (Leics.). All this suggests the development of trade and specialized manufacture with increasingly stable conditions a hundred years after the settlements were established.

### III. MIDDLE-SAXON POTTERY

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THIS paper surveys middle-Saxon pottery (A.D. 650-850) in all areas of England settled by the Anglo-Saxons, supplementing and expanding the survey already published for East Anglia.<sup>18</sup> The task is far more difficult in other areas than it was for East Anglia because twenty-five sites are known in East Anglia and Kent but only ten in all the rest of England, and besides there is no clear break in development or change of technique elsewhere to compare with that from hand-made to wheel-thrown pottery during the second half of the seventh century in East Anglia. Moreover, the study of pagan-Saxon pottery has been mainly confined to the decorated wares and to finds in cemeteries, and the grave

<sup>15</sup> Lethbridge calls this potter the 'Icklingham potter' (*op. cit.*, pp. 15, 19, fig. 18, etc.), but it is better to call him the Illington/Lackford potter, for it is from these cemeteries that the bulk of his products have come.

<sup>16</sup> Compare, e.g., three pots by the Illington/Lackford potter, which are identical in design and differ only in size (*Antiquity*, XI (1937), 392, pl. 1, fig. 3) with other examples of his work on fig. 18 of the Lackford report.

<sup>17</sup> *Antiquity*, XI (1937), 397-8.

<sup>18</sup> J. G. Hurst and S. E. West, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in East Anglia, part II,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, L (1956), 29-42: hereafter cited as Hurst (1956).

finds cease, more or less, after the coming of Christianity in the seventh century. About fifty settlements have been discovered, it is true, but as yet the pottery has not been correlated. This lack of comparative study of plain pagan-Saxon pottery, and of any trends it may have had, makes it necessary to begin this survey of the middle-Saxon pottery at an arbitrary point in what was a steady development from pagan to late-Saxon wares over most of England. When the pagan-Saxon plain pottery has been worked on, trends may become apparent which will provide a better basis for the study of middle-Saxon pottery and put it in its proper perspective.

#### EAST ANGLIA

In East Anglia all the middle-Saxon pottery found is wheel-thrown and is therefore readily distinguishable from the earlier hand-made pagan-Saxon wares. As Ipswich ware has been fully described elsewhere<sup>19</sup> it will be sufficient here to summarize the evidence as shortly as possible and record new finds.

Ipswich ware is hard, sandy and grey. Four *fabrics* may now be distinguished: (a) hard, smooth-surfaced, sandy, (b) sandy, not smoothed, (c) similar but with some grit giving a surface rough to the touch, and (d) hard with many grits sticking out, giving a harsh, pimply surface. The pots are mostly thrown on a slow wheel and usually have thick walls with uneven girth-grooves. Nearly all the pots have sagging bases and many are knife-trimmed. The main *forms* are small cooking-pots (FIG. 3, nos. 1-2) and spouted pitchers of varying size (FIG. 3, no. 3). In addition there are stamped, spouted pitchers with vertical, pierced lugs (FIG. 5), large stamped vessels, possibly storage-jars (FIG. 3, no. 6), deep open bowls (FIG. 3, no. 9), small bowls (FIG. 3, no. 5), and large cooking-pots with upright, pierced lugs (FIG. 3, no. 4). The last four types have only recently been identified, and were all found in excavations at Cox Lane, Ipswich (p. 18). This ware was made in kilns, evidence for several of which has been found in Ipswich.<sup>20</sup>

There are two other forms of which only single examples are at present known: a bottle from Ipswich (FIG. 3, no. 8), which is clearly related to the Jutish bottles, and a globular, hole-mouthed vessel (FIG. 3, no. 7), which was previously thought to be a bottle without its neck.<sup>21</sup> Dr. A. Genrich has drawn my attention to a similar pot from Hammoor with a slightly wider mouth but with the same chevron decoration, showing that this vessel is in fact complete.<sup>22</sup> These two vessels should be early, i.e., seventh or eighth century. Work is badly needed on the relationship between the Ipswich bottle, the Sutton Hoo bottle,<sup>23</sup> and the Jutish bottles in Kent, which are now thought to be mainly late in the pagan period. Occasionally wheel-thrown vessels occur in Saxon cemeteries also. Their date and relation to the origin of Ipswich ware is a problem requiring urgent work.

<sup>19</sup> Hurst (1956).

<sup>20</sup> Hurst (1956), pp. 32-4.

<sup>21</sup> Hurst (1956), pp. 36-7, fig. 2, nos. 18-19.

<sup>22</sup> A. Genrich, 'Formenkreise und Stammesgruppen in Schleswig-Holstein,' *Offa Bücher*, x (1954), pl. 13, D, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, a Provisional Guide* (British Museum, 1947), p. 30, pl. 13, a.

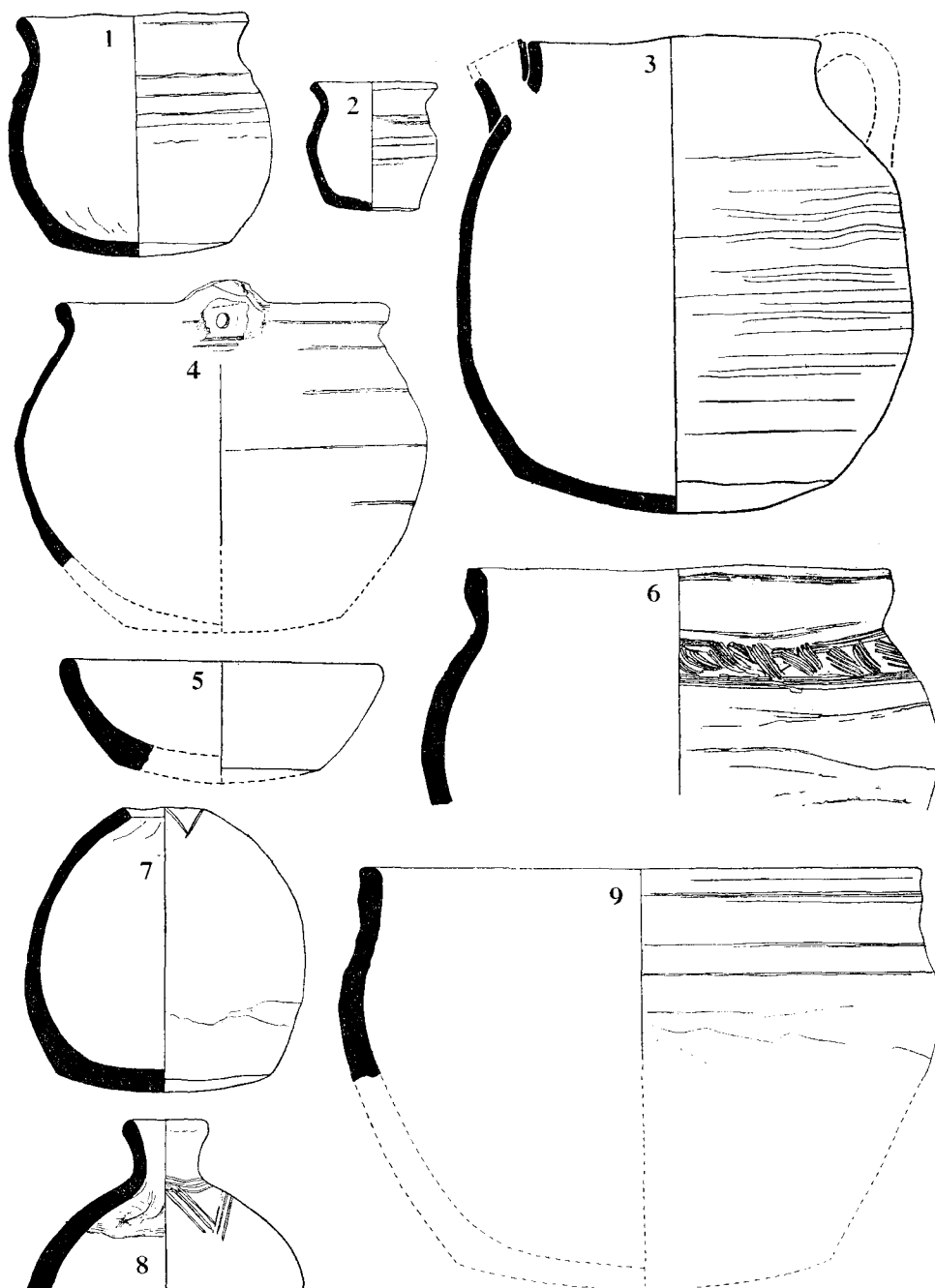


FIG. 3

IPSWICH WARE FROM IPSWICH IN IPSWICH MUSEUM (p. 14). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1. No prov., no. 1920-52-18; 2. No prov., no. 1920-53-50; 3. Carr St. kiln, no. 1935-74; 4. Cox Lane, pit 8, layer 9; 5. Cox Lane, pit 17, layer 4; 6. Cox Lane, pit 11, layer 3; 7. The Walk Tavern St., no. 1938-159; 8. No prov.; 9. Cox Lane, pit 11, layer 3

The *dating* of Ipswich ware coincides almost exactly with that of the middle-Saxon period (650-850). There are seventh-century sites at Broomeswell and Butley in Suffolk<sup>24</sup> from which there are hand-made pots with the sagging base and knife-trimming of Ipswich ware. These show the simple pagan-Saxon forms in process of developing into wheel-thrown Ipswich ware. Evidence for Ipswich ware in the seventh century comes from Bradwell in Essex, after 654,<sup>25</sup> Burgh Castle in Suffolk, after 635,<sup>26</sup> and Framlingham in Suffolk with a late-seventh-century bronze open-work disc.<sup>27</sup> At Thetford in Norfolk<sup>28</sup> there was a sceatta of the second quarter of the eighth century and at Caister-by-Yarmouth sceattas of the first half of the eighth century.<sup>29</sup> At the other end of the story Ipswich ware is shown to last until the middle of the ninth century by the find of a coin of Egbert (825-36) at Caister-by-Yarmouth and of early-ninth-century imported Badorf ware at Ipswich.<sup>30</sup>

Ipswich ware is found at eighteen sites in East Anglia. Since 1956, when the first map was drawn,<sup>31</sup> six new sites have been found by excavation and by search in museum collections.<sup>32</sup> These East Anglian sites fall into four geographical groups (FIG. 8):

1. Essex and Suffolk coast (Bradwell, Ipswich, Little Bealings, Framlingham);
2. East coast of Norfolk (Winterton Ness, Lound, Burgh Castle, Caister-by-Yarmouth and Norwich);
3. West coast of Norfolk, east of the fens (Heacham, Pentney, Sedgeford, Snettisham and West Bilney);
4. Inland (all the sites being recently discovered) in SW. Norfolk and NW. Suffolk (Brandon, Fakenham, Thetford and West Stow).

New finds are appearing so fast that we do not know how representative present distribution is. The main distribution is along the East Anglian coast with only small penetrations inland to Framlingham and Norwich and a larger incursion SE. from the Wash into Suffolk. The origin of Ipswich ware is clearly in the Rhineland.<sup>33</sup> The distribution shows this connexion with the continent and also the continuing tradition of coastal communication which must be associated with the East Anglian royal house and its emphasis on sea power as shown by Sutton Hoo.

At Broomeswell, a seventh-century hand-made pot was found with an *upright, pierced lug*.<sup>34</sup> At first it seemed unique in East Anglia except for that on the rusticated pot from Lackford, Suffolk.<sup>35</sup> There are examples of upright pierced

<sup>24</sup> Hurst (1956), pp. 37-9, fig. 5, nos. 10-15.

<sup>25</sup> *J. Roman Stud.*, xxxviii (1948), 91-2.

<sup>26</sup> 1958 excavations by Mr. C. Green for the Ministry of Works.

<sup>27</sup> *Proc. Suff. Inst. Archaeol.*, xxvii (1956-8), 78, 87, fig. 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Med. Archaeol.*, ii (1958), 188.

<sup>29</sup> Hurst (1956), pp. 34-5.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. p. 54.

<sup>31</sup> *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, LI (1957), 58, fig. 5, no. 1.

<sup>32</sup> This is largely due to the work of Mr. R. R. Clarke.

<sup>33</sup> Hurst (1956), p. 30.

<sup>34</sup> Hurst (1956), p. 41, fig. 5, no. 12.

<sup>35</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk* (Cambridge Antiquar. Soc. 4° publ. n. s. VI, 1951), p. 20, fig. 23.



lugs from other so-called pagan sites such as Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire,<sup>36</sup> and Harston, Leicestershire,<sup>37</sup> but both may in fact be middle-Saxon in date. Pots with these lugs are now being discovered frequently, and there were at least ten from a single trench dug in 1957 at Cox Lane, Ipswich (cf. FIG. 3, no. 4), as well as middle-Saxon examples at Windsor (pierced and unpierced), and pagan ones at Lovedon, Lincolnshire,<sup>38</sup> West Stow, Suffolk, and Thetford (Redcastle), Norfolk. Late-Saxon examples are usually larger, such as the one from Cambridge<sup>39</sup> so the smaller ones seem to be confined to the late-pagan and middle-Saxon periods. Very similar small lugs are found on iron-age A and B sites<sup>40</sup> and the Saxon examples show a remarkable reappearance of the tradition. Many of the plain pagan-Saxon pottery forms are similar to those of the iron age, and it is likely that much of the missing middle-Saxon pottery is lurking in the iron-age collections of many museums. Some pagan-Saxon pottery has in fact been published as iron-age, but the presence of Saxon loom-weights now shows it to be Saxon.<sup>41</sup> The fabric of the iron-age and Saxon sherds from Linford, Essex, is so similar as to make it difficult to differentiate some of them.<sup>42</sup>

It has been suggested for both periods that these lugs are copies of the triangular ears from bronze bowls.<sup>43</sup> It is an easy way of suspension over the fire and like needs may produce like results. These upright lugs are clearly the precursors typologically of the late-Saxon cup-lug from Abington Piggotts, Cambridgeshire.<sup>44</sup> Although there are no cup-lugs, i.e., upright, pierced lugs with a protective cup to prevent the suspension-cord being burnt by the fire, in the middle-Saxon period in East Anglia, there is one from Sutton Courtenay, where the hole through the side of the vessel is very small and the cup is level with the rim.<sup>45</sup> This, and various other features, suggest that Sutton Courtenay besides starting early, goes on well into the middle-Saxon period. The relationship between these cup-lugs and bar-lip pottery has still to be determined. They both cause the same result, the protection of a suspension-thong from the heat of the fire.

The sagging base was clearly a very favourite fashion, as it lasts in England from the middle of the seventh century for 800 years until the end of the medieval period. This fashion started on the continent, perhaps copying the sagging bases

<sup>36</sup> E. T. Leeds, 'A Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay,' *Archaeologia*, xcii (1947), 91, fig. 10, a-b.

<sup>37</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'Anglo-Saxon discoveries at Harston,' *Trans. Leics. Archaeol. Soc.*, xxviii (1952), 50, fig. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Information from Mr. K. Fennell.

<sup>39</sup> J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in East Anglia, part I,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, xlix (1955), 55, fig. 2, no. 6, and p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Mrs. L. Murray-Threipland, 'An excavation at St. Mawgan-in-Pyder, North Cornwall,' *Archaeol. J.*, cxiii (1956), 57, fig. 17, no. 23; Clare I. Fell, 'The Hunsbury hill-fort, Northants.,' *Archaeol. J.*, xciii (1936), 80, fig. 8, L 5; A. Bulleid and H. St.G. Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village* (1917), II, 519, fig. 169; M. E. Cunningham, *The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire* (1923), p. 176, pl. 37, no. 1.

<sup>41</sup> R. R. Clarke, 'An Iron Age hut at Postwick, Norfolk,' *Norfolk Archaeol.*, xxvi (1937), 271-7, and *Norfolk Archaeol.*, xxxi (1957), 407.

<sup>42</sup> Information from Mr. K. Barton.

<sup>43</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons* (London Museum Catalogue No. 6, 1935), p. 147, fig. 25.

<sup>44</sup> *Proc. Preh. Soc. East Anglia*, iv (1922-4), 221, fig. 3, j.

<sup>45</sup> E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 36, p. 90, fig. 10, d.

on bronze bowls.<sup>46</sup> Such a base is clearly difficult for a potter to make, for after he has thrown his pot with a flat base he has to push out the base to make it sag and thereby produce the typical middle-Saxon fingering inside, and the knife-trimming outside to make the sharp basal angle. It has been suggested that it is easier to heat food, etc., in a pot with a sagging base than in one with a flat one. Whatever the reason for its adoption, it is certainly one of the longest-lived fashions in English pottery manufacture.

The area around *Carr Street, Ipswich*, has been very prolific in middle-Saxon finds and therefore, when it was heard that the Co-operative Society were proposing to rebuild their store, the Ministry of Works undertook a series of excavations on the site in Cox Lane, in 1957 and 1958, which were directed by Mr. S. E. West.<sup>47</sup> This has produced very important evidence for the varieties and forms of Ipswich ware and more than doubled the total of middle-Saxon pottery known for the whole country. Ten pits were found and a late-Saxon ditch. Ipswich ware was stratified under Thetford ware, but unfortunately none of the pits containing Ipswich ware was cut one into the other. Mr. West will be reporting in full on these finds in a forthcoming volume of *Medieval Archaeology*.

The most important results have been the recognition of:

1. Four fabrics, smooth, sandy, rough and pimply (p. 14).
2. Three main rim variations. The earlier material from Ipswich had mainly plain, simple, everted rims and the possible range was not fully appreciated.
3. Stamped sherds that do not come from pitchers, but from a class of stamped storage-jars. These are usually much more roughly made than the lugged pitchers (FIG. 3, no. 6). Some of the sherds reconstructed as pitchers<sup>48</sup> may therefore be these storage vessels.
4. Two main types of Ipswich bowl (FIG. 3, nos. 5 and 9). Previously only cooking-pots and pitchers were known.
5. Decorated sherds with incised zig-zags and burnished lattice-patterns in contexts suggestive of the ninth century and comparable with examples from Whitby (p. 26).
6. Sherds of large vessels with black-burnished surfaces comparable with examples from Caister, Norfolk, and Sandtun, Kent (p. 21).

There is no firm dating, but most of the pottery seems to belong to the end of the period in the late-eighth or early-ninth century. There are bun-shaped loom-weights and imported sherds of this date (p. 54). Mr. S. E. West will describe more fully the problems of manufacture of Ipswich ware, and the different fabrics and rim-forms.

At present finds of wheel-thrown middle-Saxon pottery in any quantity are confined to Kent and East Anglia. No examples are known in the Cambridge area, but in 1958 Mr. Charles Green discovered sherds of typical Ipswich ware associated with a hut built in the ruins of a Roman building just south of the church at Castor in Northamptonshire. A closer search must therefore be made

<sup>46</sup> Cf. note 43.

<sup>47</sup> *Med. Archaeol.*, II (1958), 189, and III (1959), 299.

<sup>48</sup> Hurst (1956), p. 41, fig. 5, nos. 2, 3, 9.

in this area, and between here and East Anglia, to see if this is a stray site or whether in fact wheel-thrown pottery was being made there.

From St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, comes a most important rim-sherd.<sup>49</sup> This combines not only the short upright rim, with hardly any neck, but also the sharp division at the shoulder that is a typical ninth-century middle-Saxon feature at Whitby, Yorkshire, Ipswich, Suffolk, and Windsor, Berkshire. It has been said that this pottery from St. Neots itself is among the earliest St. Neots ware found and this rim confirms a date in the ninth century for this site. Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor found at Windsor a sherd which looks very similar to Ipswich ware and may be an import from East Anglia. It is remarkable that rough hand-made pottery was in use at this royal manor down to the Norman conquest. It shows that pottery was not really very important and that, despite the importance of Wessex and Mercia, we should not necessarily expect to find well-made wheel-thrown pottery in these areas.

#### KENT

In Kent the situation is most interesting in middle-Saxon times, as there is a mixture of hand-made and wheel-thrown forms.<sup>50</sup> The most distinctive wheel-thrown vessels from Kent are the spouted, lugged pitchers, of which the best known is that from *Richborough* (FIG. 4, no. 1). This pitcher was found near St. Augustine's chapel and nearby were found two sceattas, and two pennies of Offa dating to the last quarter of the eighth century.<sup>51</sup> Important features are the peaked lug on the shoulder, pierced for suspension, and the vertical finishing of the surface, which is a typical feature in Kent, for example at Canterbury<sup>52</sup> and Dover. It has a zone of individual grid stamps round the shoulder and a sagging base with a sharp basal angle not shown in the original publication.

The lugged pitcher from a settlement site at *Teynham* has the same peaked lug as the Richborough pitcher but the lug is not pierced (FIG. 4, no. 3). The surface is covered with a lattice-work pattern of tooled lines. This lattice pattern appears at Whitby and it is known elsewhere, in Kent, for example, on a seventh-century pot from the Holborough cemetery.<sup>53</sup> There is a fragment of a lugged pitcher from the recent excavations by Mr. A. Saunders at St. Augustine's abbey, *Canterbury* (FIG. 4, no. 5).<sup>54</sup>

There are two fragments of a lugged pitcher from *Dover* separately figured in the report.<sup>55</sup> These have been associated in their proper position (FIG. 4, no. 4). The decoration, which is more complex than on the other Kent pitchers, is set in a series of triangles. There are better examples of this technique in East Anglia

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 39, p. 67, fig. 8, no. 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXVIII (1954), 123-5, fig. 12, nos. 112-15; *id.*, LXXI (1957), 36-7.

<sup>51</sup> J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Third Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* (Res. Rep. Soc. Antiq., x, 1932), p. 186, pl. xlii, 362.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 34 and fig. 9, no. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXX (1956), 104-5 and 139, fig. 20, no. 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Med. Archaeol.*, I (1957), 152; *id.*, II (1958), 186.

<sup>55</sup> Mrs. L. Murray-Threipland, 'Excavations at Dover, 1945-7,' *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXIV (1951), 147-8, fig. 13.

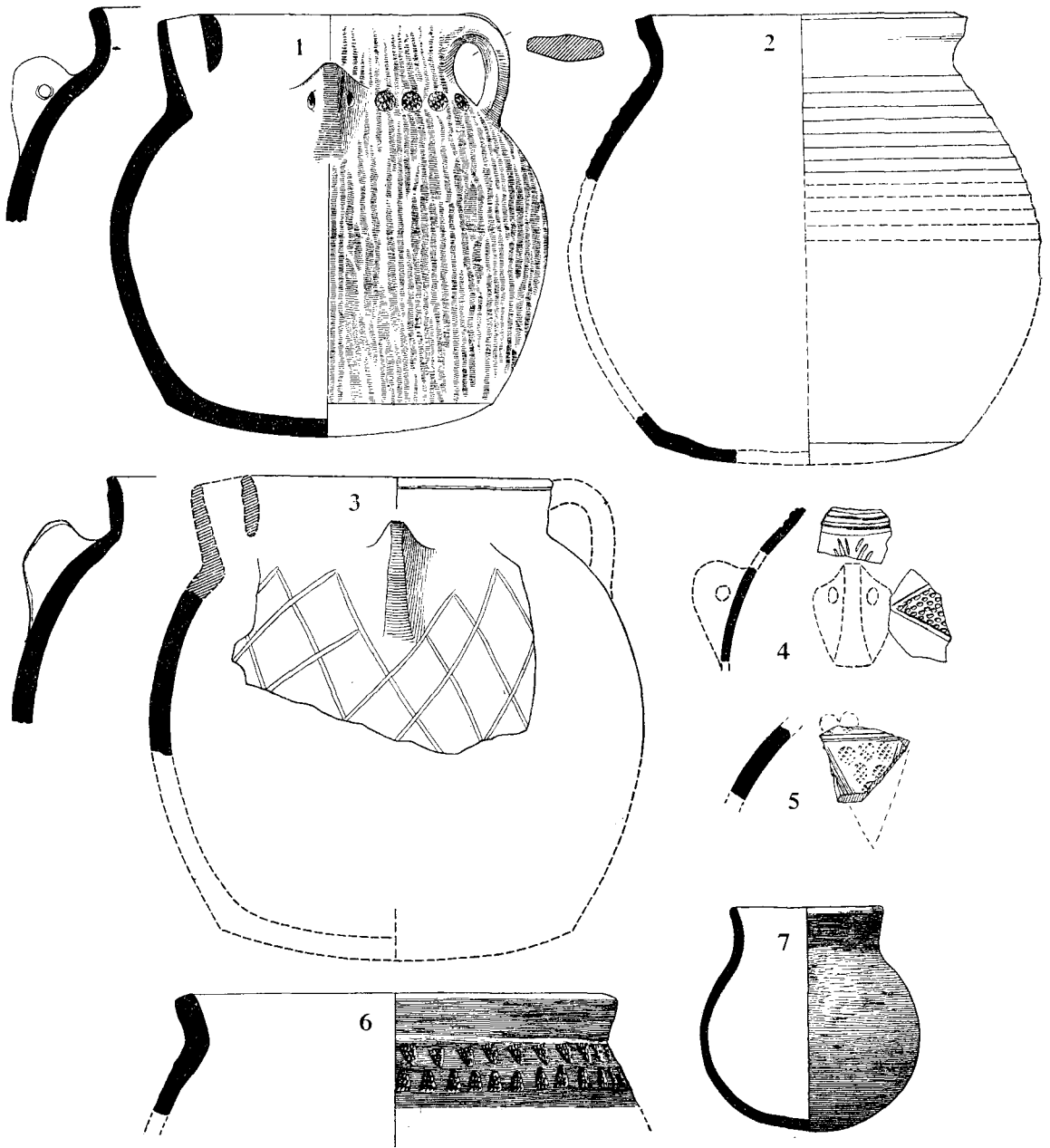


FIG. 4

MIDDLE-SAXON POTTERY FROM KENT (1-5) AND LONDON (6-7). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$ 

1. Richborough: M.O.W. Site Mus. (p. 19); 2. Dover: Dover Mus. (p. 21); 3. Teynham (Osier farm, 1927): Ospringe Mus. (p. 19); 4. Dover: Dover Mus. (p. 19); 5. Canterbury (St. Augustine's Abbey): M.O.W. (p. 19); 6. London (Savoy Palace): London Mus. A27145 (p. 23); 7. Ibid., A27191 (p. 23)

(FIG. 5, nos. 1-4).<sup>56</sup> Two other lugged pitchers are illustrated from *St. Osyths* and *Shoebury*, Essex (FIG. 5, nos. 3-4).

Middle-Saxon pottery is known from Dover, Hilborough and Canterbury, but it is difficult to put an exact date to the hand-made pottery, which is more fully discussed by Mr. Dunning (pp. 31-34). There is, however, a cooking-pot from Dover<sup>57</sup> which is very similar to the wheel-thrown Ipswich ware of East Anglia. It has the typical girth grooves (FIG. 4, no. 2).

At *Sandtun*, near Hythe, Kent, Mr. J. Birchell and Mr. Gordon Ward excavated a mound with two occupation-levels separated by a sterile layer. In the lower one was found a pitcher of brown ware with burnished black surfaces. There are bands of rouletting round the neck and on top of the rim. It has an applied spout which is U-shaped. This piece has previously been called a Frankish pitcher of the seventh or eighth century, but it is more likely to be a Belgian or north-French copy of the late-eighth or early-ninth century. At Norwich Dr. Tischler said that neither the fabric nor the form is similar to Rhenish pitchers. There is also a globular pot burnished all over. From the upper floor was a sherd of hard grey pottery which is of a type common in Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (p. 67). The lower occupation-level, therefore, belongs to the middle-Saxon period and the other to about the time of the Norman conquest. In both there was a series of rough sherds of early medieval pottery (FIG. 9, no. 3). This pottery is outside the scope of this paper but we have here an indication that it starts late in middle-Saxon times, in view of its association with this imported pitcher.

