

XII

MUSEUM NOTES, 2010

1. A TALE OF FOUR *PATERAE**Lindsay Allason-Jones*

IN 2009 THE SOCIETY purchased two bronze *paterae*, following their discovery by two metal detectorists in Whittington parish, Northumberland. Both are of late 1st to early 2nd century AD date.

The first is fragmentary, with only its ribbed base and sections of its body and everted rim surviving. As is usual with such *paterae*, it is decorated around the bellied shoulder by an incised band of triangles contained within two parallel ribs. Each triangle is decorated by three vertical lines, whilst between the triangles are stylised plant motifs, each consisting of four leaves or petals. The spaces between the basal ribs vary in width. In the centre of the base on the outside there is a central stud which shows a clear lathe chuck mark. On the inner face of the base there is a shallow lathe chuck mark surrounded by a shallow rib. The diameter of

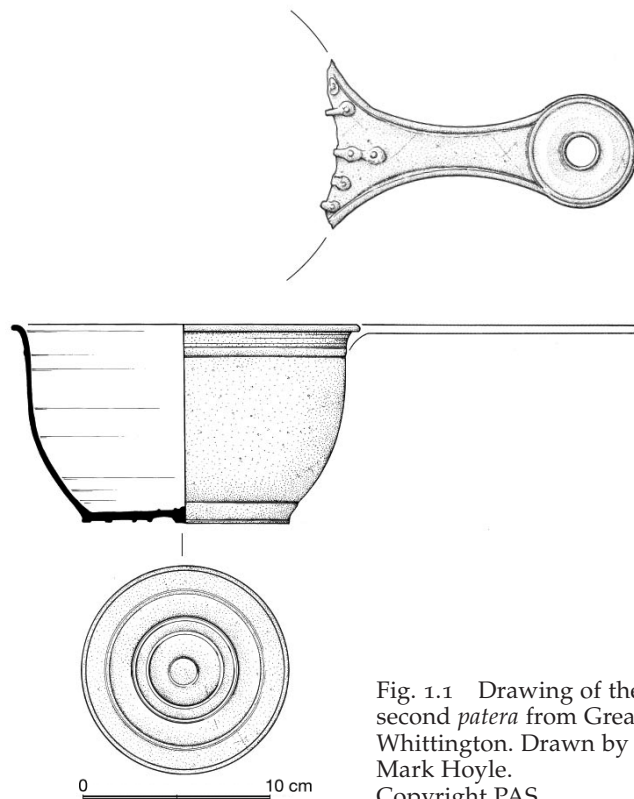


Fig. 1.1 Drawing of the second *patera* from Great Whittington. Drawn by Mark Hoyle. Copyright PAS.



Fig. 1.2 Close-up of the handle of the second Great Whittington *patera* showing details of the repair.
 Photograph by Rob Collins.
 Copyright PAS.

the base is 124 mm. Unfortunately, the surviving fragments are so distorted it is now impossible to calculate the rim's diameter. The handle is missing but slight traces survive of silvering or tinning on the inner surface of the body fragments.¹

The second *patera* is more complete (fig. 1.1). The body is less bellied than the first vessel and has a narrower band of decoration, which is currently obscured by corrosion. The base is also ribbed with a central lathe-chuck mark. Unlike the first vessel, however, this pan retains its waisted handle and disc terminal, the latter having a central circular hole surrounded by a wide, shallow rib (fig. 1.2). When found, the handle was still attached to the body of the *patera* by five curved strips, arranged equidistantly across an old break. The strips have been passed through drilled holes in the rim of the vessel and then soldered into position. They represent a very elegant and efficient ancient repair of the type of damage which is commonly seen on *paterae*, the point where the handle and vessel rim meet being a notoriously weak point in the design of such vessels. No decoration or maker's name has yet been discovered on the handle but these may be concealed by corrosion and may yet be discerned after conservation. The vessel's rim diameter is 177 mm whilst the diameter of the base is 105 mm. The total height of the vessel is 103 mm; the handle is 169 mm long and 60.76 mm across its terminal.²

The Society was keen to acquire these *paterae*, not only because of the almost complete state of the second vessel and the quality of its repair, but also because of their findspot north of

Hadrian's Wall. The Society already owns several *paterae*, including one from the outpost fort of Risingham,³ as well as fragments of two from Ingoe, a provenance which is also north of the Wall and also in the vicinity of Halton Chesters fort.⁴ These latter *paterae* were transferred into the Society's collection in 1968 from Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle by its then Director Frank Atkinson. According to a visiting card of Sir Arthur Middleton, which was attached to one of the handles, these are 'Two bronze vessels of Roman period found while cutting a drain in clay in a field on Shield green in Inghoe (*sic*) township Northumberland in 1879. Supposed to be measures'. Other than their makers' marks, which were published by Dr R. P. Wright in *Archaeologia Aeliana* in 1969,⁵ little attention was given to these vessels, despite their unexpected appearance a mile north of Hadrian's Wall.

Also in 2009, by curious coincidence, the current writer was approached by Beamish Open Air Museum and shown a letter, written by John Collingwood Bruce to Sir Arthur Middleton in July 1879, which had been discovered amongst the archives of the Museum. The letter apprised Sir Arthur of the