#### LONDON

West of London, Mr. Hope-Taylor, digging for the Ministry of Works at *Old Windsor*, Berkshire, has obtained a most important sequence of stratified pottery from the seventh century into the medieval period.<sup>58</sup> The types have yet to be worked out, but in the middle-Saxon period most of the pottery is grass-tempered and hand-made; there are only a few pots in gritty ware. This grass-tempered pottery appears to last right down to the eleventh century, which is very important, as it had previously been believed that it finished earlier. This makes it doubly difficult to date hand-made Saxon pottery by ware, as grass-tempered pottery is now seen to have a life from pagan-Saxon to late-Saxon times. Secondly there are very few middle-Saxon sagging bases at Windsor, which is strange, as they are known in Kent and at Southampton (*Hamwih*).<sup>59</sup> Although sagging bases are common in eastern England from the seventh century, this lack at Windsor makes one cautious in dating such finds as those at Whittington (p. 25) early. Important local types are the varied forms of horizontal lugs dating to the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries, which seem to be confined to this site at present.

Windsor, however, provides three other indications which help with dating

<sup>56</sup> Hurst (1956), p. 41, fig. 5, nos. 1 and 4.

<sup>57</sup> G. C. Dunning, *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXXI (1957), 36, fig. 14, no. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Med. Archaeol.*, II (1958), 183-5.

<sup>59</sup> See pp. 25 and 33.

finds from elsewhere; it is perhaps too early to stress them too much until the pottery has been fully worked on, but if they are confirmed they will help us on the many unstratified sites. First, the sequence at Windsor seems to confirm that small, upright, pierced lugs (FIG. 3, no. 4), are middle-Saxon in date and do not

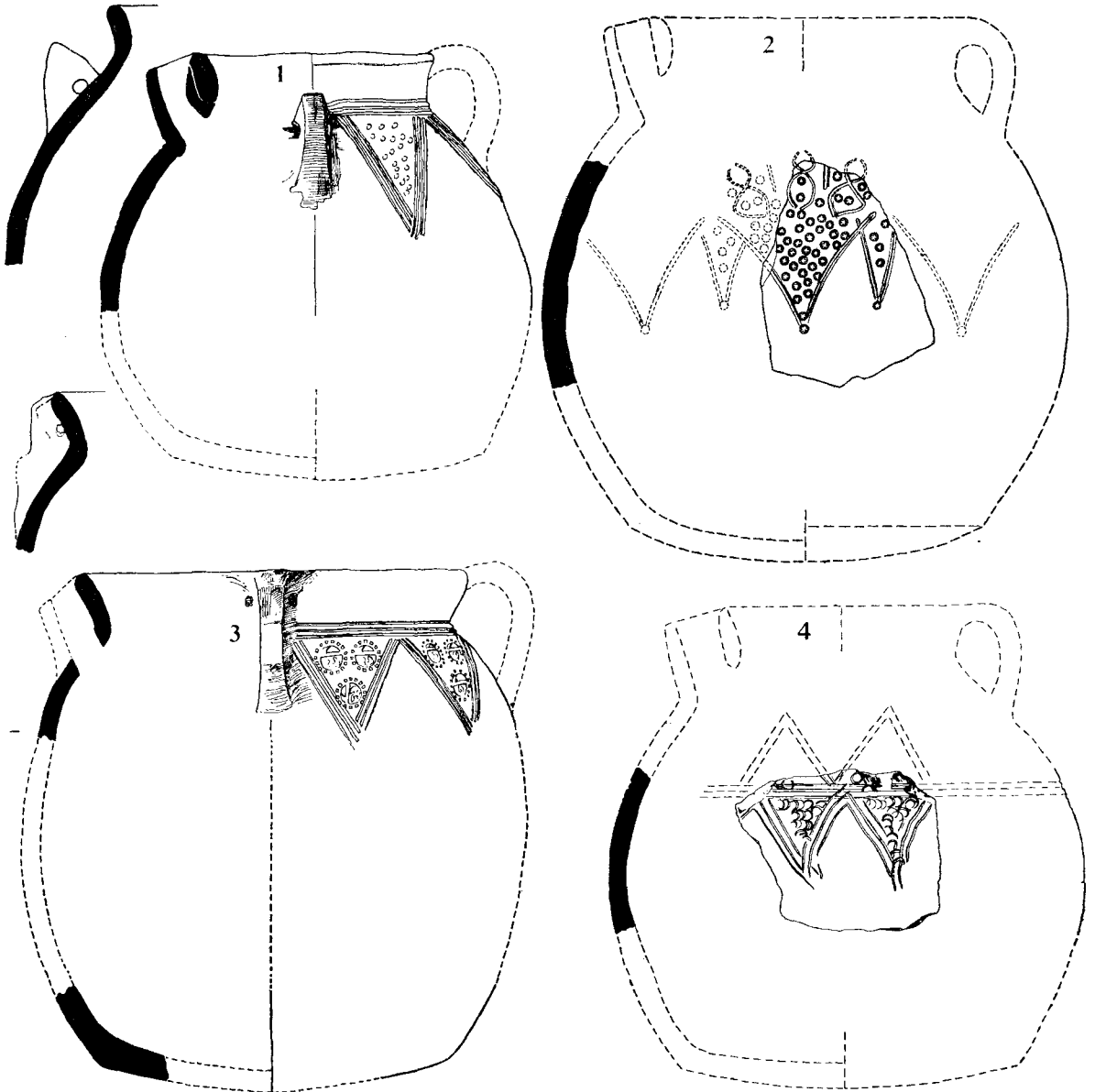


FIG. 5

STAMPED PITCHERS FROM EAST ANGLIA. Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$ 

1. Ipswich: Ipswich Mus. (p. 14); 2. St. Osyth, Essex: Colchester Mus. (p. 21); 3. Ipswich (Buttermarket, pit II): Ipswich Mus. (p. 14); 4. Shoebury, Essex: Southend Mus. (p. 21)

last beyond the ninth century; secondly, the change over from the intermediate to the bun-shaped type of loom-weight (p. 24) occurs at Windsor at about the start of the ninth century, as has been suspected elsewhere; and thirdly, cooking-pots with sharply carinated shoulders are usually, at Windsor, late in the middle-Saxon period.

In the London Museum there is a group of pottery from a possible pagan-Saxon hut at Hanwell in Middlesex.<sup>60</sup> The simple rims and the flat bases are typical of the pagan period. Also in the London Museum is a grass-tempered pot from the Thames at *Mortlake*.<sup>61</sup> It is suggested that this is middle-Saxon in date, as it has a sharply carinated shoulder, which is similar to the material from Whitby and Windsor, and it has a slightly sagging base. There is no sharp angle but there is a change of curve and the base is really neither rounded nor flat. The carination suggests a ninth-century date.

The evidence for middle-Saxon pottery in *London* is very scanty. There is at present nothing from the City itself, though there are some imported wares, for example, a small biconical pot from Gresham Street.<sup>62</sup> This is not like anything that was made over here and it is probably a Frankish import of about the seventh century.<sup>63</sup> There are no annular or intermediate loom-weights in the Guildhall Museum to give any clue to early sites.

From the site of the *Savoy Palace*, on the south side of the Strand, London, fragments of three pots and four clay loom-weights were found.<sup>64</sup> There is no evidence that all these were associated, but they are likely to come from a Saxon hut in the vicinity. The pottery includes a sherd from a thick-sided, wheel-thrown vessel in hard grey ware with some grit and a series of stamps round the shoulder (FIG. 4, no. 6). There is no doubt that this is middle-Saxon, and while it may not come from a spouted pitcher (FIG. 5), it may come from a storage vessel, for which there are now parallels in Ipswich (FIG. 3, no. 6). It is made on a wheel; all the other pottery is hand-made. There is a small round-bottomed cooking-pot with a slightly everted neck in a smooth, burnished ware (FIG. 4, no. 7). Finally, there is a flat base in smooth, black ware with some grit and signs of grass-tempering.

In 1935 Sir Mortimer Wheeler divided *loom-weights* into annular and bun-shaped types, suggesting that the annular examples were pagan-Saxon and the bun-shaped were late-Saxon.<sup>65</sup> This fundamental division still holds and it can be very useful where only rough pottery is made. There seems, however, to be a third intermediate type made in the middle-Saxon period. A loom-weight is annular if the central hole is as wide or wider than the ring of clay around it. Loom-weights with smaller central holes belong either to the intermediate type or are bun-shaped. There is, however, a more fundamental difference, as the pagan-Saxon annular loom-weights are made as rings or have been pushed out

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 43, pp. 136-9, fig. 21.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156-7, fig. 32, no. 2.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156, fig. 32, no. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Dr. Tischler agreed with this at the Norwich conference.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-41.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154-5, fig. 31.

with the fingers. All the later loom-weights are discs which have been pierced with holes of varying sizes. The type figured by Wheeler as annular is of the intermediate type.

The Savoy examples are described as four annular loom-weights,<sup>66</sup> but it is suggested that there was, during middle-Saxon times, a series of intermediate types of which these are typical. It is fair to assume that these are contemporary finds from the same hut. It would be possible, however, from these four examples to work out a typological sequence or development from the almost annular example (Wheeler, pl. vi, bottom right) through the loom-weight (Wheeler,

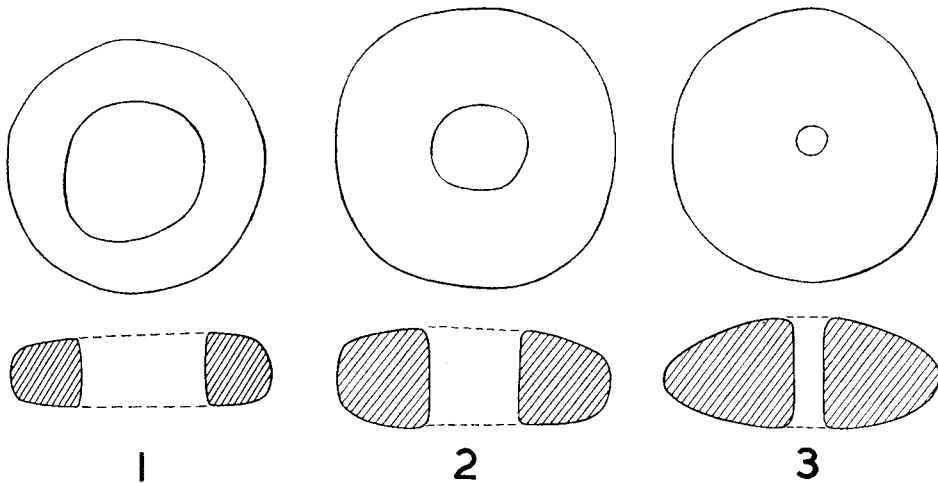


FIG. 6

THREE TYPES OF SAXON LOOM-WEIGHT (p. 23 f). Sc.  $\frac{1}{3}$ 

1. *Annular*: Sutton Courtenay, Berks. (British Mus.);
2. *Intermediate*: Whitby Abbey, Yorks. (British Mus.);
3. *Bun-shaped*: Dorestad, Holland (British Mus.)

pl. vi, bottom left) which has a small hole on one side and a large hole on the other, to the two upper ones (Wheeler, pl. vi) which are closer to the bun-shaped type. This shows the danger of a complex typological sequence and more information is required on middle-Saxon loom-weights before this can be done. But meanwhile three main divisions, annular, intermediate and bun-shaped may be distinguished (FIG. 6). Annular ones are found at pagan sites such as Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire,<sup>67</sup> and Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire.<sup>68</sup> There is a remarkable group from Grimstone End in Suffolk.<sup>69</sup> The intermediate type is known from seventh- and eighth-century contexts at Whitby, Yorkshire,<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139-40, pl. vi.

<sup>67</sup> E. T. Leeds, 'A Saxon village near Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire,' *Archaeologia*, LXXIII (1923), 180-1 and pl. xxvi, 3; *id.*, LXXVI (1927), 75, 77, pl. vi, 2.

<sup>68</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'The Saxon hut near Bourton-on-the-Water,' *Antiq. J.*, XII (1932), 290, pl. lv, 2.

<sup>69</sup> G. M. Knocker, 'Excavations at Grimstone End,' *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, XXVI (1955), 198-9, pl. xxiv.

<sup>70</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX (1943), 83.



Yeavinger, Northumberland,<sup>71</sup> and Caister-by-Yarmouth, Norfolk,<sup>72</sup> and the proper bun-shaped type from the ninth century onwards at Medmerry, Sussex,<sup>73</sup> Ipswich,<sup>74</sup> St. Neots, Huntingdonshire,<sup>75</sup> and Oxford.<sup>76</sup> Similar categories of loom-weights are found on the continent.<sup>77</sup>

There has been some debate about their use. The annular ones could have been either loom-weights or pot-stands but the bun-shaped ones could hardly be used as pot-stands, and there are examples, such as the intermediate weight from Faversham,<sup>78</sup> which have guide grooves for the warp. It is significant that they cease to be found after the twelfth century at the time of the introduction of the horizontal loom.

#### WESSEX

The most important middle-Saxon site on the south coast is *Hamwih*, the Saxon Southampton, where Mr. M. R. Maitland-Muller and Mr. D. M. Waterman dug for several years after the second world war. Many pits and hut sites were excavated and large quantities of pottery and coins were found.<sup>79</sup> There was much wheel-thrown imported pottery. All the local pottery is hand-made and comprises mainly cooking-pots and bowls with plain, everted rims and sagging bases (see further, p. 33).

The only other middle-Saxon site known in Wessex is at *Downton*, near Salisbury, where Mr. P. A. Rahtz, digging for the Ministry of Works, found a Saxon gravel-pit 15 ft. deep and 30 ft. across.<sup>80</sup> In this there were quantities of grass-tempered pottery with simple rims and rounded bases without any true basal angle. There were two open bowls and one small lug. Again, these are very difficult to date but they should be middle-Saxon and perhaps early rather than late. If comparison can be made with the material from Windsor they should be before the ninth century (p. 34, fig. 9, no. 6).<sup>81</sup>

#### THE WEST

In the west there is at present only one site that can be assigned to the middle-Saxon period. At *Whittington*, Gloucestershire, Mrs. H. E. O'Neil found metal objects<sup>82</sup> which are similar to those at Whitby dating to the eighth or ninth century. The pottery<sup>83</sup> comprises only a few sherds of hard, gritty black ware

<sup>71</sup> Information from Mr. B. Hope-Taylor.

<sup>72</sup> Information from Mr. C. Green.

<sup>73</sup> Miss G. M. White, 'A settlement of the South Saxons,' *Antiq. J.*, xiv (1934), 398-9, pl. lii, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Information from Mr. S. E. West.

<sup>75</sup> C. F. Tebbutt, 'Late-Saxon huts at St. Neots,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, xxxiii (1933), 149.

<sup>76</sup> E. M. Jope, 'The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford. Part I. The Site,' *Oxoniensia*, xxiii (1958), 73, fig. 23.

<sup>77</sup> E.g., Dorestad, *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, xi (1930), 86, fig. 67, 26-9; Tofting, *Offa Bücher*, xii (1955), pl. 36, nos. 6-10; Nabburg, *Germania*, xxxi (1953), 219-21, fig. 4, nos. 14-19.

<sup>78</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, lxix (1955), 208-10, fig. 2.

<sup>79</sup> M. R. Maitland-Muller and D. M. Waterman, *Archaeol. News Letter*, ii (1949), 13-14, 50, 142; iii (1950-1), 36-7, 134-5; iv (1951), 62.

<sup>80</sup> *Wilt. Archaeol. Mag.*, lvi (1956), 248.

<sup>81</sup> Information from Mr. B. Hope-Taylor.

<sup>82</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'Late Saxon objects from Whittington,' *Trans. Bristol & Gloucs. Archaeol. Soc.*, lxxi (1952), 77-81, fig. 13.

<sup>83</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'Saxon pottery from Whittington Court Roman villa,' *ibid.*, p. 60, fig. 5, nos. 9-10.

and cannot be dated closely. One bowl has a sagging base which confirms that it goes with the metal objects but it might be as early as the late-seventh century. The thick upright rim is not much help for dating. The pottery from Wareham, Dorset, is late-Saxon (see *Med. Archaeol.* III (1959), 130 ff., 138). A grass-tempered sherd from Avebury, Wiltshire, could be pagan-, middle- or late-Saxon.

#### THE MIDLANDS

No middle-Saxon hand-made pottery is known in Lincolnshire and the midlands. There must, however, be some in local museums which has not been recognized. It is hard to believe that none has been found, especially in view of the importance of Mercia at this period (but see note on Windsor, p. 19).

#### THE NORTH

In Northumbria the best known, and in fact almost the only known, middle-Saxon site is the monastery of *Whitby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Its pottery is dated by historical evidence to the period 657-867,<sup>84</sup> for there is no documentary reference to any occupation of the site between the sacking of the monastery by the Danes in 867 and its refounding in 1075. This dating is supported by the character of the small finds, and the pottery may, therefore, be firmly placed in the middle-Saxon period. Fifteen years ago it was not possible to say more than this: now, with other comparative sites, it is possible to start to divide the material, but it is still early to be too dogmatic. There are two main groups. The first is mostly sandy, and grey or black in colour, a few of the sherds being gritty or grass-tempered. It is all hand-made and there are cooking-pots,<sup>85</sup> small conical cups,<sup>86</sup> and open bowls<sup>87</sup> (FIG. 7). The bases are all flat, mostly with a rounded angle, but some have a sharp angle (FIG. 7, no. 2). They are very similar to pagan domestic types and illustrate the serious difficulty there is in distinguishing pagan-, middle- and late-Saxon hand-made domestic pottery. It is suggested that the simple everted rims (FIG. 7, nos. 1-5) are seventh- or eighth-century, while those with the sharply carinated shoulder (FIG. 7, no. 7), and those with globular bodies and small upright (FIG. 7, no. 6), or slightly inturned, necks are eighth- or ninth-century. As has been seen, these types occur in ninth-century contexts elsewhere. There are four decorated sherds.<sup>88</sup> The zig-zag ornament is found in the ninth century in East Anglia (p. 18), but the criss-cross lattice-burnished pattern is found in seventh-century contexts in Kent<sup>89</sup> and ninth-century ones in East Anglia (p. 18), so this is not so easy to date. It may be that many of these decorative features last throughout the period.

The second group<sup>90</sup> is wheel-thrown and is quite alien to what was being

<sup>84</sup> Sir Charles Peers and C. A. R. Radford, 'The Saxon monastery at Whitby,' *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX (1943), 27-88.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 77, fig. 25, nos. 1-13.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 77, fig. 25, nos. 15-16.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 77, fig. 25, nos. 17-22.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, fig. 26, nos. 23-6.

<sup>89</sup> Miss V. Evison, 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Holborough, Kent,' *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXX (1956), 104-5 and 139, fig. 20, no. 1.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 84, p. 81, fig. 26, nos. 29-33.

made in East Anglia at this time. It is very fine, hard and fired in a developed kiln. It may be regarded as imported from Mayen.<sup>91</sup> There is, however, a sherd which has a squared, thickened rim and a harsh pimply surface.<sup>92</sup> It is very similar to the typical northern type of early-medieval cooking-pot dating to the late-twelfth century,<sup>93</sup> and may therefore be later than the refounding of the monastery in 1075.

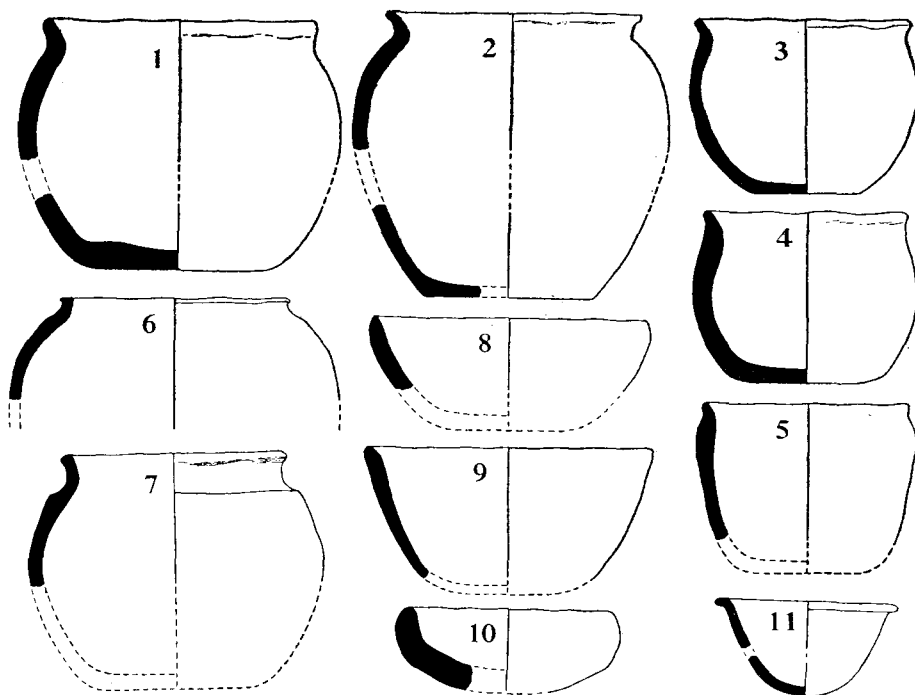


FIG. 7

MIDDLE-SAXON POTTERY FROM WHITBY ABBEY, YORKS. (p. 26). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

(after *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX (1943), 77, fig. 25, by courtesy)

1=ibid. no. 1; 2=no. 3; 3=no. 4; 4=no. 5; 5=no. 7; 6=no. 13; 7=no. 8; 8-10=nos. 19-21; 11=no. 15

The excavation of the Saxon palace at *Yeavering*, Northumberland, while of the greatest importance for structures, was rather disappointing in its pottery, as so much of the occupation-layers were ploughed away.<sup>94</sup> The pottery was simple in outline, as one would expect from a site finishing at the end of the seventh century. The loom-weights are of the intermediate type, thus suggesting that they, too, were in use by the seventh century.

<sup>91</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'Trade relations between England and the continent,' *Dark-age Britain; Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (ed. D. B. Harden, 1956), pp. 222-3. Dr. Tischler agreed with this identification at the Norwich conference.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 84, p. 81, fig. 26, no. 34.

<sup>93</sup> E. M. Jope, 'The north English style of cooking pot,' *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.*, LV (1956), 323-5.

<sup>94</sup> *Med. Archaeol.*, I (1957), 148-9.

The remarkable pot, covered with stamps, allegedly found in *Heworth* churchyard, County Durham, with six Northumbrian stycas of Ecgrith, dating to the last quarter of the seventh century<sup>95</sup> can unfortunately no longer be regarded as closely dated, for the hoard, and its association with the pot, is no longer accepted by numismatists.<sup>96</sup> The pot, however, is presumably Saxon in date.

During the past six years there has been increasing interest in late-Saxon pottery in *York* and a local variety (called *York ware*) has now been recognized.<sup>97</sup> While there is little historical evidence for continental contacts with East Anglia in middle-Saxon times there are literary references to Frisian merchants in *York*.<sup>98</sup> It is strange, therefore, that only two pieces of middle-Saxon pottery have been found, a stamped sherd from the site of the Tempest Anderson Hall *York*,<sup>99</sup> and a rim from Hungate. Both are wheel-thrown of East Anglian type. It is even more frustrating that in 1957 no pottery was discovered in layers containing remains of floors, hearths, daub and even leather objects, stratified between the Roman and late-Saxon levels at the south corner-tower of the Roman fortress.<sup>100</sup> It is to be hoped that further work in *York* will fill this gap.

#### SUMMARY

To sum up, there is in middle-Saxon times a sharp division between East Anglia and Kent on the one hand, with their wheel-thrown pottery, and the rest of Saxon England, where the hand-made pagan tradition lasts for another 300 or 400 years. The same division persists in the late-Saxon period, with the addition to the wheel-thrown area of Lincoln and *York*, yielding very important results (see further, FIG. 39). Ipswich ware is made mainly in pagan-Saxon forms with the addition of the Rhenish features of the wheel, kilns, sagging 'base, knife-trimming and the spouted pitcher. All these traits are foreign to East Anglia in the pagan period and the techniques for making Ipswich ware must have been introduced from the Rhineland. The only thing that is disturbing is why only a slow wheel was used when the fast wheel was known abroad. This suggests that, although actual potters may have come over here in the seventh century, the industry was run by native potters and it was not until the middle of the ninth century that families of potters came over to establish their pottery-making monopoly.

In the Ipswich area the ware is mainly sandy and smooth, while in the other three areas the harsh, pimply ware predominates. This suggests at least two main areas of manufacture. We know that the sandy ware was made at

<sup>95</sup> J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventary of British Coin Hoards* (Royal Numismatic Soc. 1956), pl. iii, a, p. 69.

<sup>96</sup> Information from Mr. R. H. M. Dolley.

<sup>97</sup> I. M. Stead, 'Excavations at the south corner-tower of the Roman fortress at *York* 1956,' *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, xxxix (1958), 522.

<sup>98</sup> 'Altfred Life of St. Liudger,' ed. G. H. Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* II (1829), 403-19, chapter 11, translated in *English Historical Documents* (506-1042), ed. D. Whitelock (1955), p. 725; Alcuin, *Carm.* 59, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Poetae*, I, 273. I am indebted to Miss R. Cramp and Mr. A. J. Taylor for their help with these references.

<sup>99</sup> I. M. Stead, 'A sherd of middle-Saxon pottery from *York*,' *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, xxxix (1958), 426.

<sup>100</sup> As note 97.

Ipswich but we do not yet know the sources of the pimply ware: one could well be at Caister as Mr. Green suggests. We may picture a coastal distribution with the inland sites being settled up the rivers from the Wash, as in pagan times, and not overland through forested Suffolk. This fits in very well with the view that the East-Anglian royal house held its sway mainly by sea-power. The beginning of this period is very close to Sutton Hoo in time. The evidence from Framlingham, Caister, Bradwell and Burgh castle all points to a starting date for Ipswich ware in the middle of the seventh century, while the finds from Caister and Ipswich confirm that it ended about 850, which links well with the earliest dating for late-Saxon pottery at Thetford, though it was earlier at Ipswich.

The stamped, lugged, spouted pitchers have a more widespread distribution, but are so far confined to coastal areas. There are four isolated finds in Kent and then a series around the east coast, Shoebury, St. Osyth, Stutton, the remarkable series of over forty stamped vessels from Ipswich, Caister, Sedgeford in West Norfolk, and York. It is difficult to say where these pots were made. The number of finds in Kent and the vertical trimming of the Richborough pitcher suggest a Kentish source, but the large series from Ipswich certainly suggests a second source of manufacture there. Many of the stamped vessels are poor in quality beside the lugged pitchers and it may well be they were copying the well-made pitchers coming up from Kent. These pitchers are of considerable interest, as they combine the stamped decoration, which has a long history in Saxon lands on both sides of the North Sea, the shape and sagging base that have Rhenish affinities, and the peaked lug which seems to form a link with the elusive Frisian merchants that we hear so much about but find so hard to pin down. These lugs are found in Frisia down to the third period of the terps in the eighth century.<sup>101</sup>

In the rest of Saxon England the pagan traditions continue apparently almost unchanged for most of the middle-Saxon period, and, over much of the country, for the late-Saxon period as well. In the north the ware is mainly sandy, while in the south the grass-tempered pottery predominates from pagan times at Sutton Courtenay down to the eleventh century at Windsor. Much of the pagan domestic pottery in East Anglia from Thetford and West Stow is either sandy or gritted, but grass-tempered ware occurs for example at Colchester<sup>102</sup> and Bulmer, Essex.<sup>103</sup> The different fabrics, therefore, seem to have a geographical rather than a chronological significance, though one ware is not usually exclusive to any one site. We do not know enough yet about the rim-forms to be dogmatic, but it looks as if simple rims are early and carinated shoulders are late. Otherwise the only hope at present, until more material is available, is the dating provided by associated loom-weights, small finds or coins.

A great deal has been learnt during the past few years, but there is still a tremendous amount to be done, especially in those parts of England outside East Anglia. We need, of course, excavation of settlement-sites, but these are few enough for the pagan period, while almost none of the middle-Saxon period have

<sup>101</sup> P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland Tot de Elfde Eeuw* (1951), p. 576, pl. xxv, 6. 7. 11.

<sup>102</sup> M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (Res. Rept. Soc. Antiq., xx, 1958), p. 79.

<sup>103</sup> See *Med. Archaeol.*, III (1959), 282 ff.

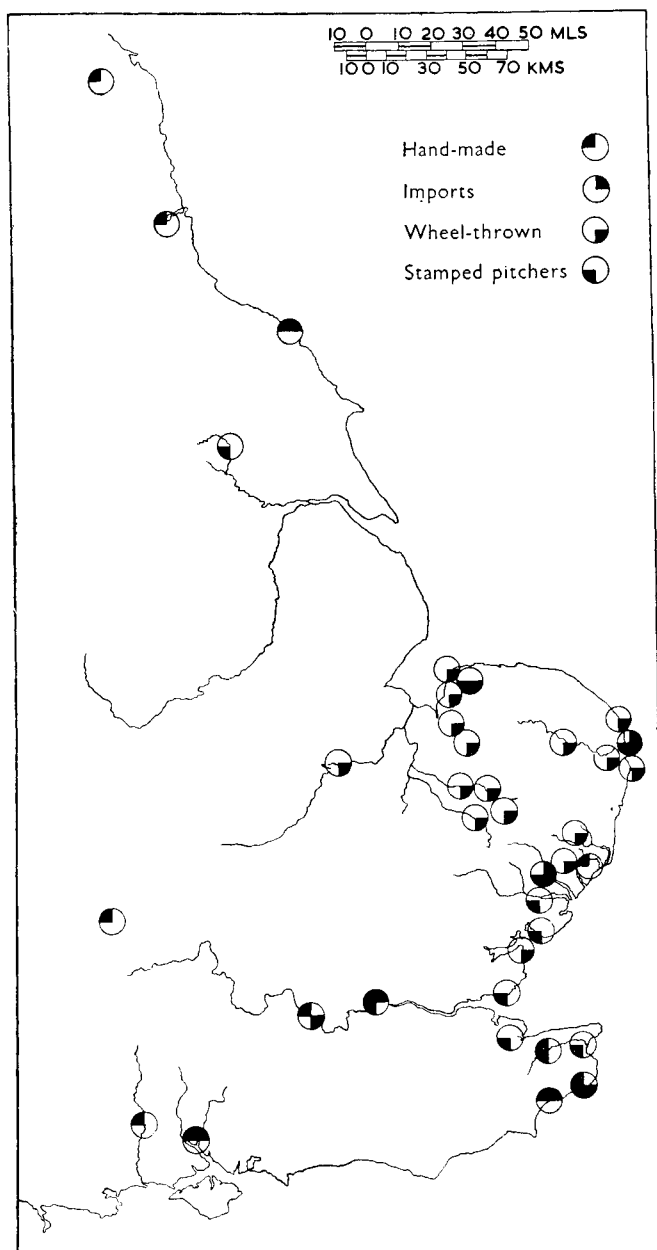


FIG. 8

DISTRIBUTION OF FOUR MAIN TYPES OF MIDDLE-SAXON POTTERY

been recognized. It is to be hoped, then, that during the next few years there will be great strides in our knowledge of the middle-Saxon period in eastern England and that sites will begin to appear in the north, midlands and south, which are at present almost empty of them.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have to thank Mr. G. C. Dunning for his generous help in preparing this paper. I am particularly grateful for his permission to use his drawings of the Kent vessels (FIG. 4, nos. 1-4), the vessels from London (FIG. 4, nos. 6 and 7) and Whitby (FIG. 7). I must also thank Mr. S. E. West for allowing me to publish in advance of his own report some of the most important finds from the Cox Lane, Ipswich, excavation and for the use of his drawings (FIGS. 3 and 5). Fig. 6 was drawn by Miss E. Meikle. I have to thank the Southend Museum for permission to publish the fragment of stamped pitcher from Shoebury (p. 21 and FIG. 5, no. 4).

## IV. POTTERY OF THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD IN ENGLAND

### THE REGIONAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL GROUPS OF LOCAL POTTERY, AND IMPORTS FROM THE CONTINENT

BY G. C. DUNNING

*Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works*

*THIS survey of late Saxon pottery incorporates material collected partly during my tenure of the Esher Research Studentship of the London Museum in 1931-33, and partly under other conditions since then. The original subject of the research, the late Saxon and medieval pottery of London, runs as a thread through the paper.*

THE period covered by this survey is from the eighth or ninth century until the twelfth. The upper limiting date is bound to be elastic because, particularly in southern England, some of the material lacks precise dating and shows little development during these centuries and later, thus making fine distinctions between the middle- and late-Saxon periods artificial. The lower limiting date can hardly be drawn at the Norman conquest, since certain of the pottery groups continue with little change into the twelfth century. With these reservations, the material may be divided into the following regional and chronological groups.

### A. INSULAR POTTERY

#### I. SOUTHERN ENGLAND

The group comprises pottery of insular ancestry. At first this shows little improvement on the hand-made domestic wares of the earlier Anglo-Saxon period. Although the distribution covers the region south of the Thames, from Kent to Dorset, which was most accessible to influences from the continent, such influence can only be detected in part on the indigenous pottery towards the close of the period.

The leading types are cooking-pots and bowls. The spouted pitchers are as yet known in this region only in the middle-Saxon period (p. 19); examples dated later than the ninth century are at present lacking until the eleventh and twelfth centuries are reached, and are described below (p. 34).

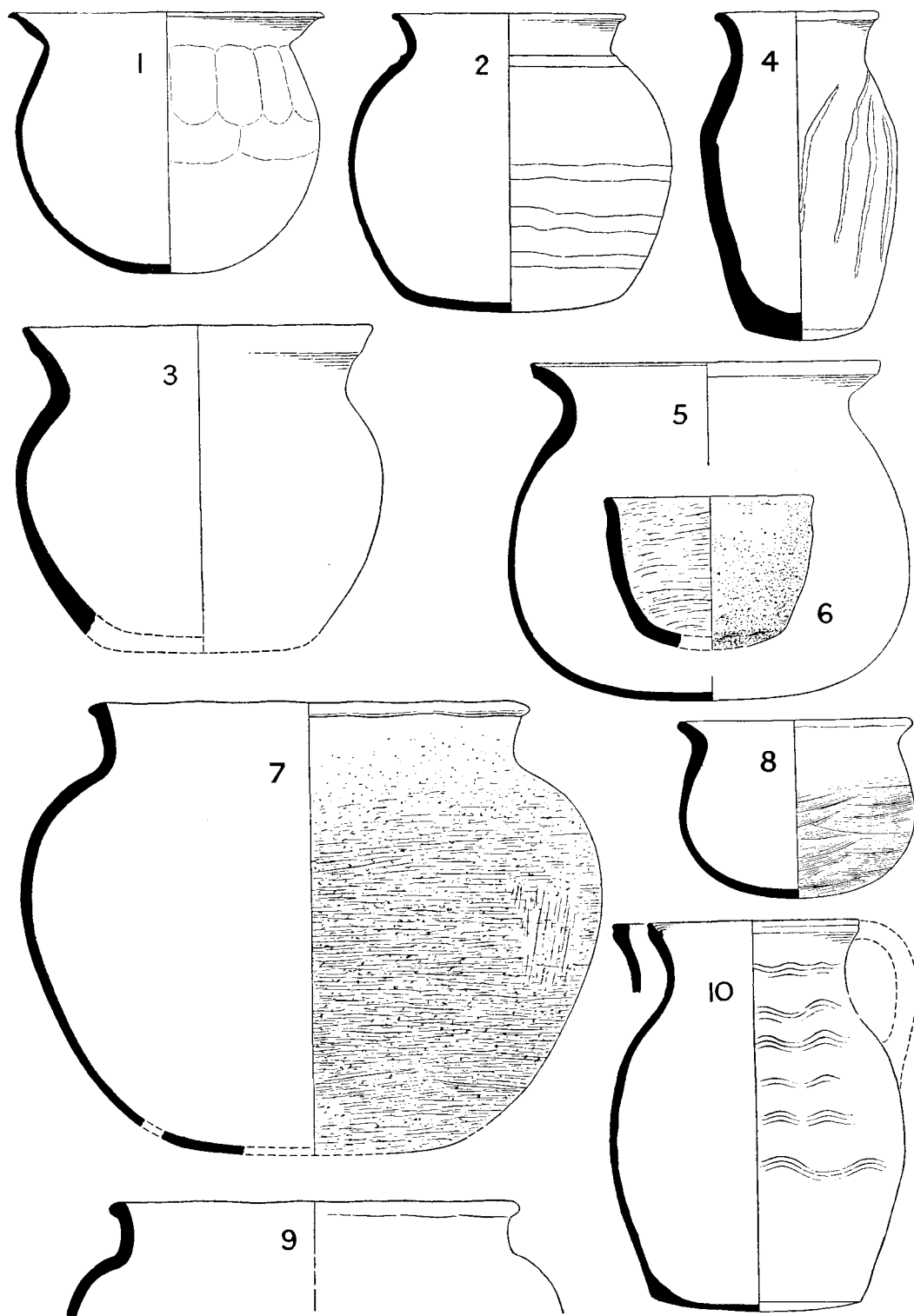


FIG. 9

COOKING-POTS AND JUG OF GROUPS 1 AND 5 (pp. 31, 44). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1, Castle Street, Canterbury; 2, Hillborough, near Reculver; 3, Sandtun, near Hythe; 4, Hamwih, Southampton; 5, St. George's Street, Winchester; 6, Downton, Wilts.; 7, Frocester, Glos.; 8, Old Sarum, near Salisbury; 9, under castle mound, Norwich; 10, Thetford



The best-dated sites are Hamwih, where the hand-made pottery (FIG. 9, no. 4) is dated by imported wares of the eighth and ninth centuries (p. 50); Old Windsor, where hand-made pottery showing local developments in ware and

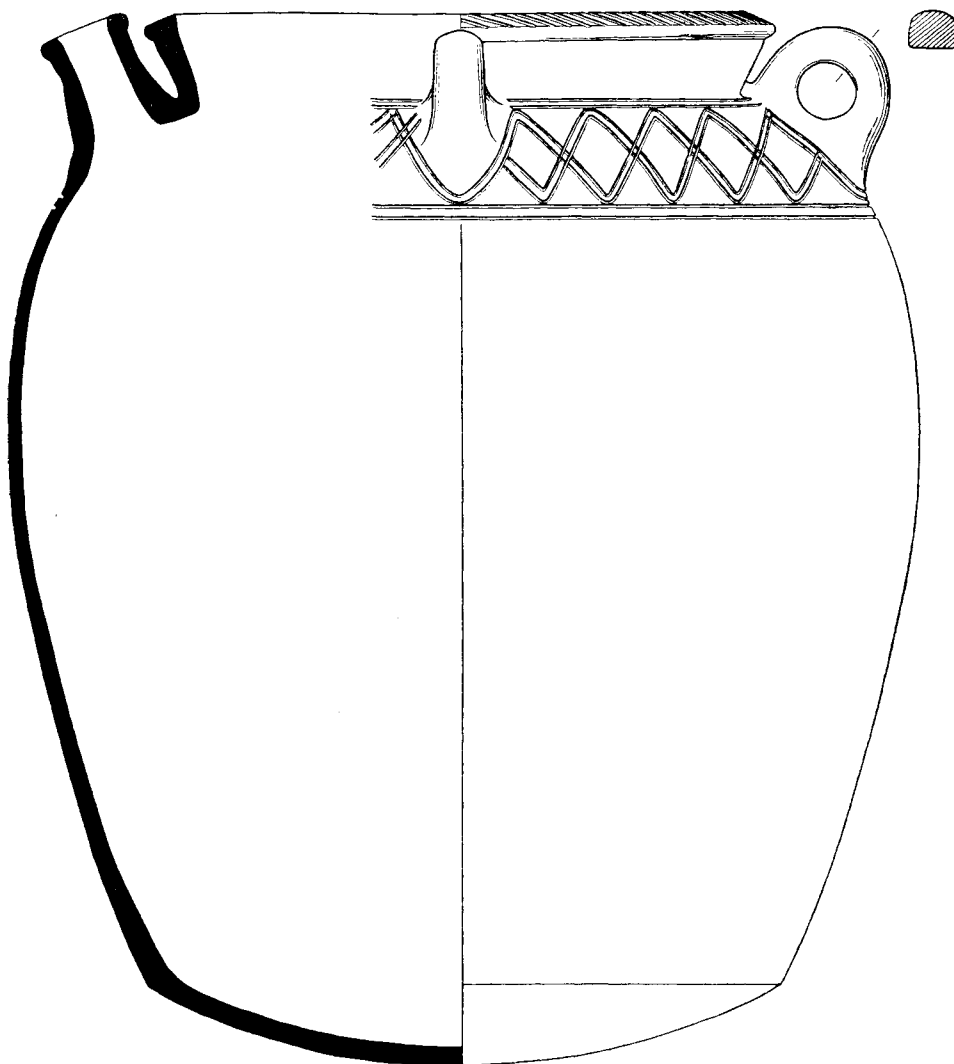


FIG. 10  
SPOUTED PITCHER OF GROUP 1 FROM ST. GEORGE'S STREET,  
WINCHESTER (p. 34). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

shape was in use from about the eighth century onwards;<sup>104</sup> and Canterbury, where the sequence in cooking-pots has been worked out from the seventh or eighth century onwards into medieval times.<sup>105</sup> At Canterbury the earlier pots

<sup>104</sup> Summary report in *Med. Archaeol.*, II (1958), 183-5.

<sup>105</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXVIII (1954), 124-5, fig. 12, 112-15, and 128-31, figs. 15-16.

have a burnished surface, and the later show vertical knife-trimming of the body (FIG. 9, no. 1). At Hamwih and Canterbury the bases of the pots are either rounded, or convex with a definite basal-angle (FIG. 9 nos. 1 and 4). In Wessex the earlier form of base persists alongside the more developed until the end of the eleventh century at least.<sup>106</sup>

Other sites included in this group are Chilham,<sup>107</sup> Hillborough, near Reculver (FIG. 9, no. 2), and Sandtun, near Hythe (FIG. 9, no. 3), in Kent; Chichester<sup>108</sup> and Selsey<sup>109</sup> in Sussex; Winchester (FIG. 9, no. 5); Downton, Wilts. (FIG. 9, no. 6); Wareham, Dorset; and Whittington, Gloucestershire.<sup>110</sup>

The technical skill achieved by the late-Saxon potters is well shown by the great spouted pitcher, 22.5 in. (57.2 cm.) high from Winchester (FIG. 10), datable to the early-twelfth century. At the ports and large towns, such as Southampton and Winchester, improvements in shape and technique were the result of trade contacts with Normandy in the Norman period. Inland, the primitive 'scratch-marked' pottery<sup>111</sup> continued the native hand-made tradition well into the twelfth century (FIG. 9, nos. 7-8), and in a modified form even into the thirteenth century.

The use of large individual stamps to decorate the pitchers is a striking demonstration of the resurgence of Saxon motifs in the Norman period. Recorded instances are from Rayleigh castle, Essex,<sup>112</sup> Chichester,<sup>113</sup> and the Oxford region,<sup>114</sup> but the range covers the whole area of Group 1 pottery in southern England (FIG. 11).

## 2. EAST ANGLIA AND THE MIDLANDS

The so-called Saxo-Norman group, comprises Thetford ware (sandy), St. Neots ware (shell-filled), and Stamford ware (fine quality ware, often lead-glazed).<sup>115</sup> It should be emphasized that these are generic terms, not specific. For instance, pottery of hard sandy ware is found over a large area, and was not necessarily all made and fired in kilns at the type site. This group is intrusive in England, but rapidly became the dominant ceramic group of the region. The forms, based on Frankish and Carolingian types in the Rhineland, include spouted pitchers, storage-jars, cooking-pots, bowls, costrels, lamps and ring-vases (FIGS. 12-16). The storage-jars provide a neat demonstration of the Rhenish origin of Group 2 pottery; in size and shape, the multiple handles, and above all in the profuse plastic decoration in zones, these are patently copies of relief-band amphorae (see p. 54).

<sup>106</sup> *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xxi (1959), forthcoming.

<sup>107</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xvi (1936), 467.

<sup>108</sup> *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.*, xci (1956), 143.

<sup>109</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xiv (1934), 393.

<sup>110</sup> *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, lxxi (1952), 60, fig. 5, 9-10.

<sup>111</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xv (1935), 174; *Wilts Archaeol. Mag.*, lvii (1957-8), 40. Distribution map in *Archaeol. J.*, cvii (1952), 37, fig. 10.

<sup>112</sup> *Trans. Essex. Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s. xii (1913), 180, pl. F, f-g.

<sup>113</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 108, p. 148, fig. 11.

<sup>114</sup> *Oxoniensia*, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 89, fig. 34, nos. 29, 30, 37.

<sup>115</sup> J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in East Anglia,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, xlix (1955), 43-70; I (1956), 29-60; and LI (1957), 37-65.

The pottery of Group 2 is wheel-turned on a fast wheel, and fired in kilns. The siting of pottery-making on a large scale in newly-founded towns is proved by the discovery of kilns at Thetford.

The three classes comprised in Group 2 have different distributions which imply separate areas of production, which must now be discussed.

*Thetford ware.* The cooking-pots and bowls are distributed over Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, with outliers in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. With few exceptions these are thus confined to the area east of The Wash. The spouted pitchers are massed in the main Thetford region and at Cambridge, but did not

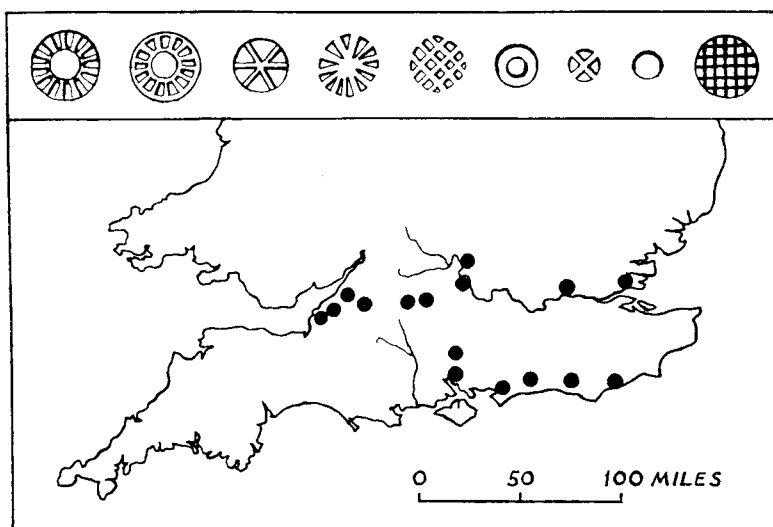


FIG. 11

DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF INDIVIDUAL STAMPS ON TWELFTH-CENTURY POTTERY OF GROUP 1 IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND (p. 34)

The sites of the stamps (Sc.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) are, from left to right: Oxford; Wallingford; Bath; Hewish, Somerset; Winchester; Southampton; Rayleigh castle, Essex (2); and Lewes

travel further inland. On the other hand, the storage-jars, which occur in great numbers at the towns of Thetford and Cambridge, are also found in the midlands at Stamford and Lincoln, and even as far north as York. It is likely that the jars were made at Lincoln and York, as well as on a large scale in East Anglia.

*St. Neots ware.* The cooking-pots and bowls are concentrated in the riverside settlements to the south-west of The Wash. From this area the finds spread out in three directions; eastwards into the Thetford region, south-westwards along the clay vale to the Oxford region, and northwards to Stamford, Lincoln and York. The shell-filling of St. Neots ware implies that it was made from riverine shells in the region of Bedford, Cambridge and Huntingdon. The reason for the trading of the more friable St. Neots pots into the Thetford area, with its abundance of harder sandy pottery, is not clear, but possibly they were carried along by travellers from the villages in the Ouse valley who were in contact with the towns of Thetford, Norwich, etc.

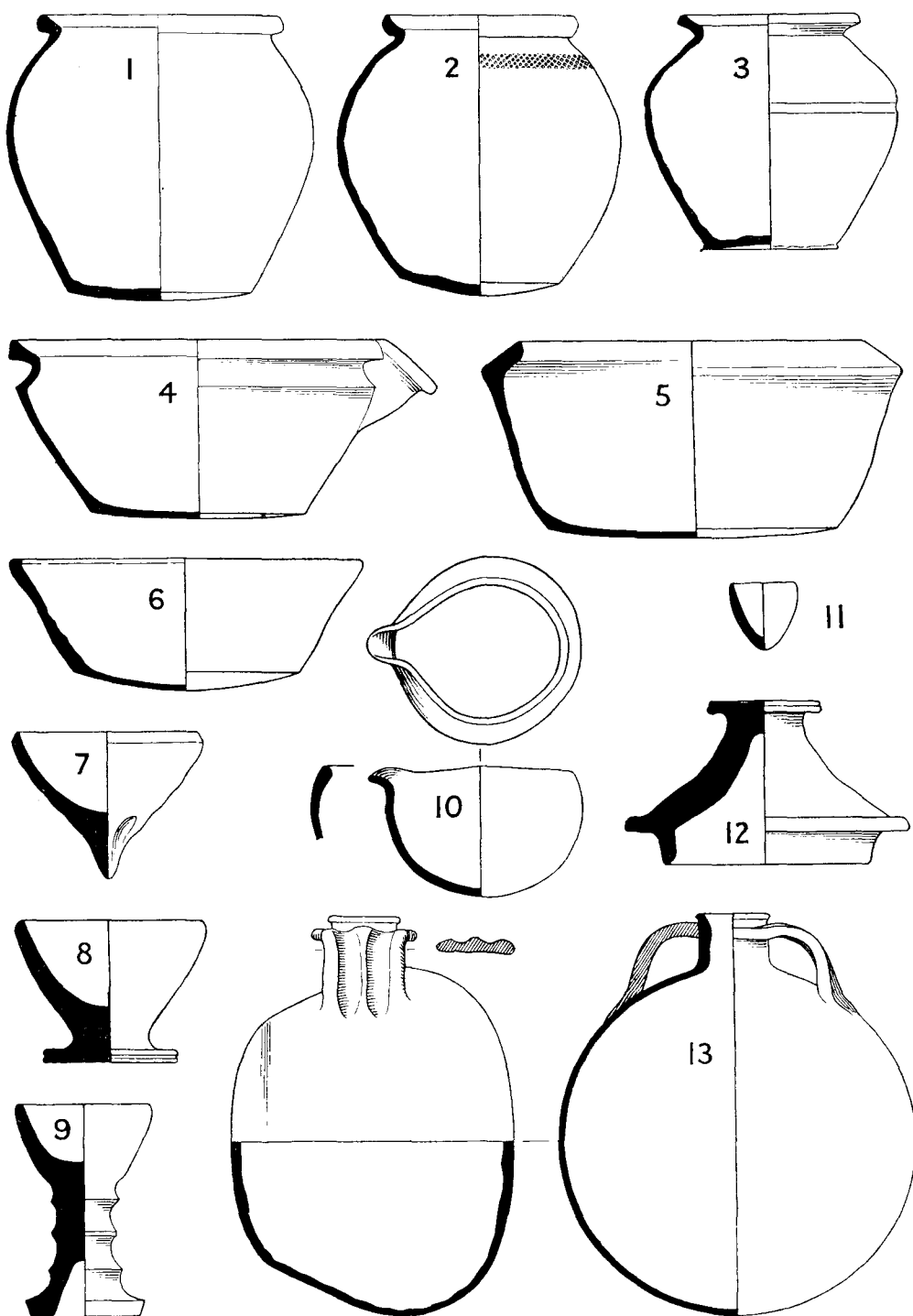


FIG. 12  
 TYPES OF POTTERY OF GROUP 2 (THETFORD WARE) (p. 35). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 1-2 and 4-13, Thetford; 3, Morley St. Peter, Norfolk

*Stamford ware*. This class is centred in the eastern midlands and along the western and southern margins of the Fens. Thence it was exported eastwards to reach Thetford in some quantity, northwards as far as York, south to London, and south-west to Oxford and also towards Salisbury. The finds in the marginal regions are nearly always glazed pitchers and bowls, and it is only in the central area that the unglazed cooking-pots and bowls are present to form the whole assem-

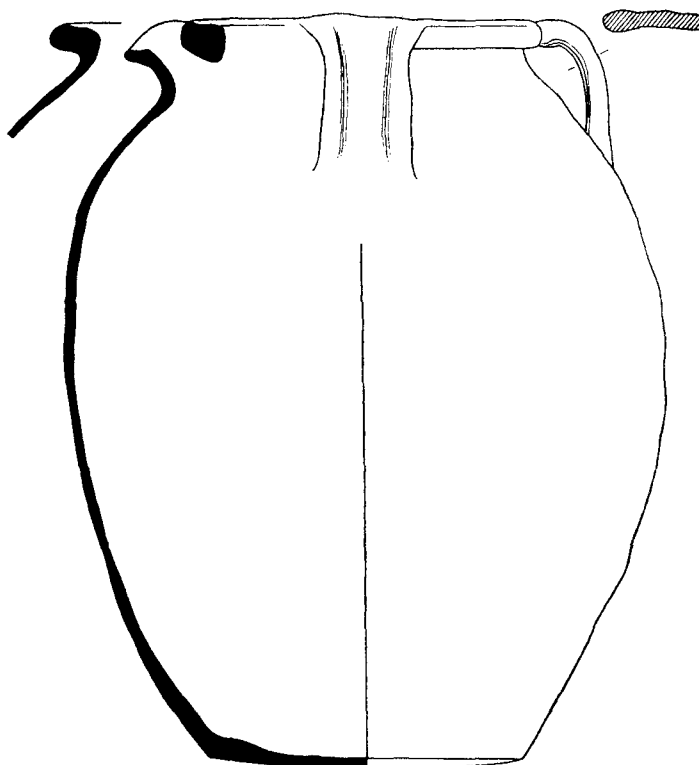


FIG. 13  
SPOUTED PITCHER OF GROUP 2 (THETFORD WARE) FROM THETFORD  
(p. 35). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

blage. The main exception is Thetford, where there are unglazed Stamford ware cooking-pots and bowls as well as glazed pitchers.

The fabric is smooth and light toned, varying in colour from off-white to buff or grey, often with a pinkish tinge. It is made from Middle Jurassic estuarine clay, which occurs in a belt in the eastern midlands between Northamptonshire and the Humber, and outcrops at Stamford and in other parts of south Lincolnshire. The pottery contains fossil plant remains which clearly demonstrate the source of the clay.

*Problem of the Glaze*. The glaze on Stamford ware, which makes it the most distinctive pottery of the late-Saxon period in England, is light yellow or pale

green, or sometimes orange. It is either uniform and lustrous and covers most of the outside surface of the pitcher or bowl, or thinner and in patches on the rim and side.

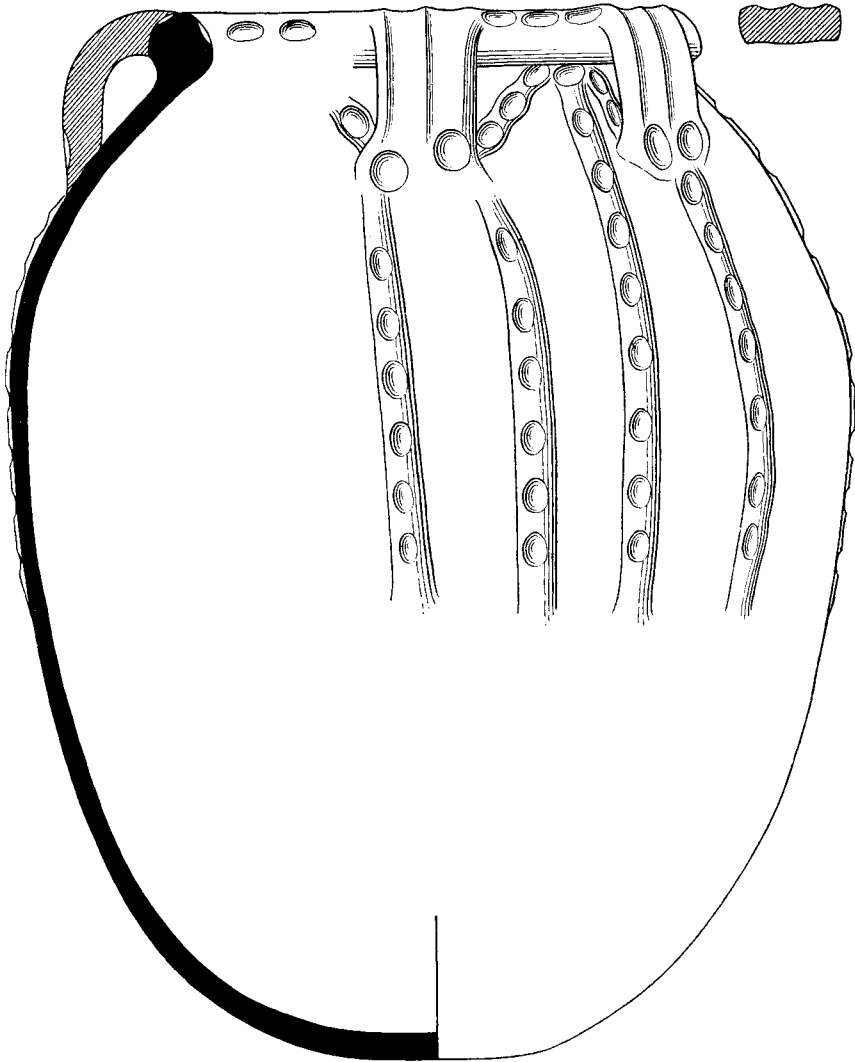


FIG. 14  
STORAGE-JAR OF GROUP 2 (THETFORD WARE) FROM SOUTH WOOTTON,  
NORFOLK (p. 35). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

The origin of the glaze on Stamford ware is a special problem, apparently separate from the general origin of the Saxo-Norman group in the Rhineland. The earliest dating for the glaze, late-ninth or early-tenth century, is at Thetford, and glaze of this character continues in the midlands and East Anglia until the

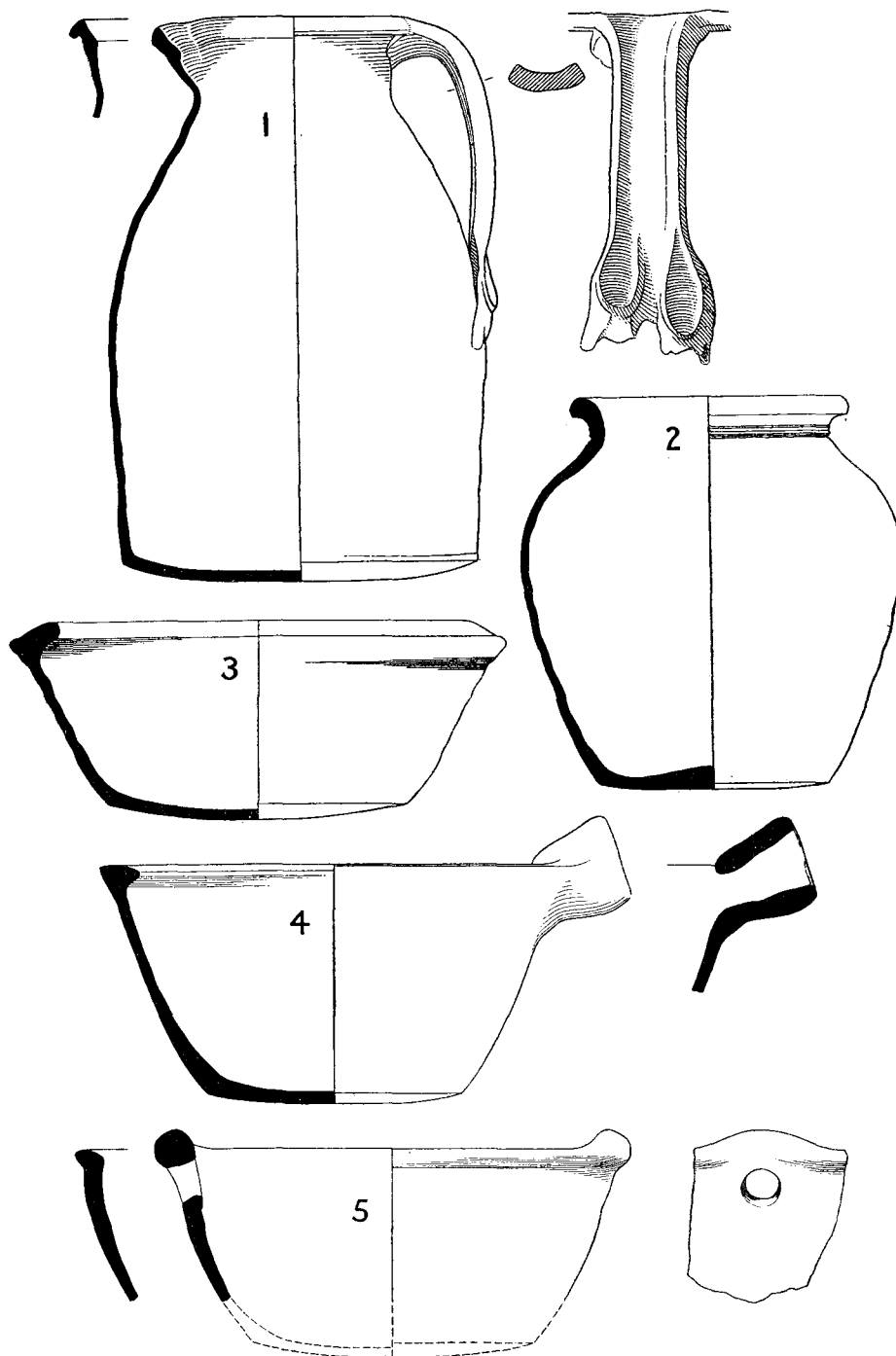


FIG. 15  
 TYPES OF POTTERY OF GROUP 2 (ST. NEOTS WARE) FROM BEDFORD  
 (p. 35). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

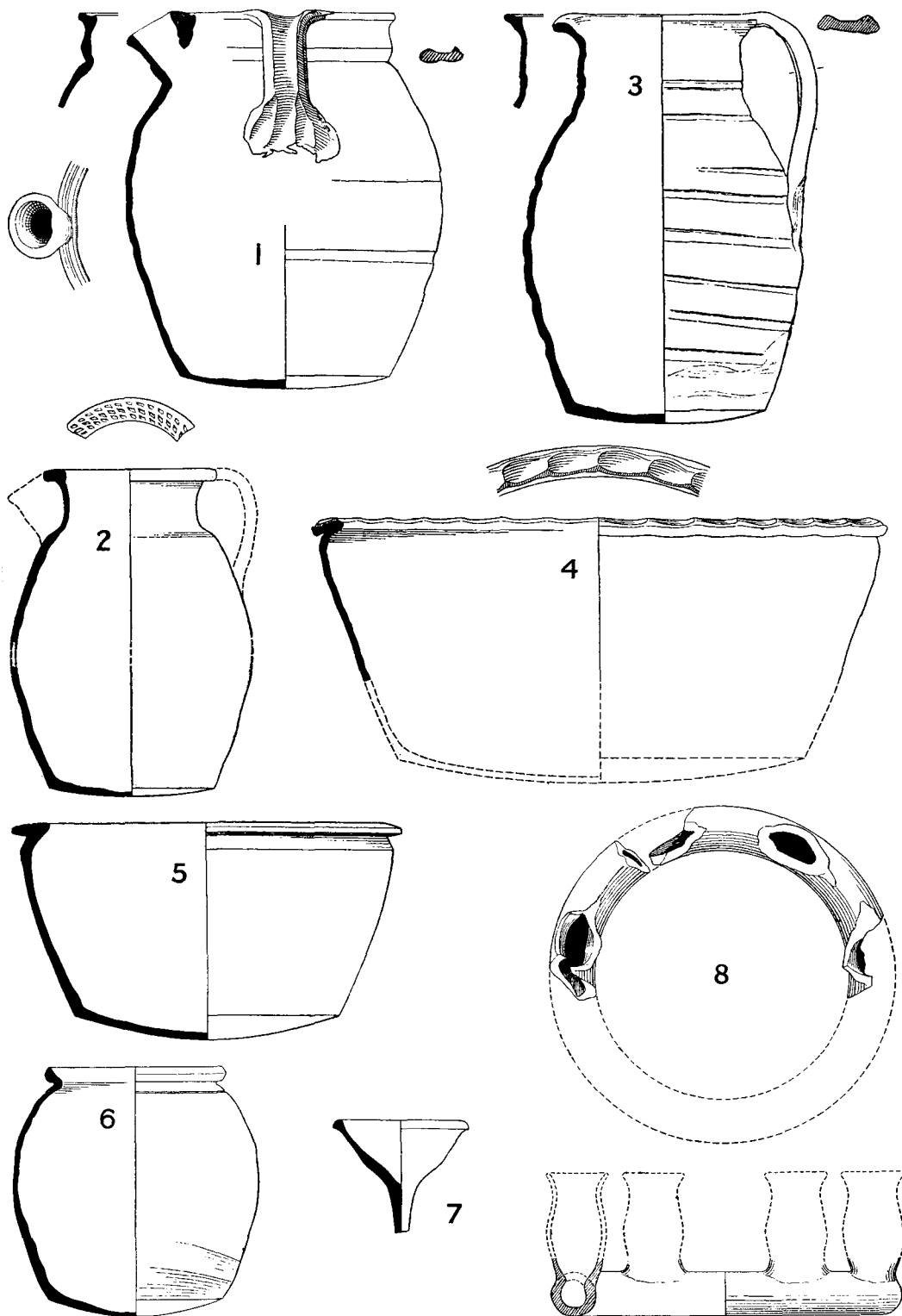


FIG. 16

TYPES OF POTTERY OF GROUP 2 (STAMFORD WARE) (p. 37). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1, St. Leonard's priory, Stamford; 2, Ironmonger Lane, London; 3, South Bond Street, Leicester;  
4, Alstoe Mount, Burley, Rutland; 5, Thetford (unglazed); 6, Normanton, Lincs. (unglazed); 7, Leicester;  
8, Glaston, Rutland



twelfth century. In north-west Europe the only comparable glaze is in the Low Countries. Glaze of similar high quality, and alleged to have about the same range in date as glazed Stamford ware, is found in the 'pottery with sparse glaze' of Holland,<sup>116</sup> and in the similar group, apparently not earlier than the twelfth

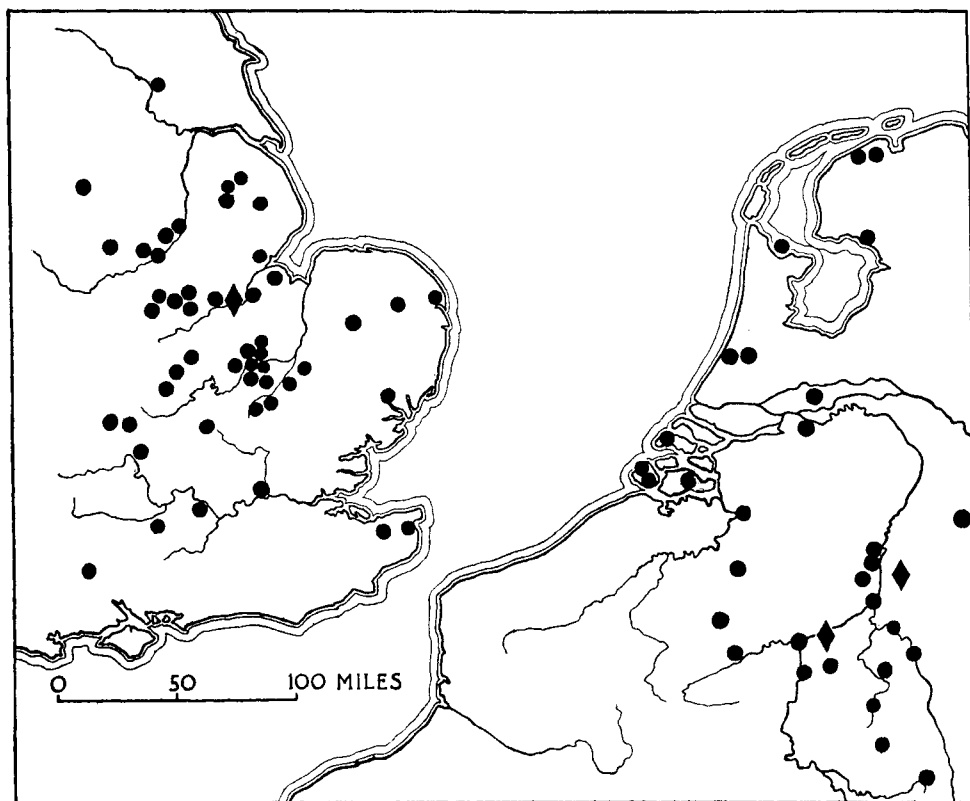


FIG. 17

DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF GLAZED STAMFORD WARE OF GROUP 2 IN ENGLAND, AND 'POTTERY WITH SPARSE GLAZE' AND GLAZED ANDENNE WARE IN BELGIUM AND HOLLAND (p. 37)

The kiln-sites are marked by a diamond

century, in southern Belgium, where it was made at Andenne<sup>117</sup> (FIG. 17). Until the early date of glaze is confirmed abroad, it appears that priority in dating belongs to England. If that is so, then it is possible that glaze was introduced

<sup>116</sup> For a general discussion see G. C. Dunning, 'Trade relations between England and the continent in the late Anglo-Saxon period,' in *Dark-age Britain; Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (ed. D. B. Harden, 1956), pp. 227-31. The distribution map (FIG. 17) is a revised version of the map published in that paper.

<sup>117</sup> R. Borremans et W. Lassance, *Recherches archéologiques sur la céramique d'Andenne au moyen âge* (Archæologia Belgica 32, Brussels, 1956); 'Les potiers de L'Andenelle au moyen âge,' *Parcs Nationaux*, xi (1956), 70, with distribution map. R. Borremans, 'Céramique médiévale et modern trouvée à Arlon et environs, Lavacherie, Ebly et La Roche,' *Bull. Institut archéologique du Luxembourg*, 1954, fasc. 4, pp. 49-68, and 1956, fasc. 1, pp. 3-18.

into the Low Countries from England, and at the moment this explanation seems preferable to its independent or parallel development there prior to the twelfth century.

The lack of continuity for at least six centuries between the lead-glazed wares of the Roman period in Britain and the late-Saxon Stamford ware, and the absence of comparable material of early date on the adjacent parts of the continent, compel the origin of this glaze to be sought directly in the glazed wares of the eastern Mediterranean (Byzantium), where continuity is proved.<sup>118</sup> The route and the means by which the knowledge of lead glaze, possibly by the actual migration of potters, reached England in the ninth century are yet to be determined; three alternative routes may be suggested:

1. By sea to Italy, and then overland via the Rhineland or France.
2. By sea to the Byzantine colonies in the south of France, and thence up the Rhône valley and across France, or overland north-west to Bordeaux and then via the Atlantic seaway.
3. By sea all the way, via the Atlantic and the English Channel.

Until more material is forthcoming abroad, particularly in the south of France, it is not possible to decide between these alternative routes.

*Dating.* The dating evidence for Group 2 is still scanty. The start of Thetford ware has recently been put back to the first half of the ninth century by its association with imported Badorf ware at Ipswich (see p. 54). The earliest reliable dating for St. Neots ware and Stamford ware is at Thetford, in stratified levels with a coin of c. 900. Otherwise the dating of Stamford ware is from site association at several motte castles, which proves that the ware continued until the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century. At the moment, then, Thetford ware has half a century or more of priority over the other two classes, and all three continued down to the Norman period.

### 3. LONDON

The late-Saxon pottery of London occupies a special border position between Group 1 and Group 2, and it has a dual derivation from these groups. Most of the spouted pitchers are plain, with from one to three strap-handles bridging the neck (FIG. 18); in size one of them (FIG. 18, no. 2) is comparable with the great pitcher from Winchester (p. 33). In shape, which is full-bodied with a high, rounded bulge, and in details such as the spout, which is usually pressed against the rim but is sometimes separate and tubular, the London pitchers have closer analogies in the south than in East Anglia.

A pitcher from Billiter Street (FIG. 18, no. 3) has emphatic thumb-pressed strips on the handles and also on the body, which are continued down the side. Sherds with similar decoration are known from other sites in the City. The dark grey sandy ware is smoother and finer than the fabric of the plain pitchers, which is coarse and sandy or gritty. These pitchers, which are without known parallels in

<sup>118</sup> As first suggested by T. C. Lethbridge in *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, XLIII (1950), 2. The problem is discussed in more detail by R. B. K. Stevenson, 'Medieval lead-glazed pottery: links between east and west,' *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII (1954), 89-94.

the south, compare closely with a strip-decorated pitcher in Thetford ware from Ipswich,<sup>119</sup> and the decoration on storage vessels also from Ipswich, and so show connexions with East Anglia.

The dating of the London pitchers rests on the association at two sites with

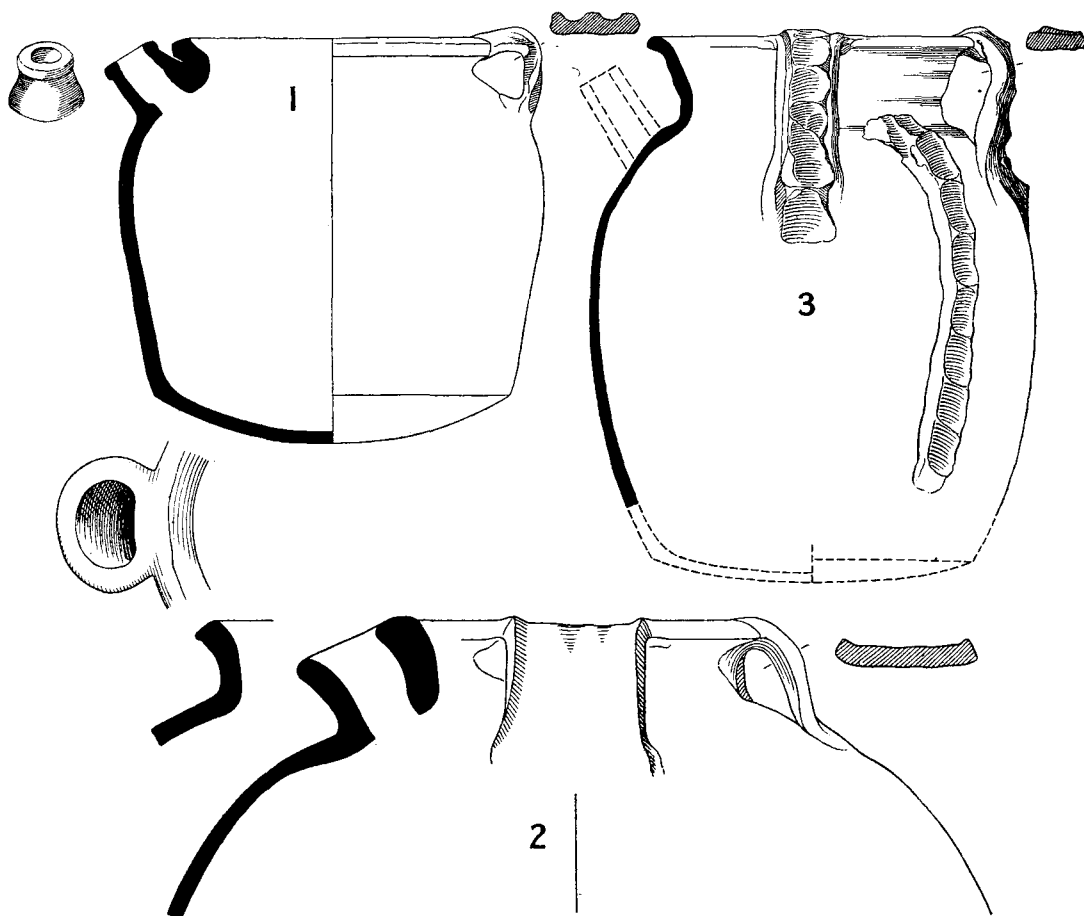


FIG. 18

SPOUTED PITCHERS OF GROUP 3 FROM LONDON (p. 42). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1, Coleman Street (LM); 2, Birchin Lane (GM); 3, Billiter Street (GM)

Pingsdorf ware (bases of amphorae) of the tenth or eleventh century; the general analogies quoted above would agree with this late dating.

The finest quality wares found in London were imported, either from the midlands (glazed Stamford ware) or from abroad. The numerous examples of Pingsdorf ware found in the City, the result of the outstanding position of London as a port, attest the flourishing trade carried on with the Rhineland (see below, Group 11).

<sup>119</sup> Hurst, *op. cit.* in note 115, L (1956), 38, fig. 3, 1.

## 4. DERIVATIVES OF GROUP 2

A development in the midlands at the end of the period, in the eleventh or twelfth century, was the setting up of daughter industries in the larger towns. These sub-groups are derived from Thetford ware, and include the main types of spouted pitchers, cooking-pots, bowls, storage-jars and lamps. At Torksey a kiln situated inside the town has been excavated, and produced a quantity of cooking-pots and flanged bowls (FIG. 19). Torksey ware was traded north via the Trent to York, where it has been found at Hungate. Other centres of pottery-making were at Lincoln and York.<sup>120</sup> At York the Thetford types of cooking-pot and bowl are represented in the local ware, which is very gritty, red or buff throughout, and the surface has a pimpled appearance.<sup>121</sup>

Glazed Stamford ware also continued until about the middle of the twelfth century. The pitchers lost the spouts and developed a neck and long strap-handles, and so became jugs; examples are from Leicester, Stamford and Thetford.<sup>122</sup> From these are derived the jugs of 'developed Stamford ware' with fuller body-shapes, plastic strips on the body and comb-decorated handles, which bring the close of the style down to the thirteenth century.<sup>123</sup>

## 5. EARLY MEDIEVAL WARE

This group has been identified only recently in East Anglia and the midlands, in the area of Group 2. It consists largely of cooking-pots with sagging bases, and a few pitchers or jugs. The ware is thin and hard, usually grey with light red surface; glaze is absent from the pitchers, in contrast to the contemporary pitchers and jugs of Group 2.

At Thetford this group makes its appearance towards the close of the occupation of the late-Saxon town; the earliest dating is in the early-eleventh century (FIG. 9, no. 10).<sup>124</sup> At Norwich a large cooking-pot rim was associated with Group 2 Thetford ware sealed beneath the Norman castle mound (FIG. 9, no. 9), and so dated about the middle of the eleventh century. At North Elmham comparable cooking-pots with simple everted rims occur in the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century. In the midlands examples of cooking-pots of this group, associated with Group 2 wares of the early-twelfth century, are at Alstoe Mount, Rutland,<sup>125</sup> and at Leicester.<sup>126</sup> The site furthest north is Nottingham, where rough pottery of this group has been found in association with glazed Stamford ware in the ditch of the *burh* at Bridlesmith Gate.<sup>127</sup>

Group 5 represents the revival of the Saxon tradition, underlying the intrusive Group 2 in East Anglia and the midlands, and influenced by it. It is

<sup>120</sup> Hurst, *op. cit.* in note 115, LI (1957), 59-60; *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, xxxix (1956-8), 522.

<sup>121</sup> For pottery from York preserved in the Yorkshire Museum, see D. M. Waterman, 'Late Saxon, Viking, and early medieval finds from York,' *Archaeologia*, xcvi (1959), 99-102, fig. 24.

<sup>122</sup> Hurst, *op. cit.* in note 115, LI (1957), 49, fig. 3, 9.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-7, fig. 4, 1-12.

<sup>124</sup> Information from Group-Capt. G. M. Knocker.

<sup>125</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xvi (1936), 408, fig. 3, 15.

<sup>126</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'The medieval pottery,' *ap.* K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester*, Res. Rept. Soc. Antiq., London, xv (1948), p. 224, fig. 59, 1.

<sup>127</sup> Excavations by the Peverel Archaeological Group.

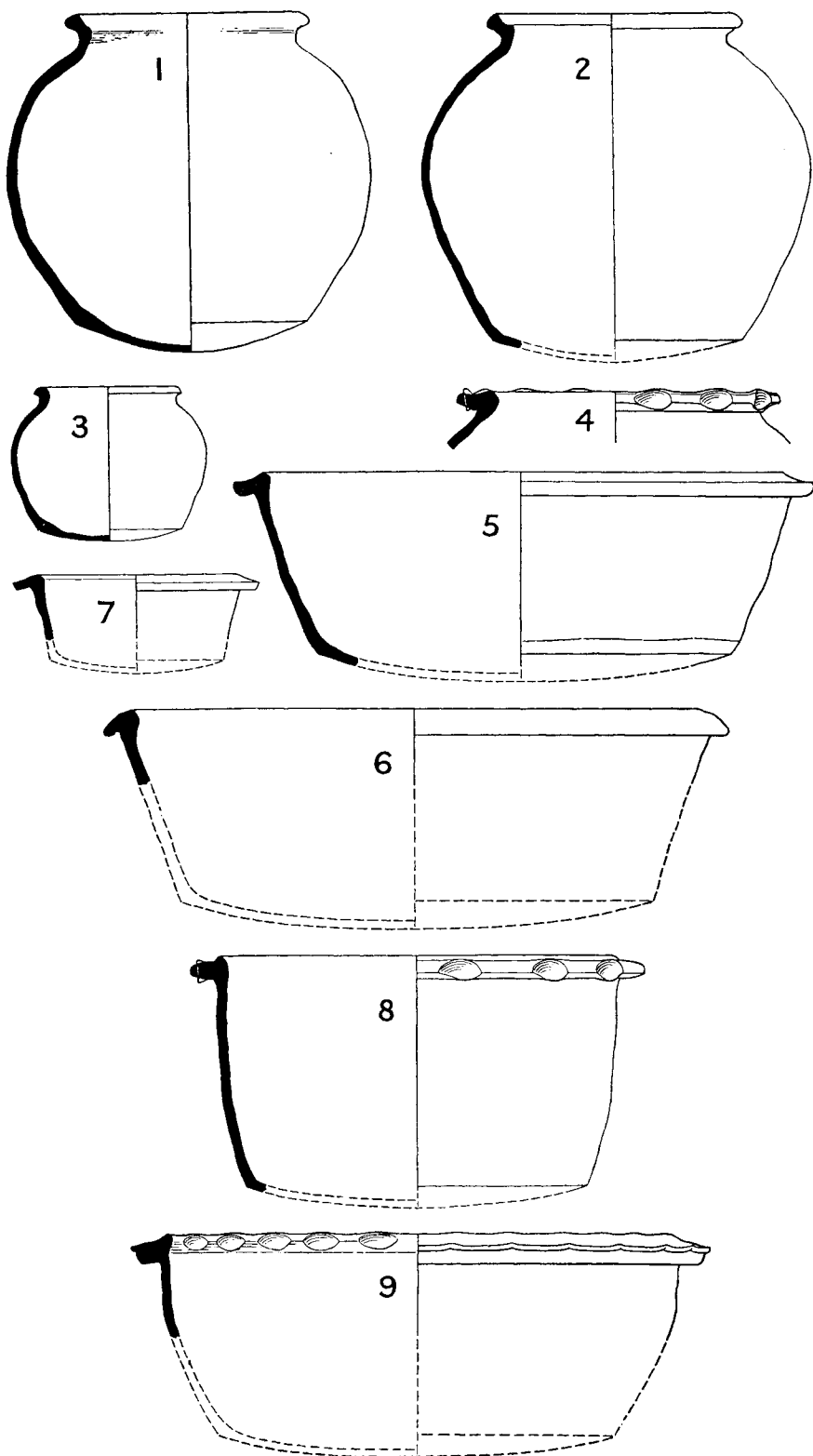


FIG. 19  
 TYPES OF POTTERY OF GROUP 4 FROM TORKSEY, LINCS. (p. 44). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

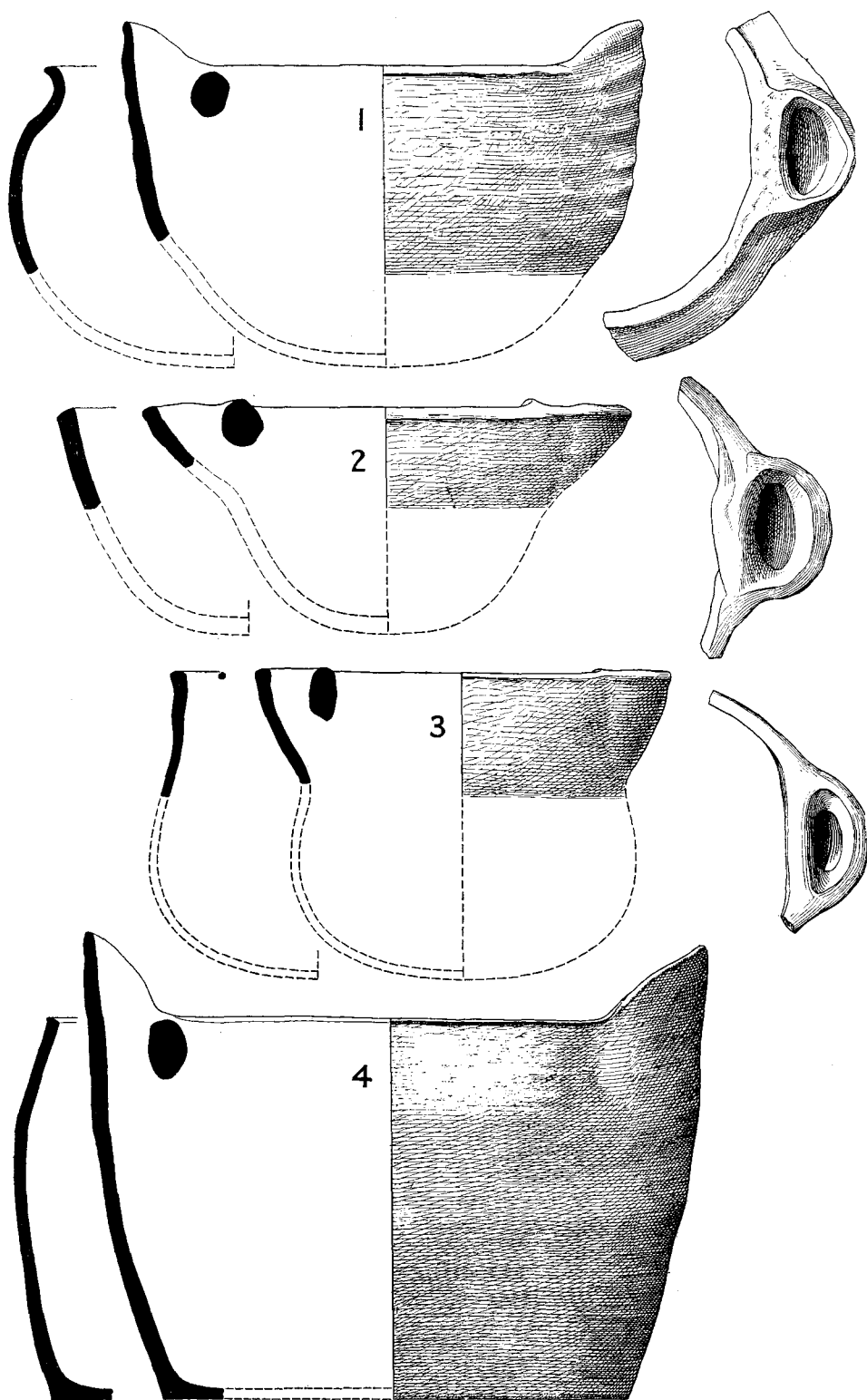


FIG. 20

BAR-LIP POTTERY OF GROUP 6 FROM ENGLAND (p. 48). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 1, Barking, Essex (BM); 2, St. Neots, Hunts. (BM); 3, Market Weighton, Yorks.; 4, Hellesvean, near  
 St. Ives, Cornwall

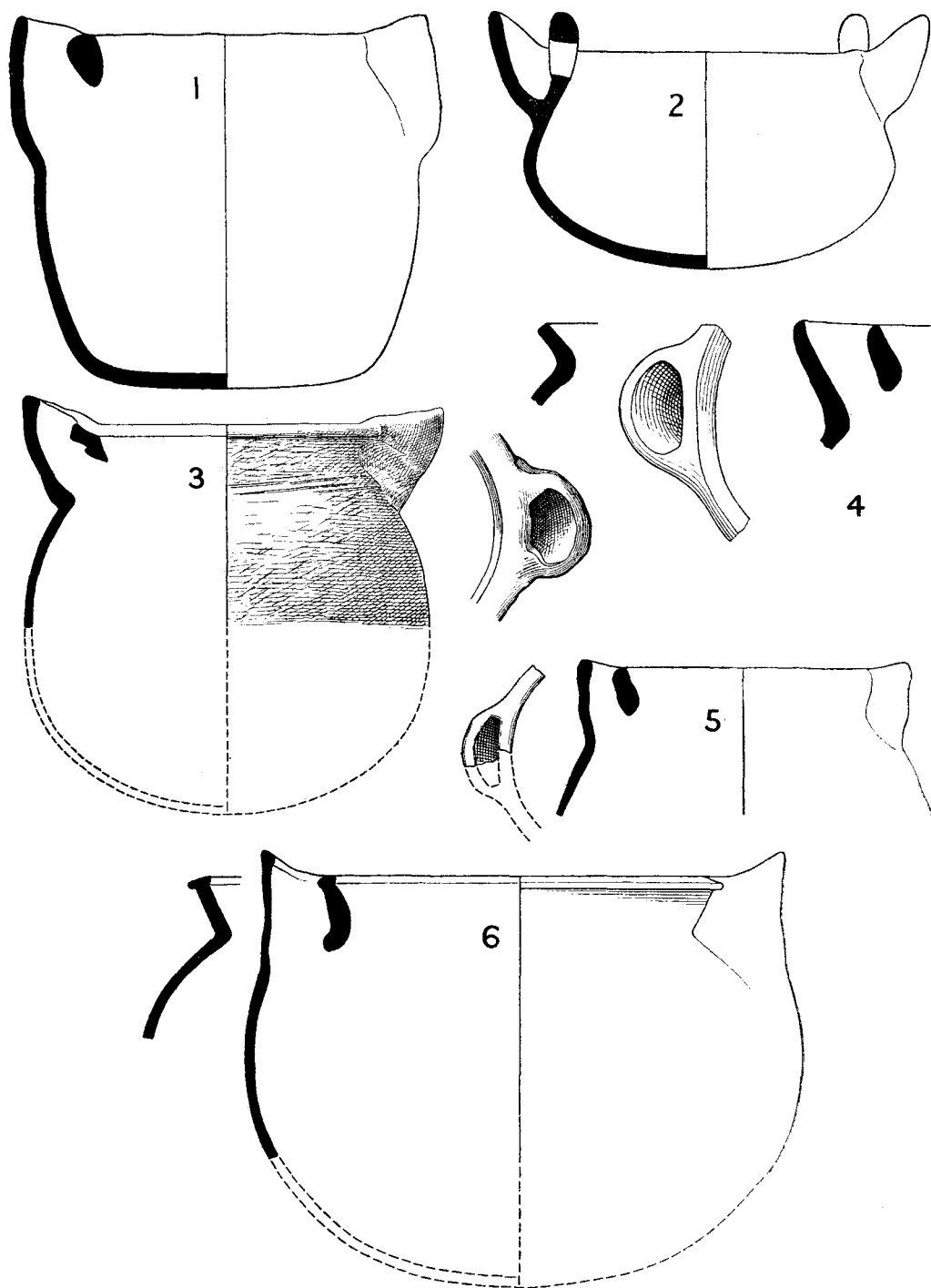


FIG. 21

BAR-LIP POTTERY FROM THE CONTINENT (p. 48). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 1-2, Ezinge, near Groningen; 3, Leeuwarden; 4, Rijnsburg, near Leiden; 5, Paderborn;  
 6, Hamburg

thus homologous to Group 1, but does not appear until about two centuries later than it in the south. It is numerically small, because the older tradition was heavily overlaid by that of the more technically advanced ceramics of Group 2.

#### 6. BAR-LIP POTTERY

A group of hand-made cooking-pots show the distinctive feature of the rim on opposite sides drawn outward and up into a broad spout-like projection or 'lip'; across the inside, at about rim-level, a separate bar of clay was inserted and luted in position. In use, the vessel was suspended by a thong attached at each end to the bars, and the 'lips' served to protect the thong from the fire.

The type is intrusive in England and apparently it is derived from Holland, where it is concentrated in a coastal zone and ranges in date from the ninth century to the eleventh. On the continent the distribution extends more sporadically inland into lower Saxony, and into Schleswig-Holstein, notably at Hedeby,<sup>128</sup> in Denmark, and once in southern Sweden (FIG. 22). The origin of bar-lip pottery has long been an enigma, and has recently been elucidated by Professor C. J. Becker.<sup>129</sup> In Denmark and southern Schleswig-Holstein there are numerous precursors of the bar-lip and derivative types, which belong to the prehistoric and Roman-iron ages. Examples intermediate in date between these and the later series on the continent and in England are at present lacking.

In England, the distribution of bar-lip pottery is sporadic in the eastern counties, where examples have been found at Barking, Essex, at two sites in East Anglia, and once in east Yorkshire (FIG. 20, nos. 1-3). Apart from an isolated find at Alderney, Channel Islands, finds are as yet lacking in southern England until Cornwall is reached. In Cornwall bar-lip pottery is known from some ten sites, mostly along the north coast between St. Ives and Mawgan Porth.<sup>130</sup>

In shape bar-lip pottery is globular, and in Holland and north Germany the bases are usually round or only slightly flattened (FIG. 21). None of the pots from eastern England is complete, but rounded bases are probable. In Cornwall, on the other hand, the bases are flat (FIG. 20, no. 4), and here the type shows fusion with the local post-Roman pottery, which is also flat-based.<sup>131</sup> The ware also shows regional differences. The Barking pot is very coarse and grass-tempered, but the ware of those found in East Anglia is shell-filled, conforming with the St. Neots class of Group 2. In Cornwall the pottery is also grass-tempered, and this again shows fusion with local wares. The form of the 'lip' underwent devolution in England. On the pots from Barking, Alderney, and in Cornwall the lip projects markedly above rim-level (FIG. 20, nos. 1 and 4), and this follows the continental type very closely. Elsewhere the upper edge of the lip sinks level with the rim or even below it (FIG. 20, nos. 2 and 3), a departure from the prototype as a result of successive copying.

<sup>128</sup> W. Hübener, *Die Keramik von Hithabu* (1959), pp. 28, 100-2, pl. 3, 52-5.

<sup>129</sup> C. J. Becker, 'Lergryder med indvendige ører eller svalerede-hanke fra Danmarks jernalder,' *Kuml* (1959), pp. 28-52.

<sup>130</sup> R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'A dark-age settlement at Mawgan Porth, Cornwall,' in *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (ed. Bruce-Mitford, 1956), pp. 167-96; C. Thomas, *Gwithian: Ten Years' Work, 1949-1958* (West Cornwall Field Club, 1958), pp. 18 ff.

<sup>131</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.* in note 130, and *Proc. West Cornwall Field Club*, II (1957-8), 59 ff.



The discontinuous distribution of bar-lip pottery in England indicates that it is a sea-borne group brought from Frisia in the course of trade (FIG. 22). In East Anglia a Frisian element is already present in the eighth century in the pitchers with peaked lugs (above, p. 29); the bar-lip pottery in eastern England

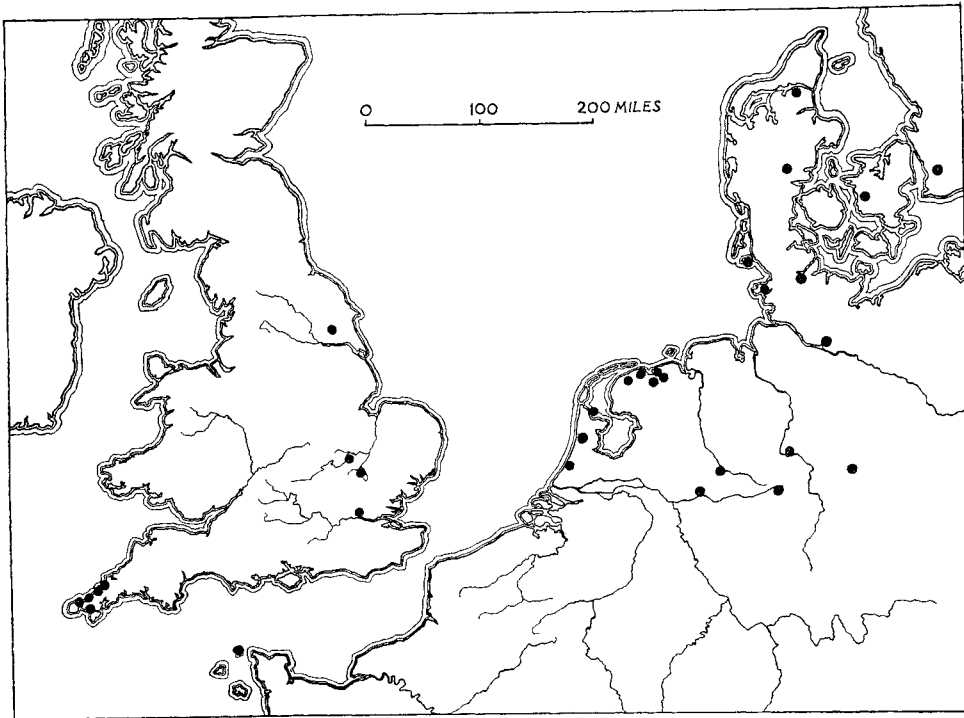


FIG. 22  
DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF BAR-LIP POTTERY (p. 48)

suggests the presence of Frisian merchants also in the ninth century, if not later. A special reason is to be sought for the massing of bar-lip pottery in Cornwall; the most convincing explanation is that it was introduced by Frisian merchants engaged in the trade in Cornish tin to the continent.

## B. IMPORTED POTTERY

Intensive trade with the continent is a dominant feature throughout the period covered by this survey.<sup>132</sup> This trade brought imported pottery to eastern and southern England from various sources on the adjacent parts of the continent. The origins of some of this pottery (Groups 7 and 8) are not yet closely defined, and range from the lower Rhineland to northern France. In and after the eighth

<sup>132</sup> Dunning, *op. cit.* in note 116, pp. 218 ff.

century, however, the bulk of the pottery (Groups 9, 10 and 11) came from factories in the middle Rhineland between Bonn and Cologne. These centres were organized for large-scale production, and maintained an active export trade to the countries bordering the North Sea and to Scandinavia. Towards the close of the period another Rhenish type was imported (Group 12). The rise of new pottery centres for glazed ware in southern Belgium maintained the connexion with London (Group 13). After the Norman conquest the main trade routes move down the English Channel to Normandy, whence came red-painted pottery (Group 14) derived from that of the Rhineland.

The imported pottery will be considered in chronological order according to its source.

#### 7. FRANKISH IMPORTS

The excavations at Hamwiĥ have produced a quantity of imported pottery in association with the local hand-made wares of Group 1. The settlement certainly existed in the early-eighth century, and continued until the tenth century at least. The imports cover this range in dates, showing that the mart was in close and continuous contact with continental sources, as demonstrated also by the glass and basalt lava querns.<sup>133</sup> The imported pottery may be divided into the following five classes:

1. Bridge-spouted pitchers of fine off-white or grey ware with darker grey surface; and biconical pot, cordoned and grooved on the upper part (FIG. 23, nos. 1-6).
2. Decorated sherds, in ware similar to (1). The decoration comprises applied bosses, rows of stamped circles, and small stamped crosses sometimes occurring on the same sherd as the circles (FIG. 23, nos. 7-10).
3. Cooking-pots, bowls and two-handled jars of off-white or buff ware. Some have bands of roller-stamped decoration on the rim and side (FIG. 23, nos. 11-24).
4. Flanged bowls of grey or whitish ware, simulating Roman mortaria. One has a pinched spout, and another has applied-strip decoration on the side (FIG. 23, nos. 25-26).
5. Red-painted sherds (FIG. 23, no. 27).

Classes (3) to (5) will be considered below under Groups 9 and 11.

The bridge-spouted pitchers and the cordoned pot are Frankish in type, such as occur over a wide area in the Rhineland, the Low Countries, and northern France. Professor Tischler, who examined some of the Hamwiĥ pottery at the Norwich conference, stated that he does not regard the pitchers as Rhenish in origin, and is doubtful of their coming from the Low Countries. The comparative material from settlement-sites in northern France is very scanty, and the problem can only be solved when ports such as Quentovic and Rouen, both of which are known to have had trading relations with Hamwiĥ, have been excavated.

<sup>133</sup> Interim reports in *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xvii (1949-51), 65, 125. For the glass see D. B. Harden in *op. cit.* in note 116, p. 153, and for the lava querns, *ibid.*, p. 232.

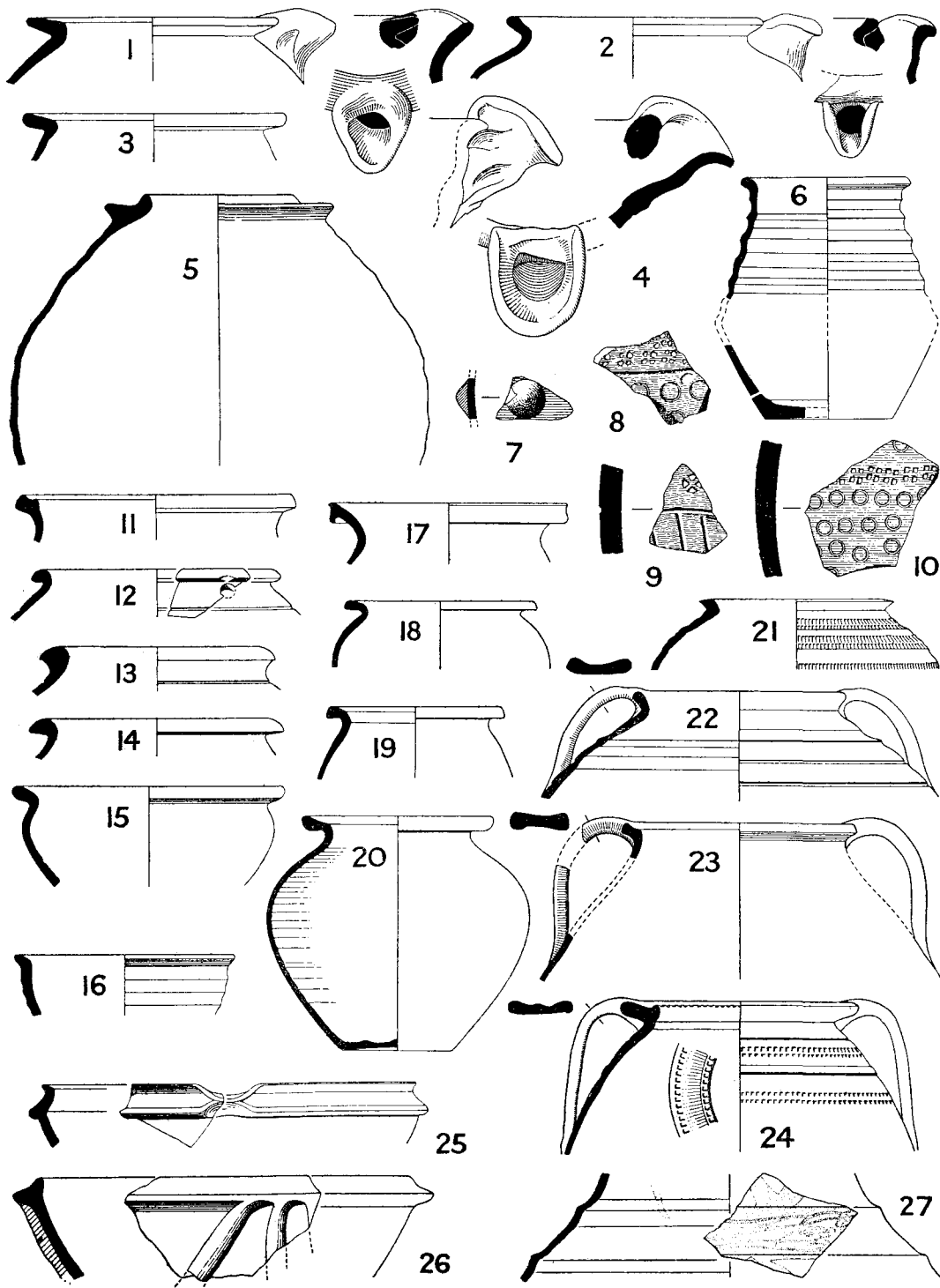


FIG. 23  
IMPORTED POTTERY OF GROUPS 7, 9 AND 11 FROM HAMWIH,  
SOUTHAMPTON (p. 50). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

One rim-sherd of this class is known from Winchester, and similar pitcher-spouts have been found in the excavations at Old Windsor. Otherwise they are known only from sites in Kent, where they may be slightly earlier in date.

The stamped sherds at Hamwiĥ have close parallels at Dorestad,<sup>134</sup> and so these are probably imports from the lower Rhineland.

#### 8. TATING TYPE

The excavations at Old Windsor<sup>135</sup> have produced several fragments of a biconical pitcher with a tubular spout, made of fine grey ware with polished black surface (FIG. 24). The body is decorated in panel style with vertical narrow strips alternating with rows of diamonds. The marks on the surface are where tinfoil cut into strips and diamonds was attached by an adhesive.

Applied tinfoil decoration is characteristic of the so-called 'Frisian' or 'Tating' jugs, and this is the first example to be found in England. The group is widely distributed, and has been found in the middle Rhineland, Holland, north Germany, and in southern Norway and Sweden (FIG. 25); it is closely dated to the first half of the ninth century.<sup>136</sup> The origin of the group is uncertain, but the Frankish character of the fabric is in favour of the lower Rhineland.

The usual Tating jug is a tall vessel, sometimes with a biconical body, provided with a large bridge-spout and a long handle from the neck to the lower part of the body. The tinfoil decoration is often in the form of vertical strips on the neck, and horizontal zones of strips and diamonds or trellis-pattern on the body. The Old Windsor pitcher thus adds a new form to the repertory of the Tating group, and one that strengthens the argument for the late Frankish derivation of the type.

Another example of Tating ware, found in the excavations at Hamwiĥ, has been brought to my notice by Mr. D. M. Waterman. This is a sherd of grey ware with a row of diamond-shaped marks where the tinfoil was attached.

#### 9. BADORF WARE

The ware is light in colour, whitish or yellow toned, and the main types of amphora, spouted pitchers, cooking-pots and bowls have been illustrated recently.<sup>137</sup> Tischler has divided Badorf ware into two groups, the first dating 720-780 and the second 780-860; both groups are represented in England.

To Group 1 belongs the important find of two-handled and rouletted jars or pitchers and bowls found at Hamwiĥ, in stratigraphical relation to a hoard of coins dated *c.* 700-50. See FIG. 23, nos. 15, 19, 23-24.

<sup>134</sup> In the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

<sup>135</sup> Reference in note 104.

<sup>136</sup> For earlier work and references see H. Arbman, *Schweden und das karolingische Reich* (1937), pp. 88-90 and 101-4, and W. Hübener in *Offa*, xi (1952), 115-8. For recent work and new finds see D. Selling, *Wikingerzeitliche und frühmittelalterliche Keramik in Schweden* (1955), pp. 44-59; R. Schindler in *Offa*, xv (1956), 121 (Süderende, Föhr Island), and *Præhist. Zeitschr.*, xxxvii (1959), 66 (Hamburg); W. Hübener, *Die Keramik von Haithabu* (1959), pp. 40, 133-8, pl. 6, 159-62 and pl. 13, 1.

<sup>137</sup> Dunning, *op. cit.* in note 116, p. 223, fig. 49.

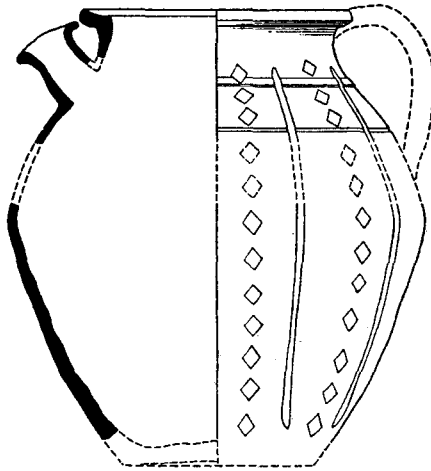


FIG. 24

SPOUTED PITCHER OF GROUP 8 FROM OLD WINDSOR, BERKS. (p. 52). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

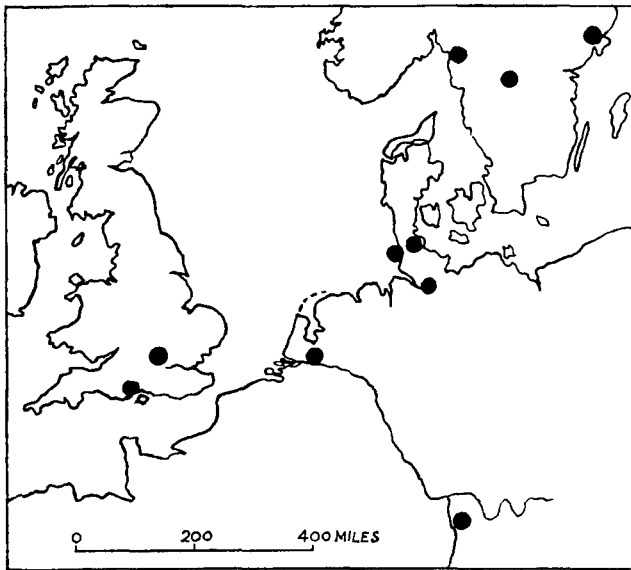


FIG. 25

DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF POTTERY OF TATING TYPE (p. 52)

Group II is represented at Ipswich (FIG. 26, nos. 1-3), Canterbury, and Jersey (Channel Islands). The finds at Ipswich are crucial for the chronology of middle-Saxon pottery (p. 18) and late-Saxon pottery of Group 2 (Thetford ware), both of which were associated with the imported wares in several pits. At Canterbury the sherds are from two amphorae with tubular spouts, decorated with lines of roller-stamped notches on the rim, neck and body (FIG. 26, nos. 6-7). The Jersey find is part of a large cooking-pot, decorated with a zone of incised wavy lines (FIG. 26, no. 8). This pot is dated independently by association with coins of Charles the Bald (840-77).

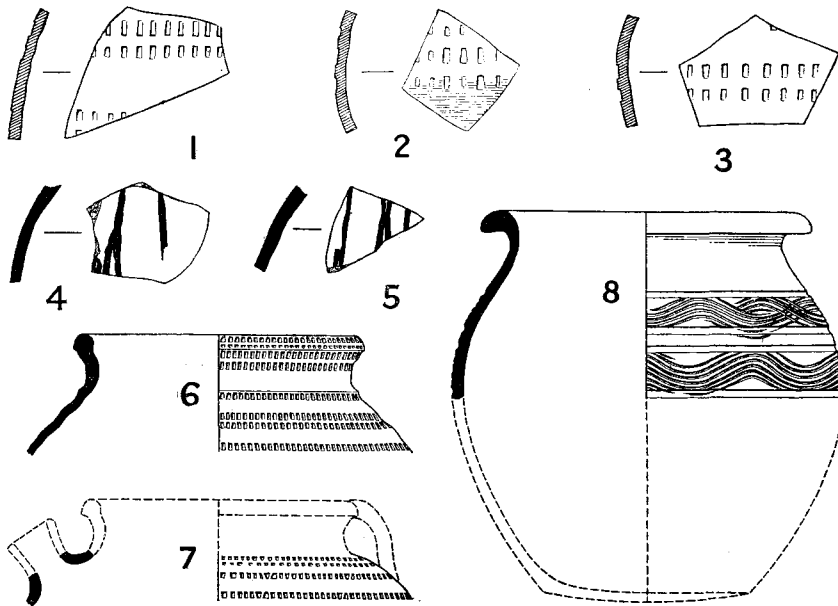


FIG. 26

POTTERY OF GROUP 9 FROM ENGLAND (p. 54). Sc.: 1-5,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; 6-8,  $\frac{1}{4}$   
1-5, Ipswich; 6-7, Canterbury; 8, Jersey, Channel Islands

Also in two of the pits at Ipswich were two sherds of grey ware with light brown surface, both painted with narrow lines in dark red (FIG. 26, nos. 4-5). These are the first examples in England of red-painted Badorf ware.<sup>138</sup> The style is the forerunner, in the first half of the ninth century, of the better known red-painted ware made at the adjacent village of Pingsdorf (Group 11).

#### 10. RELIEF-BAND AMPHORAE

The large amphorae, also made at Badorf during the ninth century, are known from three sites in England. These vessels are direct evidence that wine was one of the commodities traded to England from the Rhineland. At Ipswich

<sup>138</sup> W. Lung, 'Zur Frage der Rotbemalten Badorfware,' *Kölner Jahrbuch*, 1 (1955), 67.

an amphora of yellow ware, decorated with applied strips to form arcading round the upper part and stamped on the strips, was found in a pit with middle-Saxon pottery (FIG. 27, no 1). This amphora belongs to the type without handles, and has a thickened roll rim; both features have many parallels at Badorf.<sup>139</sup>

London, which might be expected to import more Rhenish wine than elsewhere, has as yet produced only one sherd of an amphora of yellow ware (FIG. 27, no. 2). This has arcaded strips, impressed with roller-stamped notches.

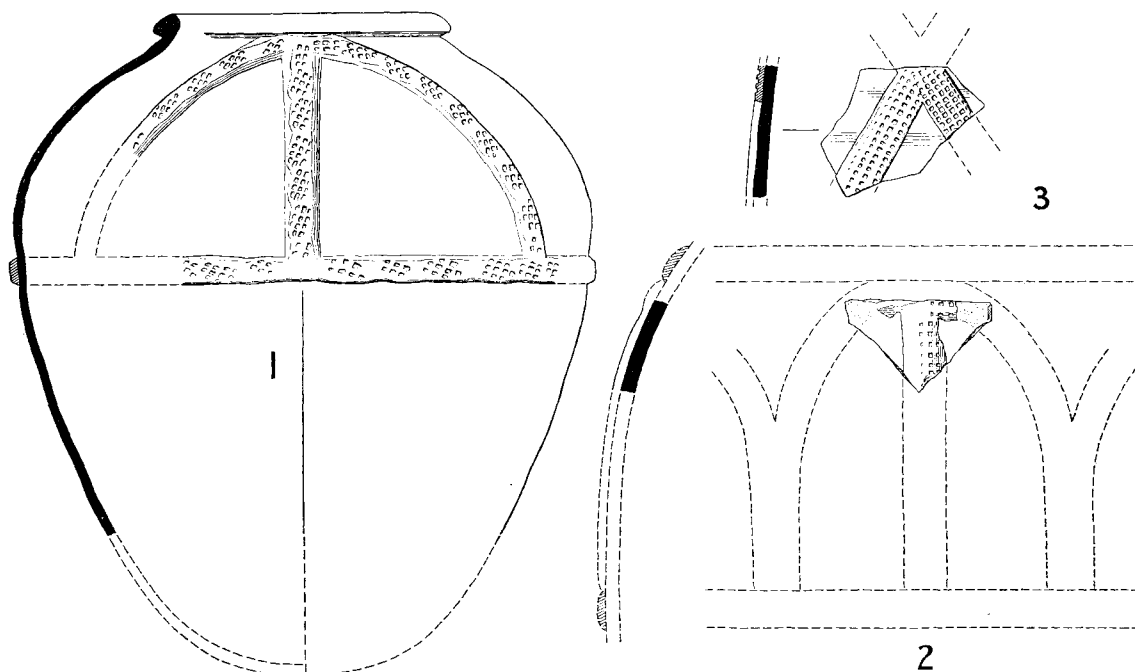


FIG. 27  
POTTERY OF GROUP 10 FROM ENGLAND (p. 55). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
1, Ipswich; 2, London (GM); 3, Winchester

The third site is Winchester, where was found a sherd of drab white ware, with the strips forming a zone of trellis pattern and roller-stamped with square notches (FIG. 27, no. 3). This sherd was submitted to Professor J. Frechen, of the Mineralogisch-Petrologisches Institut at Bonn, who kindly reports that its mineral content is characteristic of the Badorf and Pingsdorf group.

#### 11. PINGSDORF WARE AND DERIVATIVES

London is the principal site in England for the ubiquitous red-painted ware made at Pingsdorf,<sup>140</sup> and some fifteen examples and fragments have been found

<sup>139</sup> W. Lung, 'Töpferöfen der frömmittelalterlichen Badorfware aus Badorf und Pingsdorf,' *Kölner Jahrbuch*, 1 (1955), 56, pl. 15, 1.

<sup>140</sup> Dunning, *op. cit.* in note 116, pp. 223-7 and figs. 50-51 for type series, discussion and references.

in the City (FIG. 28). The type most commonly found is the smaller wine amphora derived from the Badorf type, with a foot-ring added for stability (nos. 1-10). Other types represented in London are the small pitcher with tubular spout (no. 11), beakers (nos. 12-13), and small pots, one with two handles (nos. 14-15). The amphorae belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the other types range between then and the twelfth century. The finds show that Pingsdorf ware reached London throughout most of the period of production, which lasted from about the middle of the ninth century until the late twelfth century.

Elsewhere in England, Pingsdorf ware is limited to single or a few finds from any site, and these are widely distributed along the east and south coasts. The find furthest north is at York (FIG. 29, no. 1), then Norwich (nos. 2-3),<sup>141</sup> Thetford (no. 4), and Ipswich (no. 5) in East Anglia. Imported pottery is more common on the south coast, where the sites are Canterbury, Dover (no. 6),<sup>142</sup> Pevensey castle (nos. 7-8), Burlough castle, Arlington (no. 9) and Sompting (no. 10) in Sussex, Winchester (nos. 11-12), and Hamwih (FIG. 23, no. 27). The finds from Norwich, Pevensey castle and Burlough castle show that the importation of late Pingsdorf ware continued down to the Norman period.

The pot from Ipswich (FIG. 29, no. 5) has also been examined by Professor Frechen, who states that the ware does not belong to the Pingsdorf group. It is likely that this pot, and the sherd from Winchester (no. 12), which are decorated in similar linear style, originate from the kilns in Dutch Limburg, such as Brunssum and Schinveld,<sup>143</sup> which produced pottery in derived-Pingsdorf style in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mineral analysis is required for some of the other sherds in order to decide whether they are from Pingsdorf or Dutch Limburg. For finds from Dowgate, London, see p. 74.

These scattered finds, taken in conjunction with the more numerous finds from London, provide a neat index of the wide range of trade from the Rhineland to England (FIG. 30) and its continuity (including Badorf ware) from the ninth century until the twelfth, and demonstrate the outstanding position of London as a port.

## 12. HANDLED LADLES

As well as the fine-quality wares of Groups 9 and 11, coarser pottery was also imported from the Rhineland in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries. The type is a distinctive, small, round-based pot with a single, long, curved handle attached to the rim and neck, or to the upper part of the body (FIG. 31). The shape is that of the hand-made globular cooking-pot (*Kugeltöpf*) common in the Rhineland from about the ninth century to the twelfth, with a curved handle added. The pots probably served as dipping ladles. Examples found at Bergen are, however, discoloured and sooty outside, showing another use in heating liquids over a fire; only one of the pots from England is discoloured in this way. The bodies and the round bases show much working of the surface by

<sup>141</sup> *Norfolk Archaeol.*, xxxi (1955), 60, fig. 13.

<sup>142</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, lxi (1951), 148, fig. 14.

<sup>143</sup> J. G. N. Renaud in *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek in Nederland*, vi (1955), 106 (Brunssum), and viii (1957-8), 179 (Schinveld).



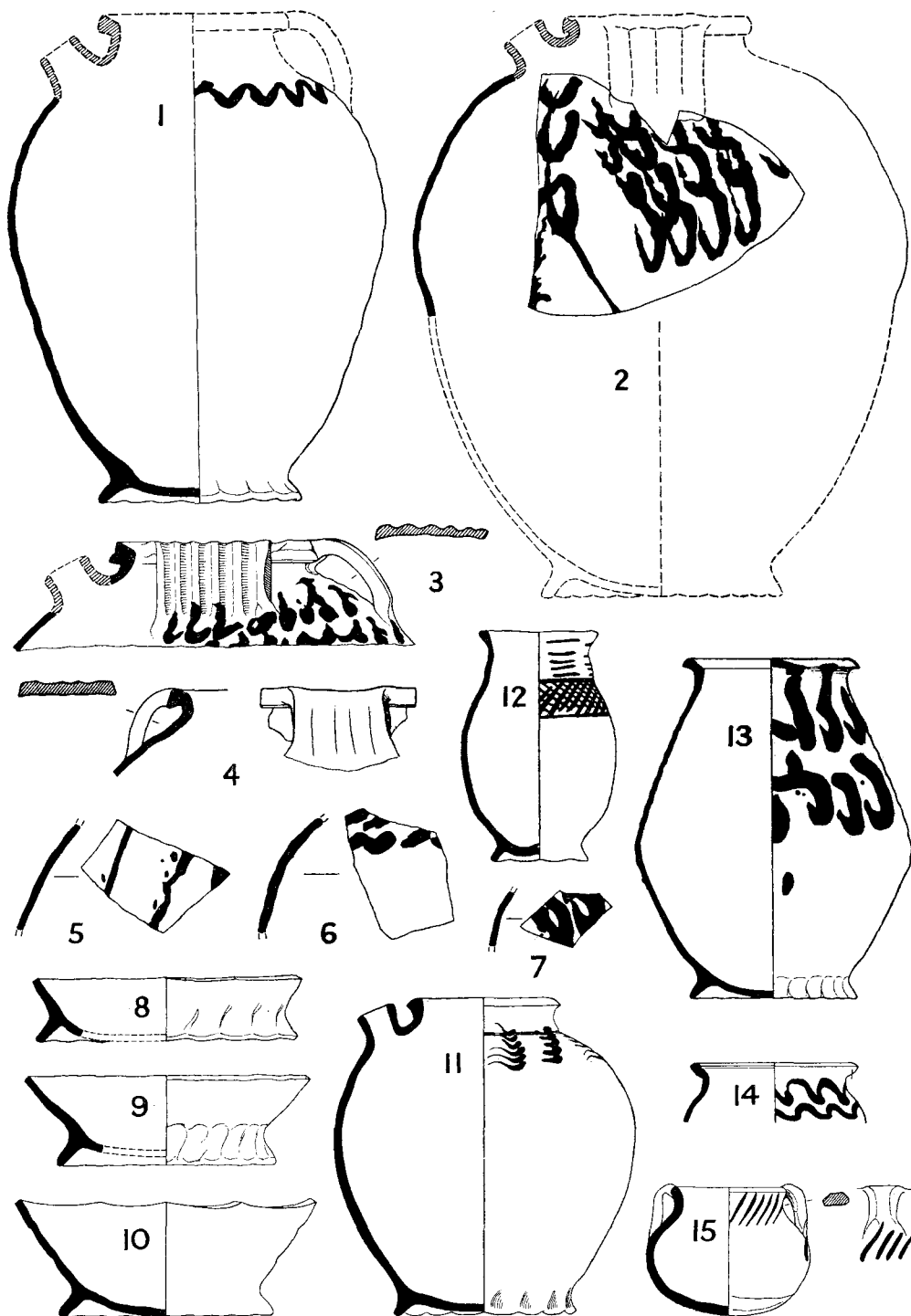


FIG. 28

RED-PAINTED POTTERY OF GROUP 11 FROM LONDON (p. 56). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1, Miles Lane (GM); 2, Old Jewry Chambers (GM); 3, Gracechurch Street (LM); 4, Cripplegate (GM); 5, Threadneedle Street (LM); 6, nos. 31-4, Fenchurch Street (GM); 7, Bank of England; 8, nos. 143-9, Fenchurch Street (GM); 9, nos. 19-24, Birchin Lane (GM); 10, nos. 15-18, Lime Street (GM); 11, Budge Row (Maidstone Mus.); 12, London Wall (GM); 13, St. Martin's-le-Grand (LM); 14, All Hallows, Lombard Street (GM); 15, City of London (GM)

the fingers, suggesting that the pots were finished by hand after being formed inside a concave mould or bat on the wheel-head; usually the inside of the rim and neck still show the wheel-marks. The ware is whitish or grey, gritty or sandy, with a darker grey or bluish-grey surface.

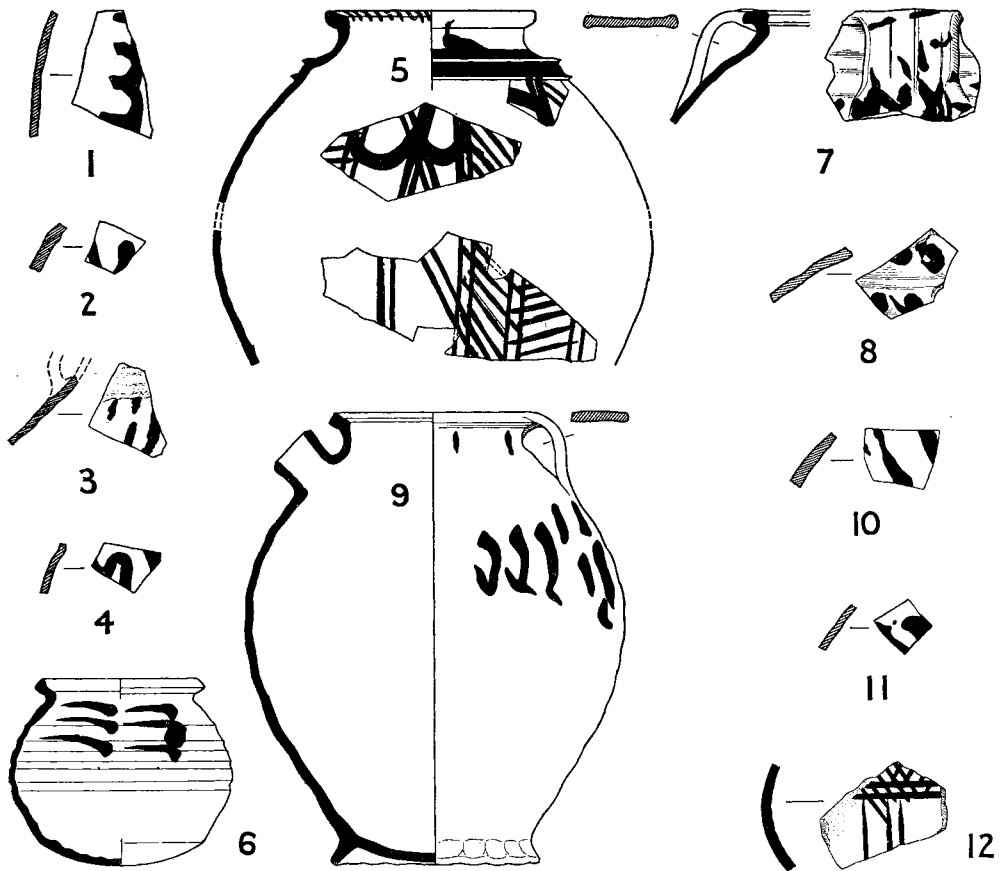


FIG. 29

RED-PAINTED POTTERY OF GROUP 11 FROM ENGLAND (p. 56). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$ 

1, Hungate, York; 2-3, Norwich; 4, Thetford; 5, Ipswich; 6, Dover; 7-8, Pevensey castle, Sussex; 9, Burlough castle, Sussex; 10, Sompting, Sussex; 11-12, Winchester

Abroad, the ladles are grouped in the lower Rhineland,<sup>144</sup> whence they reached the Low Countries.<sup>145</sup> Long distance trade carried the ladles to Bergen

<sup>144</sup> Cologne; *Altes Kunsthandwerk*, v (1927), 177, pl. 136. Husterknupp, near Frimmersdorf; A. Herrnbrodt, *Der Husterknupp* (1958), p. 90, pl. 16, 169. A ladle (not marked on the map, fig. 32), in the Bischöfliches Museum at Trier, is among pottery from a building at Alt-Liebfrauen, dated between 882 and 953. I am indebted to Miss V. I. Evison for this information.

<sup>145</sup> Ghent; in the Bijloke Museum, Ghent. Heusden, near Ghent; in the Vleeshuis Museum, Antwerp. Middelburg; *Oudheid. Mededeel.*, n.s. xxii (1941), 68, fig. 57. Deventer; *op. cit.* in note 143, vii (1956), 62, fig. 18, 8, and 12. Kuinre; P. J. R. Modderman, *Over de Wordingen de Beteekenis van het Zuiderzee Gebied* (1945), p. 43, fig. 5, iii 53 n. Oosterend, Friesland; in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, Olden Klooster near Holwierde, Bierum; in the Museum van Oudheden, Groningen.

and Borgund<sup>146</sup> on the west coast of Norway, and also into the Baltic to reach Kalmar castle<sup>147</sup> in south Sweden. The pattern of the distribution (FIG. 32) follows that of the trade in Rhenish pottery during the ninth to the twelfth centuries.

In England the ladles are known from seven sites on the eastern side of the country. The sites are London (FIG. 31, nos. 1-2), Rayleigh castle, Essex (no. 3),<sup>148</sup>

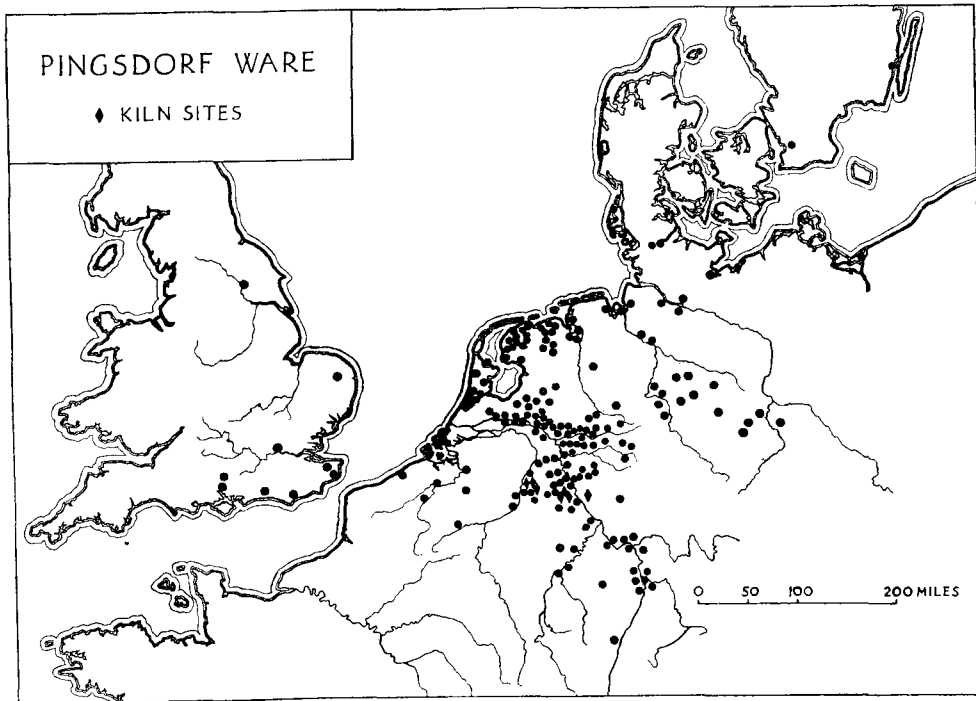


FIG. 30

DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF PINGSDORF WARE (p. 56)

Cambridge (no. 4), Hardingham, Norfolk (no. 5), Stamford (no. 6), Oxford (no. 7), and a recent find from Southampton. Isolated from the finds in England is the example found at Ballyfounder rath, county Down, in northern Ireland (no. 8),<sup>149</sup> which it reached probably as a re-export from England.

On the continent the date of these ladles ranges from the late-ninth or early-tenth century until the late-twelfth century. The earlier dating is in the

<sup>146</sup> Bergen; examples in twelfth-century levels from recent excavations at the medieval port. A. E. Herteig, 'The excavations of "Bryggen", the old Hanseatic wharf in Bergen,' *Med. Archaeol.*, III (1959), 181, pl. XIII, D. Borgund; from recent excavations (information from Dr. Herteig, of the Historical Museum, in the University of Bergen).

<sup>147</sup> In the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm. Information from Dr. Herteig.

<sup>148</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 112, p. 180, pl. G, i.

<sup>149</sup> *Ulster J. Archaeol.*, XXI (1958), 47, fig. 6, 6.

Rhineland, and most of the exported examples have been found at castles or in contexts dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In England the ladles are dated not earlier than the Norman period, by their occurrence at castles of this date. The Ballyfounder ladle was found in an early-thirteenth-century

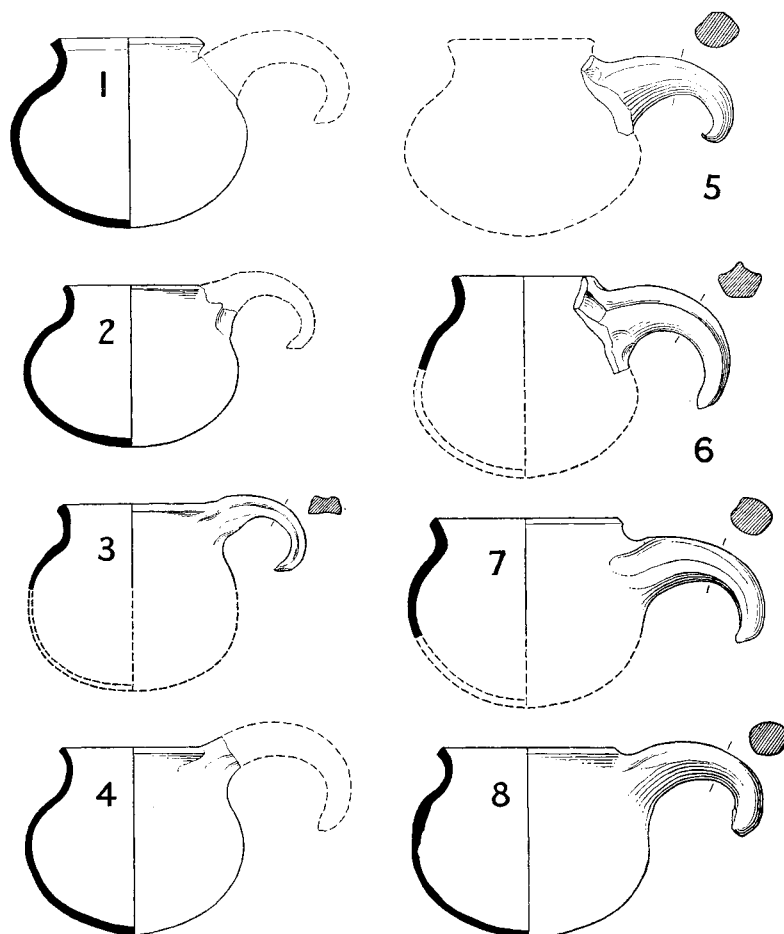


FIG. 31

HANDLED LADLES OF GROUP 12 FROM BRITAIN (p. 56). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$ 

1, Guildhall, London (GM); 2, Paternoster Row, London (GM); 3, Rayleigh castle, Essex; 4, Cambridge; 5, Hardingham, Norfolk; 6, Stamford castle, Lincs.; 7, Queen Street, Oxford; 8, Ballyfounder, County Down

context, and is considered to have reached Ireland from England following the invasion of 1177.

## 13. GLAZED PITCHERS

The list of pottery imported from the Low Countries is completed by a distinctive type of glazed ware found as yet only in London; a nearly complete

pitcher from Lime Street (FIG. 33), and similar sherds from Walbrook and Dowgate (p. 76).

The pitcher is made of fine, smooth, buff-pink ware, and is covered overall outside, including the spout and handles, by thick, even, yellow glaze. The form is pear-shaped, with the bulge low down, and contracting upwards to the rim,

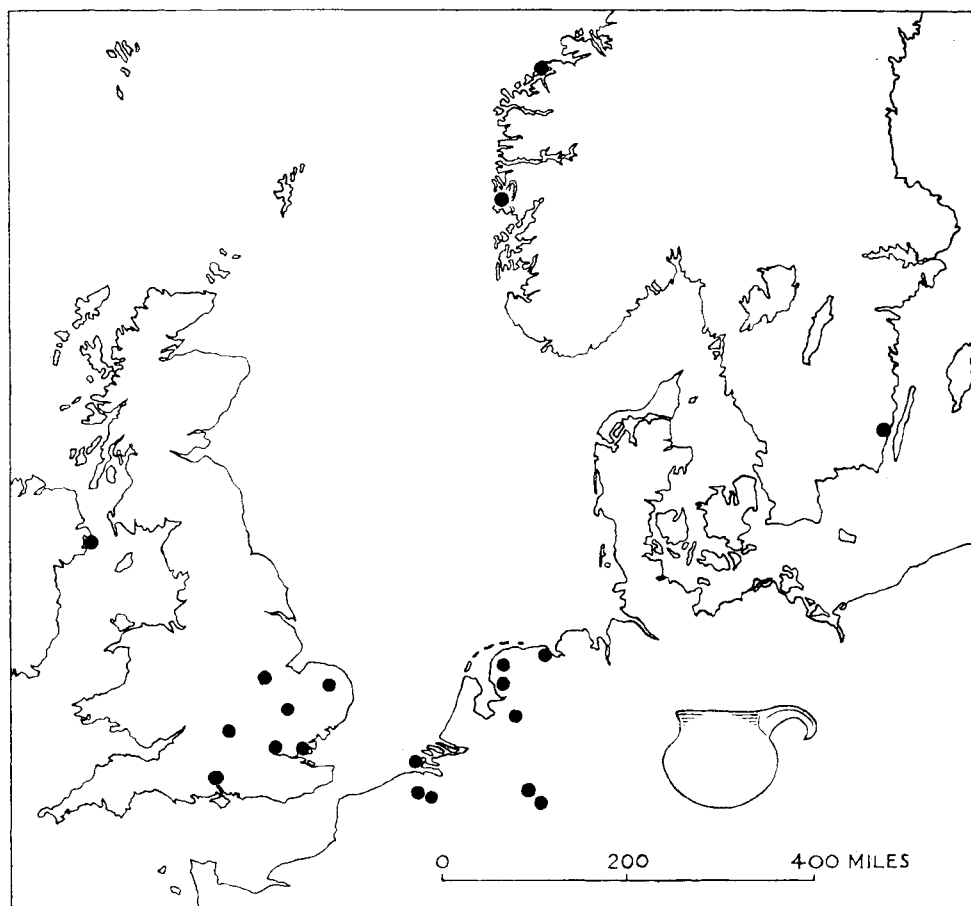


FIG. 32  
DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF HANDLED LADLES (p. 58)

which is moulded outside and hollowed on the inner slope. The spout is tubular, made separately and secured in a hole in the side, well below rim level. The two strap-handles are placed laterally, and are ridged in profile. The decoration consists of seven applied strips, ridged in section and marked by paired finger-prints, which pass vertically below the spout, down the middle of the handles and below them, and also down the sides of the pot.

The pitcher is certainly not glazed Stamford ware, which reached London

from the midlands (p. 37). On the other hand many of its features, the tubular spout, the form of the handles and the plastic strip decoration, have close parallels among the glazed pottery of Belgium and Holland. M. René Borremans, of the Section Belgique Ancienne at Brussels, who has seen illustrations and a small sherd of the Lime Street pitcher, points out that it differs in some respects from the Andenne glazed ware which he has studied in detail.<sup>150</sup> The differences relate to the shape, which is more ovoid, the fabric, which is usually whitish or yellow, but seldom pink-toned, and the distribution of the glaze, which, though clear yellow or orange-toned, is limited to a broad zone on the body. M. Borremans

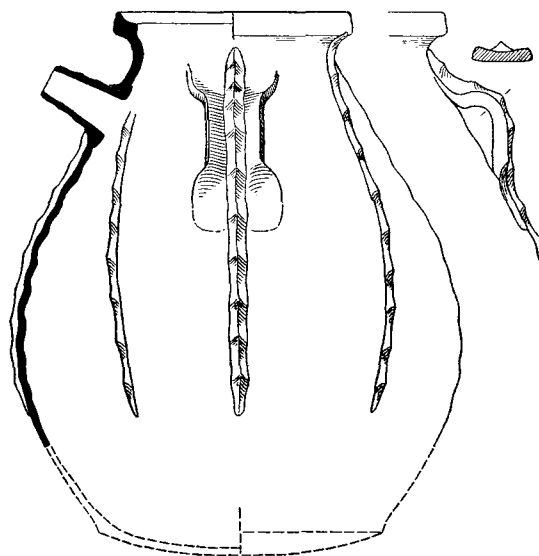


FIG. 33

GLAZED SPOUTED PITCHER OF GROUP 13 FROM LIME STREET, LONDON  
(p. 61), Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

feels convinced that the Lime Street pitcher is not a product of the kilns at Andenne, which were distributed widely in Belgium and reached Holland (p. 41, FIG. 17), although he accepts a date for it in the twelfth century, contemporary with the earlier Andenne ware. The provisional conclusion is, therefore, that the Lime Street pitcher was made at some other kiln in southern Belgium that produced glazed pottery.

#### 14. POTTERY IMPORTED FROM NORMANDY

In Normandy and the Île de France derivatives of the red-painted wares of the Pingsdorf group and of Dutch Limburg (Group 11) form a well-defined group in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (FIG. 34).

The trade in wine established between Rouen and London already in the

<sup>150</sup> Papers quoted in note 117.

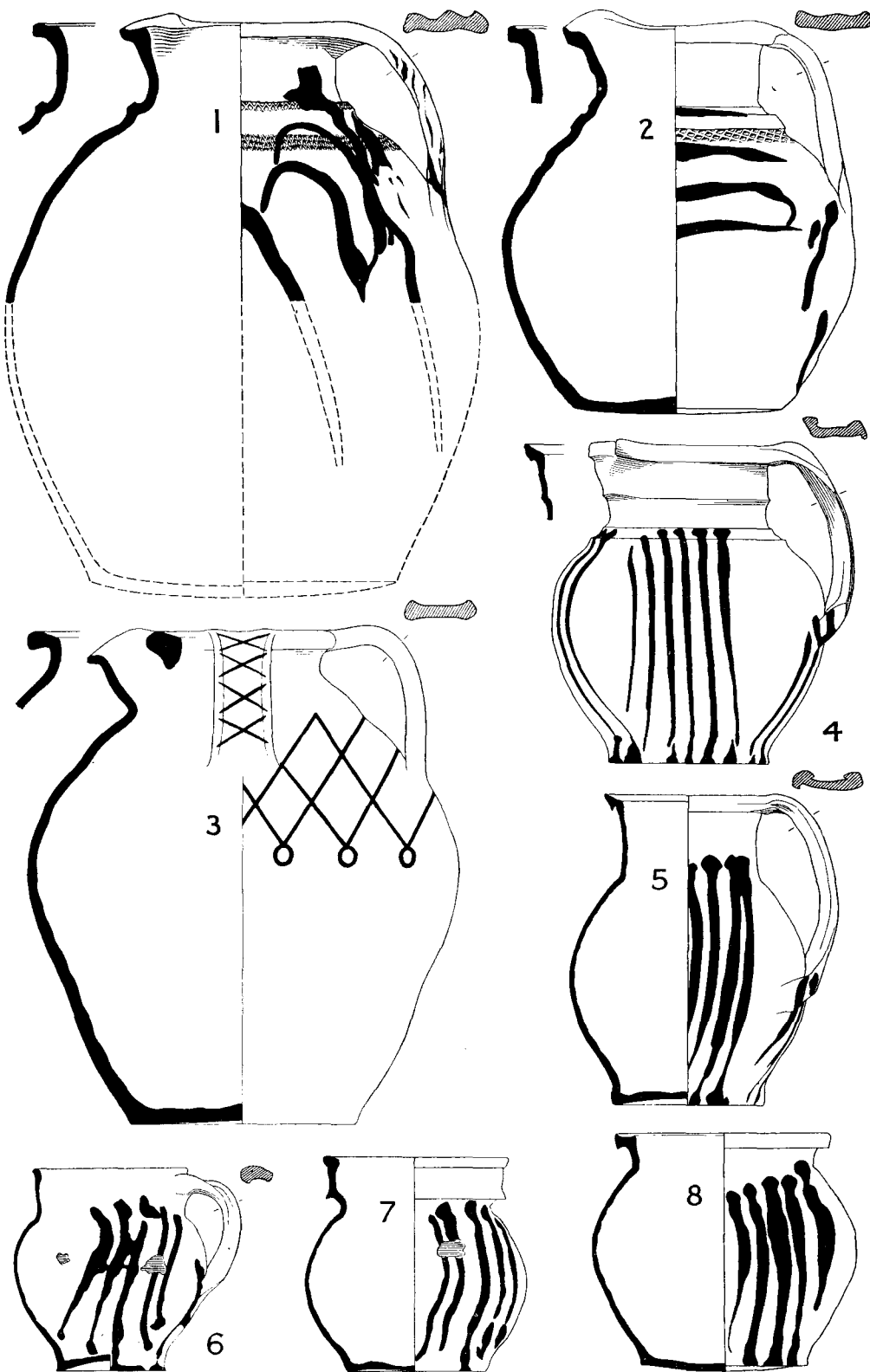


FIG. 34

RED-PAINTED POTTERY FROM FRANCE (p. 62). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

1, Rouen; 2, St. Vincent-de-Nogent, Seine Maritime; 3, Pecquigny, Somme; 4-8, Paris  
 (1-2, *Mus. Antiquités, Rouen*; 3, *Mus. Picardie, Amiens*; 4-8, *Mus. Carnavalet, Paris*)

tenth century, and the trade connexion between Rouen and Hamwih even earlier (p. 50), provide the setting for the increase in this trade as a result of the Norman conquest of England.<sup>151</sup> This trade brought a considerable amount of red-painted pottery and other types, mostly pitchers and jugs, to southern

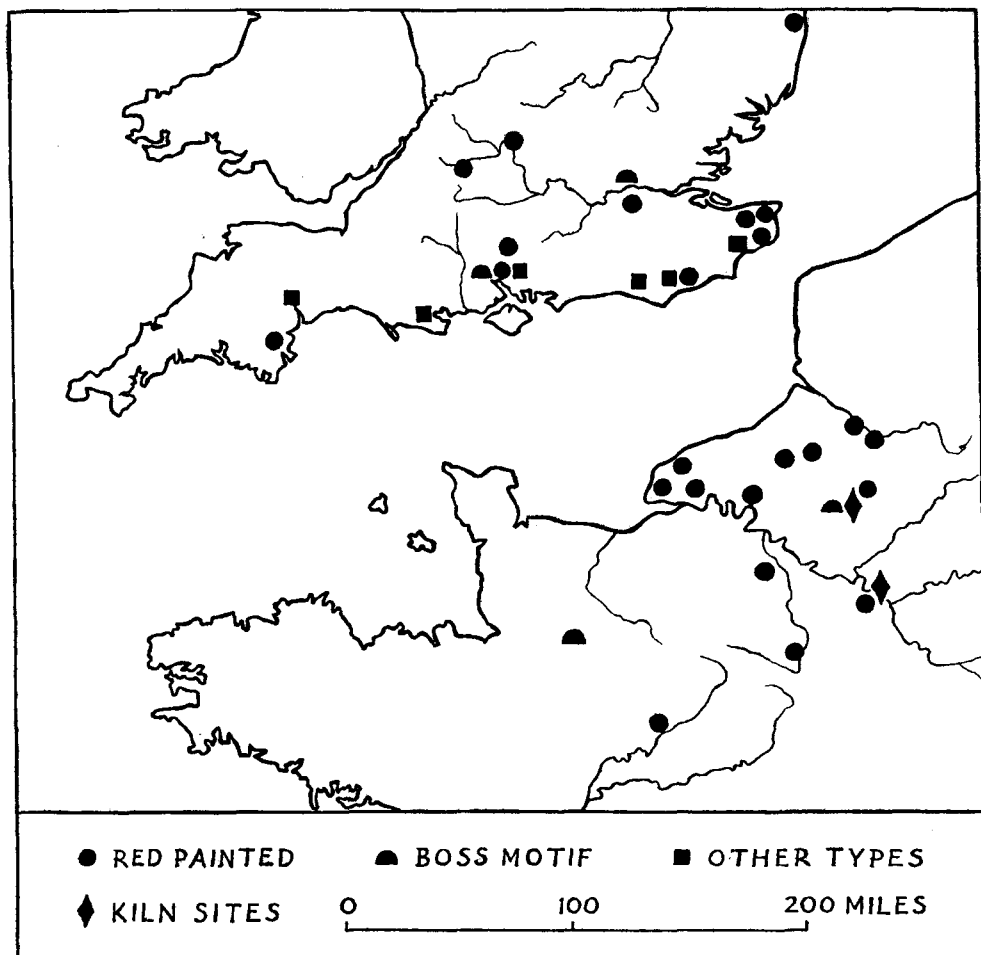


FIG. 35  
DISTRIBUTION-MAP OF RED-PAINTED AND OTHER POTTERY OF GROUP 14  
(p. 62)

England. The evidence thus provides an early instance of trade in wine and the pottery in which it was served, both derived from the same source abroad.

The pottery is concentrated at ports, and places easily accessible from them, along the south coast from Kent to Hampshire (FIG. 35). The ports and

<sup>151</sup> The documentary and archaeological evidence that wine was the commodity traded is cited in *Antiq. J.*, xxxviii (1958), 208.



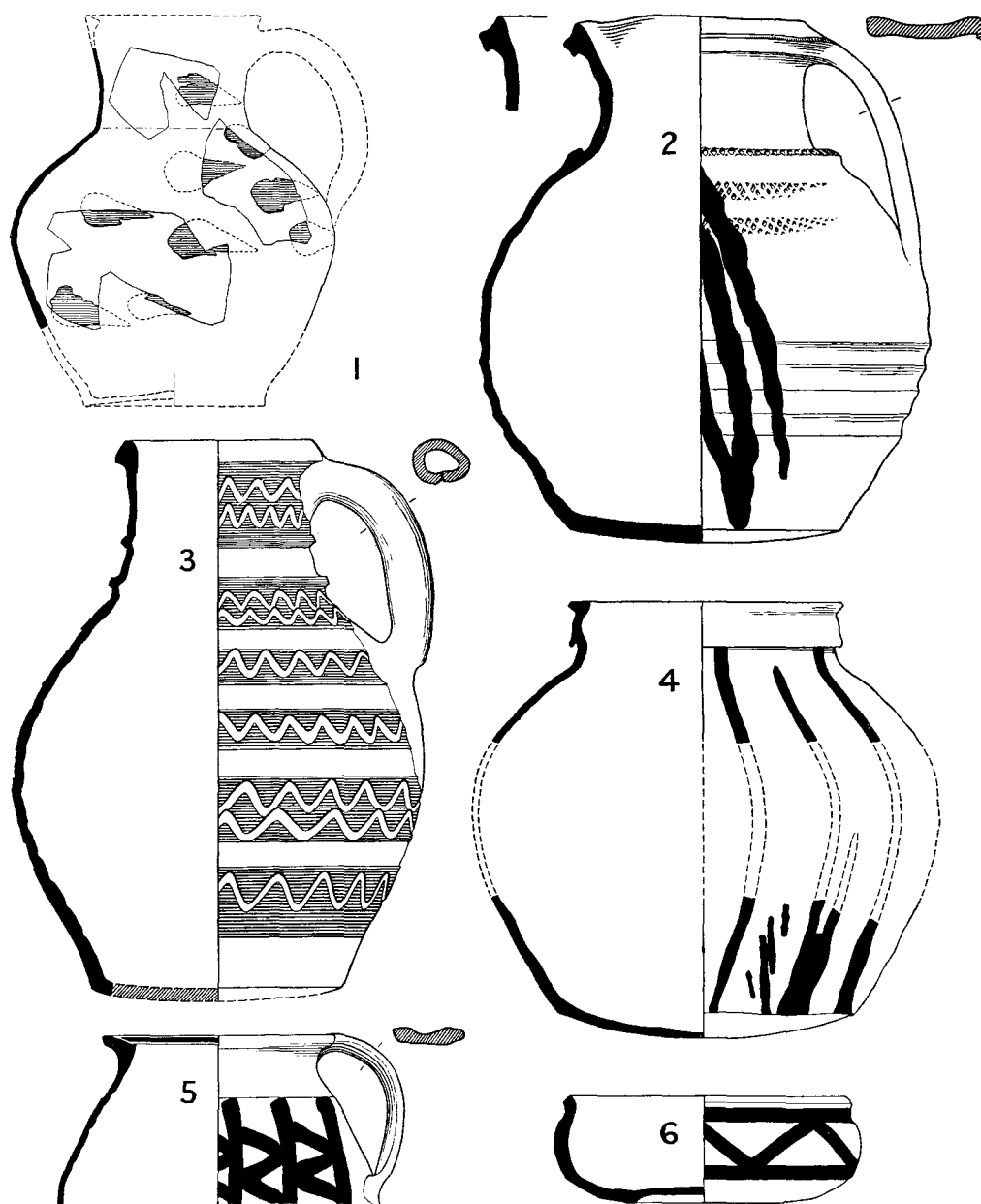


FIG. 36

RED-PAINTED POTTERY OF GROUP 14 FROM ENGLAND (p. 67). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 1, Stonar, near Sandwich, Kent; 2, Pevensey castle, Sussex; 3, Southampton; 4, St. George's Street,  
 Winchester; 5, South Denes, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk; 6, Cricklade, Wilts.

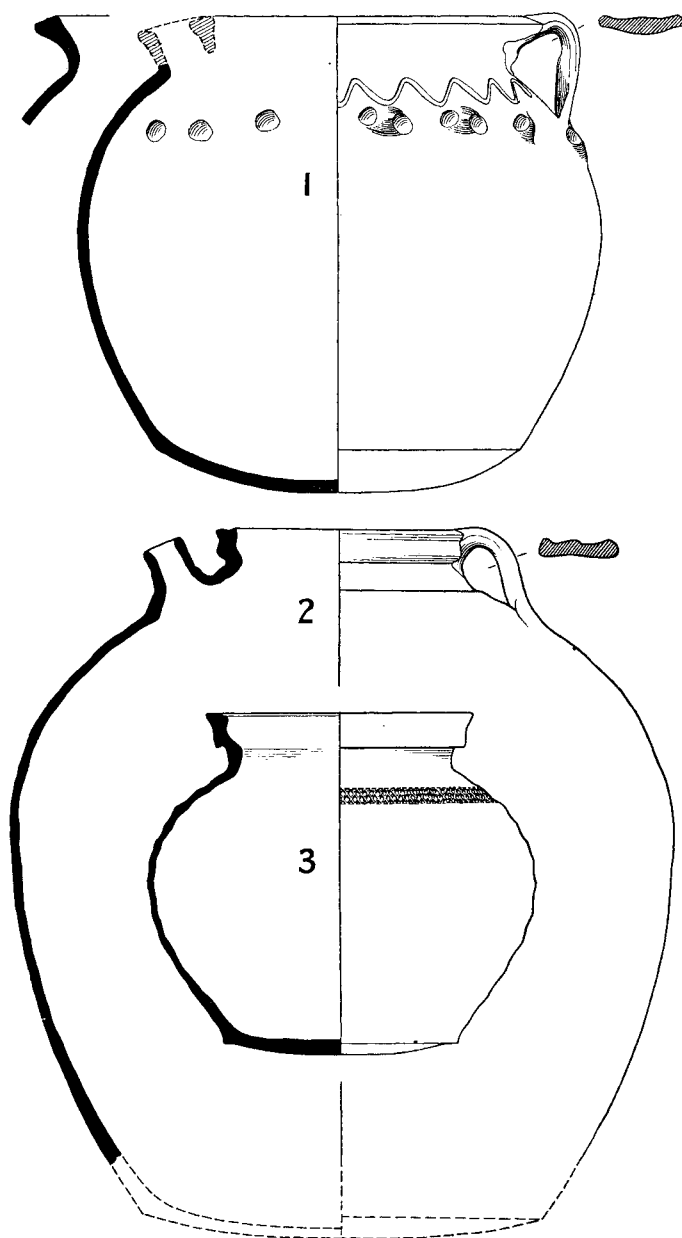


FIG. 37

POTTERY OF GROUP 14 FROM ENGLAND (p. 67). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 1, nos. 143-9, Fenchurch Street, London (GM); 2, High Street, Lewes, Sussex; 3, Exeter

towns where red-painted pottery has been found are Canterbury, Stonar (the out-port of London, near Sandwich, FIG. 36, no. 1), Dover,<sup>152</sup> Pevensey castle (FIG. 36, no. 2)<sup>153</sup> and Southampton (FIG. 36, no. 3). A red-painted cooking-pot found in early-twelfth-century associations at Winchester (FIG. 36, no. 4),<sup>154</sup> clearly reached there from Southampton. Coarser pottery of this group includes a sherd of grey ware with three lines of diamond-rouletting from the upper occupation-level at Sandtun, near Hythe, and a large plain pitcher with tubular spout found at Lewes (FIG. 37, no. 2). The latter could have been imported direct, or reached Lewes from Pevensey, where strip-decorated and plain jugs, also imported, were associated with the red-painted pottery.

The finds down-Channel are separated from the main grouping, and comprise a cooking-pot rim from the castle mound at Wareham, Dorset, a cooking-pot with diamond-rouletting at Exeter (FIG. 37, no. 3),<sup>155</sup> and red-painted sherds at Totnes castle.<sup>156</sup> The finds from Devon indicate an extension of the trade in French wine further west in the Norman period than in the preceding centuries (p. 50).

Red-painted pottery from Normandy is as yet not known from London, where it might be expected in some quantity, though a small sherd was found recently at Croydon, a few miles to the south. The trade to London is represented by a globular pitcher of whitish ware with grey surface, decorated with an incised wavy line above a row of hollow bosses pinched up by the fingers (FIG. 37, no. 1). A sherd decorated in the same boss-style was found at Southampton in 1956 in an early-twelfth-century context (FIG. 38, no. 1).

The boss-motif has a limited occurrence on the adjacent parts of the continent. Two instances are known in Normandy, in the ceramic group from which the examples found in England were derived. The first is a red-painted pitcher with a tubular spout found in a pottery-kiln at Goincourt, Oise<sup>157</sup> (FIG. 38, no. 2, in the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen). The other is a large jug decorated with vertical lines of large bosses, from the lower occupation-level of La Motte de la Nocherie at Saint-Bômer-les-Forges, Orne,<sup>158</sup> which is dated not later than the eleventh century (FIG. 38, no. 3). Collateral examples are further east in the Low Countries and the lower Rhineland. At least three pots from the kiln recently excavated at Brunssum in Dutch Limburg<sup>159</sup> have a row of large bosses below the rim; twice on red-painted pitchers (FIG. 38, no. 4), and once on a large open bowl. One instance of the boss-motif is known on a yellow-glazed sherd, probably Andenne ware, from the series of early-medieval timber buildings in the Mattestraat at Antwerp.<sup>160</sup> In the lower Rhineland the motif occurs on hand-made

<sup>152</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xxv (1945), 153.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxviii (1958), 205.

<sup>154</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 106.

<sup>155</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xxxi (1951), 184, fig. 2.

<sup>156</sup> *Trans. Devon Assoc.*, lxxxvi (1954), 254.

<sup>157</sup> Abbé Cochet, *Sépultures gauloises, romaines, franques et normandes* (1857), p. 354.

<sup>158</sup> Redrawn from *Bull. Soc. préhistorique de France*, vii (1910), 163, fig. 3.

<sup>159</sup> In the Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort: information from Mr. J. G. N. Renaud.

<sup>160</sup> Recent excavations by Dr. A. L. J. Van de Walle of Ghent.

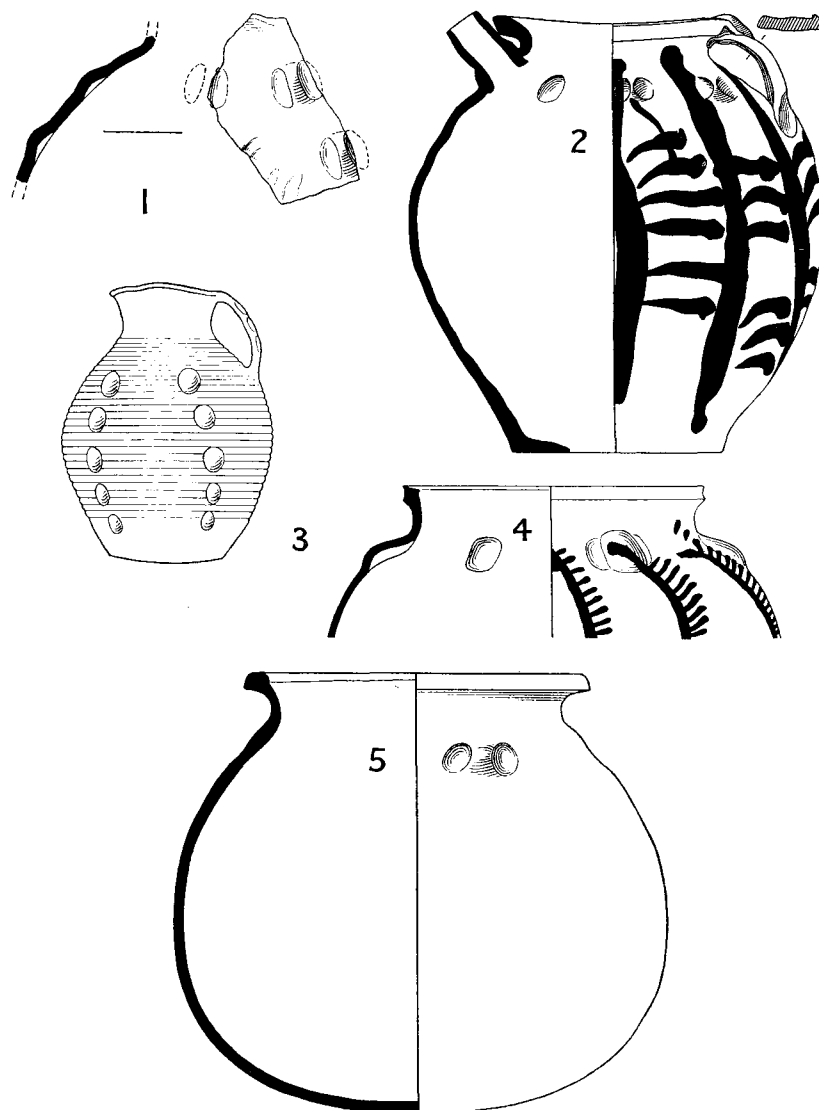


FIG. 38

## BOSS-DECORATED POTTERY FROM ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT

(p. 67). Sc.: 1-2 and 4-5,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; 3,  $\frac{1}{8}$ 

1, Southampton; 2, Goincourt, Oise; 3, St. Bômer-les-Forges, Orne; 4, Brunssum, Dutch Limburg; 5, Cologne

cooking-pots of 'blue-grey' ware (p. 76). An early example was found at Cologne in tenth-century associations (FIG. 38, no. 5), and several examples from the Husterknupp near Frimmersdorf are dated between the tenth and twelfth centuries.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>161</sup> A. Herrnbrodt, *Der Husterknupp* (1958), pp. 80, 88, 97, fig. 53, 9 and pls. 5, 30 and 12, 124.

These analogies denote a partial but widespread revival, along a broad littoral zone of the continent, of an ultimately Saxon decorative motif (*Buckelschmuck*) in the tenth to the twelfth centuries.<sup>162</sup>

Pottery of the Normandy group also reached at least one port in East Anglia. The upper part of a pitcher red-painted in panel style was found at the South Denes site, Great Yarmouth (FIG. 36, no. 5). The bold style and arrangement of the painting is very similar to that on the pitcher from Goincourt, mentioned above.

The remaining finds assigned to this group are in the upper reaches of the Thames valley. A sherd of red-painted ware was found beneath the castle mound of Oxford (constructed *c.* 1070),<sup>163</sup> and is thus securely dated to the eleventh century. At Cricklade, Wiltshire, the greater part of a wide, shallow bowl was found in the recent excavations (FIG. 36, no. 6). The broad zone of red-painting is a horizontal version of the panels on FIG. 36, no. 5. A fragment of this bowl has been examined by Professor Frechen, who states that the coarse gritty ware does not belong to the Pingsdorf group. Nor, it may be added, can a parallel be found in the Rhineland for the shape of the bowl.

These two finds are far removed from the coastal distribution of the bulk of the pottery. They are more likely to have reached so far inland through Southampton, rather than to have been imported to London and then carried up the Thames.

Brief comment should be made on the decoration of the Southampton jug (FIG. 36, no. 3), because it differs from that of the others of this group and introduces a new feature of the pottery carried by trade. The jug, which is made of fine whitish ware with yellow-toned surface, has red-painting in wide bands or zones from the rim nearly to the base. The wavy lines were deeply incised through the painting to expose the body colour, and this is thus a very early example of *graffito* technique. Although red-painting, usually in separate strokes or as simple linear patterns, is characteristic of Pingsdorf ware and its derivatives (p. 56), and incised wavy lines are known on Ottonian pottery in the lower Rhineland, no parallels for the formal overall style of the painting or for the *graffito* technique appear to be forthcoming among the Rhenish groups.

The tubular handle is also unknown in the Rhineland. It does, however, occur in Normandy and in western France, though, apart from the present example, it has only been noted on jugs dated not earlier than the thirteenth century.

The Southampton jug thus exhibits in a single vessel motifs and techniques derived from different ceramic groups in the Rhineland and France. These appear to have been transmitted to Normandy and there combined in a new style. The lack of exact parallels in the region from which this jug is presumed to

<sup>162</sup> Examples of the boss-motif intermediate in date between the ancestral Saxon style and those of early-medieval date may be mentioned here. These are wheel-turned Frankish pots of the seventh or eighth century found at Villers-devant-Orval (Baron de Loë, *La Belgique ancienne* (1939), iv, 103, fig. 83, 3), and a pot with ten shoulder-bosses (no. 971) in the Épernay Museum. Two examples of such boss-decorated pots reached Faversham and Broadstairs in Kent (J. N. L. Myres in *op. cit.* in note 116, p. 22, fig. 2, 5-6).

<sup>163</sup> *Oxoniensia*, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 90, pl. viii, B, f.

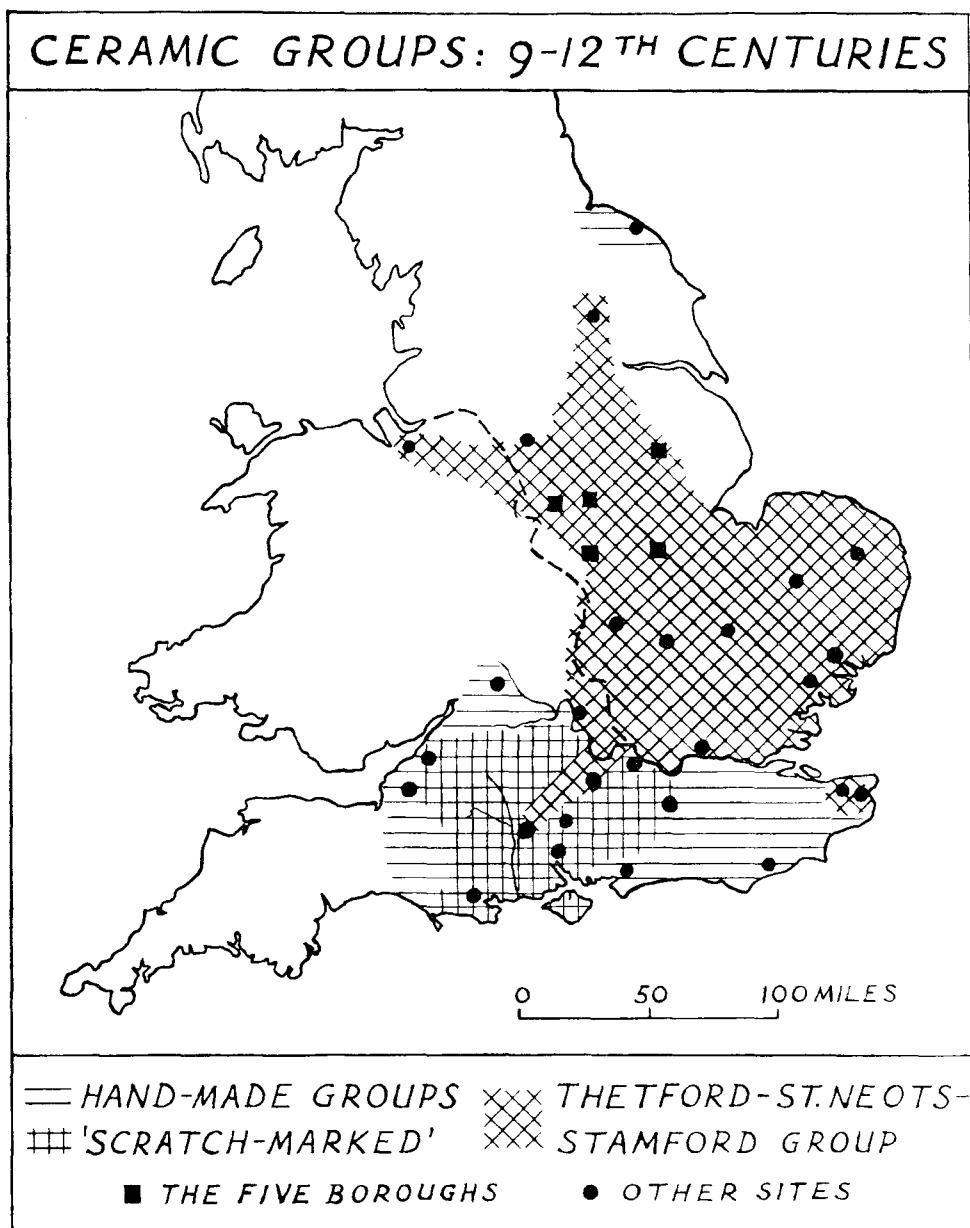


FIG. 39  
BLOCK-DISTRIBUTIONS OF POTTERY OF GROUPS 1 AND 2 IN ENGLAND  
(p. 71)

The boundary of the Danelaw is shown by a dotted line

have originated prompts the suggestion that it was made specially for export. Similar evidence is known for pottery exported from western France to England in the thirteenth century.<sup>164</sup>

### C. DISTRIBUTIONS AND TRADE ROUTES

In FIG. 39 the find-spots for Groups 1 and 2, the dominant ceramic groups over a large part of England, are used as a framework to show the block distributions of these groups. It is believed that by this means a truer picture is obtained of the traditions at work in the various regions of England in late-Saxon times, and of their interrelationships.

Group 1 extends from Kent to Somerset, and northwards to the line of the Thames valley. The pottery of this area shows strong insular characteristics, particularly in the 'scratch-marked' ware of Wessex and in the use of individual stamps for decoration, which persisted down to the thirteenth century at least.

The area covered by the three classes of Saxo-Norman pottery of Group 2 comprises the nuclear region in the midlands and East Anglia, and the maximum extent reached by this pottery and its derivatives of Group 4. The limits reached are York to the north, Chester to the north-west, Canterbury and Stonar to the south-east, London to the south, and Salisbury and Oxford to the south-west. The penetration of Group 2 pottery well into the area of Group 1 in east Kent and Wessex is a novel feature of the map. In each case the pottery is glazed Stamford ware, indicating its superiority over the indigenous wares and its value as an object of trade. The western limit of Group 2 pottery is uncertain, owing to some extent to the lack of information in the western midlands, but it does seem to follow the boundary of the Danelaw fairly closely. The region of the Five Boroughs appears to be nodal for the production of Group 2 pottery, and for the expansion in the trade in these wares to the marginal regions, between the tenth and twelfth centuries.

The external trade relations in the late-Saxon period are shown diagrammatically in FIG. 40, *a*, and will be described in chronological order. The rise of Winchester as the capital, with its out-port at Hamwih, caused a revival of the cross-channel routes. These brought mostly Frankish imports to Hamwih (Group 7), which passed inland as far as Old Windsor, and later a little of the Rhenish trade.

With the development of London as the economic centre, and the rise or founding of other trading towns, such as York, Thetford and Ipswich, the course of the southern trade moved eastwards. The sheaf of arrows marks the origin and direction of the extensive trade in pottery from the Rhineland in the eighth and succeeding centuries (Groups 9 to 11). Wine was the principal commodity of this carrying trade. The places reached by this trade extend in a wide arc along the east and south coasts of England, but the bulk of the trade was to London.

<sup>164</sup> The Exeter polychrome jug: *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII (1933), 130, fig. 15 and pl. xxix.

The position is different at Thetford, where the pottery is Rhenish in character but made locally, and the imports are negligible. A new factor combining with this influence from the Rhineland was the connexion, apparently by sea, with the eastern Mediterranean. This brought the knowledge of lead glaze to north-west Europe, as indicated by the white arrow.

The basis of trade changed from imported wine to the exportation of tin

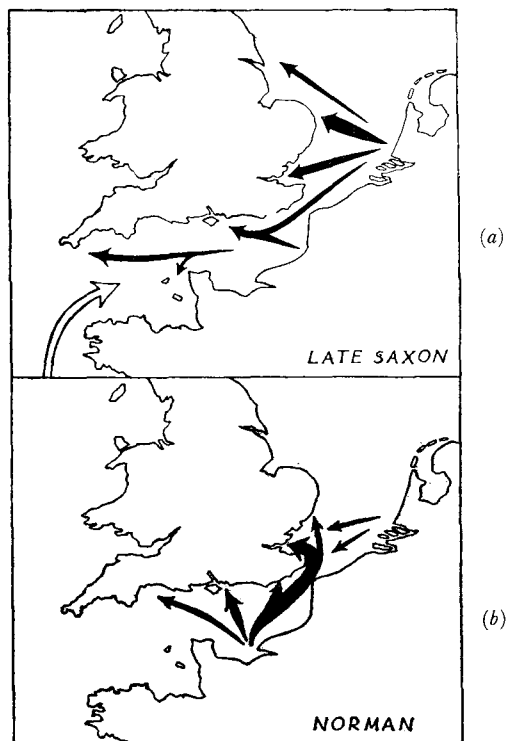


FIG. 40

TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN THE CONTINENT AND ENGLAND IN (a) THE LATE SAXON PERIOD AND (b) THE NORMAN PERIOD, BASED ON FINDS OF IMPORTED POTTERY (p. 71)

for the longer-distance trade of the Frisians. This resulted in the introduction of Group 6 into Cornwall in the tenth century, and is shown by an arrow passing down-channel.

The trade in pottery in the Norman period is shown in FIG. 40, *b*. Trade with the Rhineland and Low Countries continued, though, as far as the pottery is concerned, to a diminished extent (Groups 11, 12 and 13). Some of the pottery traded, however, reached further inland and farther afield than previously (Group 12). The bulk of the trade was now cross-channel from Normandy



(Group 14) to the south-eastern ports between London and Southampton, extending partly up the east coast and also down-channel to Devon. The basis of the carrying trade with Normandy was wine, as established by the documentary evidence and supported by the direct archaeological evidence from Pevensey castle.

In Sir Cyril Fox's *Personality of Britain*<sup>165</sup> is a series of diagrams showing the easterly or *up*-channel shift of the southern trade into Britain in prehistoric times, halting at the Rhine-Thames crossing in the Roman period. The easterly connexions were continued in later Saxon times (bearing in mind the revival of the Atlantic sea-route to western Britain in the migration period),<sup>166</sup> at first cross-channel and soon culminating in the intense trade with the Rhineland. England now fully participated in the trade which flowed freely round the shores of the North Sea. As a result of the Norman conquest, trade was intensified with Normandy. Thus was started the *down*-channel shift of trade. This was carried a stage further in the thirteenth century by the Gascon wine trade, and by the rise of the English Channel as the highway for commerce with the Mediterranean.

### POSTSCRIPT

An important find was made in London after the above paper was completed. Late in 1959 the site for the new Public Cleansing Depot, immediately west of Cannon Street station, was excavated. The site extended from Upper Thames Street to the frontage on the Thames, which was formerly Dowgate Dock at the mouth of the Walbrook. The section revealed a layer of river silt about 15-20 ft. below the present surface, which rested on river gravel containing Roman pottery and was covered by medieval rubbish with thirteenth-century pottery. The silt was wedge-shaped, 2-3 ft. thick, and deeper at the north or Upper Thomas Street side of the site, thinning out towards the south or river side. A considerable amount of pottery was contained in the silt. Most of the pottery was concentrated at one place over a length of about 5 ft., from which it thinned out to the north and south. Although the bulk of the pottery is in fairly small fragments, the greater part of one pitcher of Pingsdorf ware has been reconstructed, and this was scattered for several feet along the layer of silt. These observations suggest that the deposit represents the foreshore of the Thames in early medieval times, and that the pottery, which is not abraded or discoloured, was not washed about for long before it was covered by fresh silt. It is therefore deduced that the pottery did not accumulate over an appreciable period of time, but that it was thrown on to the foreshore at one time or during a short period only. It may thus be regarded as a contemporaneous group.

Analysis of the assemblage, comprising over 1,000 sherds, results in the identification of the following groups as defined in the above paper:

<sup>165</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain* (3rd edn. 1938), p. 82, fig. 34.

<sup>166</sup> C. A. Ralegh Radford in *op. cit.* in note 116, p. 59; C. Thomas, 'Imported pottery in dark-age western Britain,' *Med. Archaeol.*, III (1959), 89 ff.

1. Red-painted pottery of the Pingsdorf class, Group 11:		
Complete pitcher	1	
Tubular spouts	9	
Rims	32	
Red-painted sherds	105	
Plain sherds	540	
Miscellaneous	6	
Foot-rings	32	
	—	725
2. Handled ladles, Group 12:		
Rims with handles	2	
Ends of handles	2	
	—	4
3. 'Blue-grey' pottery, to be included in Group 12:		
Tubular spouts	5	
Rims: thickened	12	
plain everted	4	
Shoulders	17	
Body sherds	126	
Bases: rounded	10	
foot-ring	1	
	—	175
4. Glazed pottery, Group 13:		
Rims	3	
Handles	3	
Rouletted sherds	4	
Applied strips	3	
Glazed sherds	90	
Sagging bases	4	
	—	107

DESCRIPTION OF THE POTTERY (FIG. 40 *bis*)

1. The red-painted pottery forms three-quarters of the total find. The majority of the sherds belong to ten or more amphorae or pitchers with a tubular spout close to the rim, and a foot-ring (nos. 1 and 12). Only one handle is present (no. 5), so apparently most of the pitchers were without handles. The rims are thickened, sloping outside; sometimes there are one or two girth-grooves on the slope (nos. 1 and 8). Two rims (nos. 10 and 11) have a flange outside below the rim. The red paint is in loops and comma-shaped strokes, sometimes overlapping, limited to one or two horizontal bands at the level of the spout (nos. 1-3). In colour the paint is, for the most part, in shades of cherry red. On the more vitrified sherds the paint is darker, brownish-red or even purplish-black (nos. 4-6).

The only other types certainly represented are beakers or small jars, probably drinking vessels (nos. 13-14). These have a thin everted rim and a high rounded shoulder, which is marked by broad rilling, and a foot-ring. The paint is dark brownish-red and in narrow sloping lines on the neck and shoulder. On one sherd of a beaker the paint is arranged in vertical lines of dots (nos. 15). Another sherd has a flat cordon above the shoulder (no. 16).

In fabric the sherds are fairly evenly divided between two grades. The first

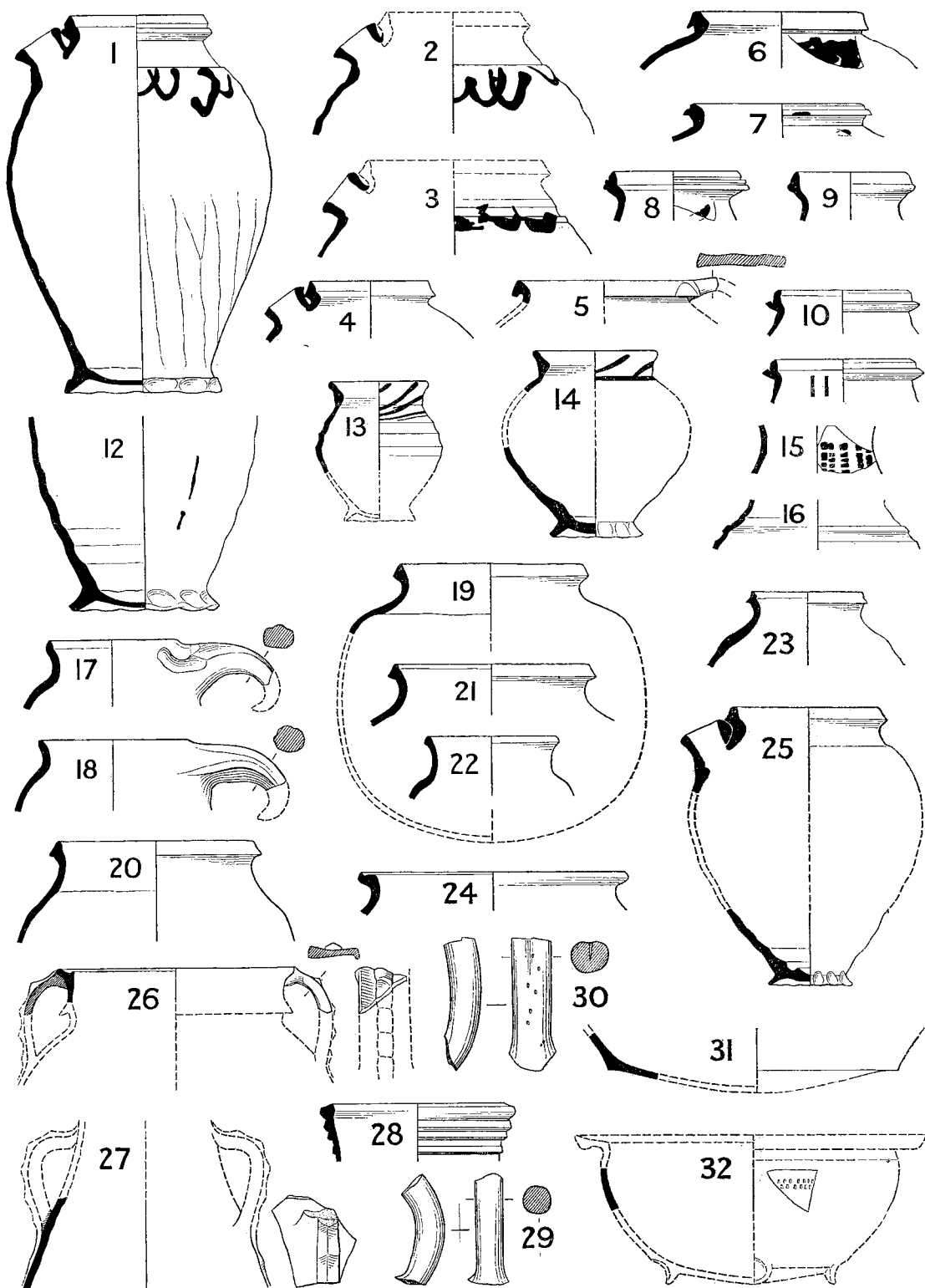


FIG. 40 *bis*.

POTTERY FROM DOWGATE, LONDON (p. 74). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 1-16, Red-painted pottery of Group 11: 17-25, Ladles and 'blue-grey' pottery of Group 12;  
 26-32, Glazed pottery of Group 13.

is light toned, yellow or yellowish-buff. About 10 per cent. of these sherds have red inclusions in the fabric, which is one of the characteristics of true Pingsdorf ware. The second grade is darker, yellowish-brown or brown. The darkest sherds are vitrified, and the surfaces are purple with a glassy appearance. A few sherds belong to a minor grade; these are pink-toned throughout.

2-3. The handled ladles (nos. 17-18) are of normal type with a long curved handle. The ware is whitish or grey, with darker grey surface and an iridescent sheen.

The ladles of Group 12 are a special type among a large class of pottery known as 'blue-grey' ware, long recognized in the Rhineland<sup>167</sup> and now for the first time represented in England,<sup>168</sup> and forming nearly 20 per cent. of the finds from Dowgate. The commonest type is a globular cooking-pot with high rounded shoulder and a round base (no. 19). The characteristic rim is thickened on the outside with an outer slope (nos. 20-23). Only one rim of a cooking-pot is more developed (no. 24); this is flanged with a groove on top.

One sherd has a tubular spout below the rim, and a separate foot-ring almost certainly belongs to the same pot (no. 25). This is clearly a small spouted pitcher copying a leading Pingsdorf type.

The fabric of 'blue-grey' pottery is very uniform. The sherds are light in weight and fired very hard. In fracture the ware is light-coloured, usually whitish but sometimes yellow-toned or light grey. The surface is uneven and harsh to the touch, and varies from grey to black. Characteristic features of the surfaces are a silvery or pseudo-metallic sheen, and bluish iridescent patches.

Two sources are known for 'blue-grey' pottery, one at Wildenrath, near Heinsberg,<sup>169</sup> not far from the kilns for red-painted pottery in Dutch Limburg, and the other at Paffrath, near Cologne.<sup>170</sup> The types and fabric of cooking-pots made at both places are closely similar, but many of the Wildenrath pots are decorated with impressed stamps. Until the two sources can be distinguished from one another otherwise, Group 12 may provisionally be termed Paffrath ware.

4. Glazed pottery forms about 10 per cent. of the finds from Dowgate. The sherds are too small for any reconstruction of the types, but the majority appear to belong to pitchers and jugs. The collared rim and strap-handle with applied finger-printed strip (no. 26), both glazed yellowish-brown, belong to a wide-mouthed pitcher with tubular spout.<sup>171</sup> A yellow-glazed sherd with applied finger-pinched strip down the handle and below it (no. 27) is from a pitcher of the type illustrated above in FIG. 33. The thickened rim with angular cordons on the neck (no. 28), and the round-sectioned handles (nos. 29-30) are appropriate to

<sup>167</sup> A long series, dating from the late ninth century until the twelfth, is published in A. Herrnbradt, *Der Husterknupp* (1958), pp. 80-98, figs. 49-53, pls. 5-6 and 12-14.

<sup>168</sup> Outside London, Group 12 is now represented at the Clarendon hotel, Oxford, by a cooking-pot rim and the handle-end of a ladle, both associated with eleventh-twelfth-century pottery (*Oxoniensia*, xxiii (1958), 40, 44, fig. 9.

<sup>169</sup> *Bonner Jahrb.*, cxxxii (1927), 207.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, clv-clvi (1955-56), 355.

<sup>171</sup> Borremans and Lassance, *op. cit.* in note 117, pl. 1, 3-4.

jugs with a developed neck.<sup>172</sup> The bases are sagging with a sharp basal angle (no. 31), and may belong to either pitchers or jugs.

Sherds with zones of rouletted decoration (no. 32), glazed yellow or yellowish-brown, are from the sides of bowls with flanged rims and sagging bases thumb-pressed in four places. The restoration of no. 32 is based on examples at Andenne.<sup>173</sup>

The fabric of most of the sherds is whitish, and the rest are yellow-toned. About half the sherds are glazed in yellow, and a quarter are glazed in light green. The glaze is clear and tends to be thick and glassy, and often it is finely crackled. About one-tenth of the sherds are pink in fabric, and on these the yellow glaze appears as darker yellow or even brown.

It can be stated quite definitely that the glazed pottery from Dowgate is Andenne ware imported from southern Belgium. All its features are matched at the type-site, and direct comparison with samples of Andenne ware kindly presented to me by Dr. Roosens of Brussels clinches the identification.

#### ORIGIN AND DATING

It is a remarkable fact, which should be emphasized, that the whole of the pottery from the layer of silt at Dowgate is continental in origin and imported to London. Bearing in mind the remarks made above (p. 56) in discussing Group 11, a certain amount of the red-painted pottery is claimed as true Pingdsorf ware, while the bulk of it probably came from the potteries in Dutch Limburg. The 'blue-grey' pottery or Paffrath ware is a new addition to the repertory of imports to London, and is valuable as showing that a proportion of coarse plain wares was imported, as well as the finer quality pottery. It is also satisfactory to be able to define the glazed pottery as Andenne ware. It now seems very probable that Group 13 reached London in greater quantity than the glazed Stamford ware of Group 2, and that it was easier or cheaper to ship pottery from abroad to London than to bring it overland from the midlands.

The special character of the assemblage suggests that it results from one of two immediate sources. Either it formed part of the cargo of a ship, which was broken in transit and dumped overboard on docking at London, or it was the broken domestic crockery from houses in the vicinity of Dowgate, thrown on to the foreshore of the river. In this connexion it should be remembered that in the middle ages Dowgate was assigned to foreign merchants, so that either explanation is plausible. On the whole the first explanation seems the more likely, in view of the duplication of some of the types of pottery.

The date of the deposit is readily determined and, as noted above, it appears to cover a short period of time only. The handled ladles and the glazed Andenne ware are the most useful for this purpose. In England the ladles appear first on Norman sites (p. 60), and in Belgium Andenne ware is not as yet dated earlier than the twelfth century. A date in the twelfth century, probably the first half, is therefore assigned to the deposit, and this period would suit the red-painted pottery.

<sup>172</sup> Borremans and Lassance, *op. cit.* in note 117, pl. II, 1 and 3.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. II, 11.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the authorities of the following museums for permission to illustrate pottery in their possession: British Museum; Guildhall Museum; London Museum; Bedford Modern School Museum; Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; Royal Museum, Canterbury; Hastings Museum; Herne Bay Museum; Ipswich Museum; La Société Jersiaise, Jersey; Castle Museum, Norwich; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum; Tudor House Museum, Southampton; Southend Museum; and City Museum, Winchester.

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A special word of thanks is due to Professor J. Frechen of Bonn for kindly making petrological examinations of pottery from Cricklade, Ipswich and London.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the captions of the figures: BM, British Museum; GM, Guildhall Museum; LM, London Museum.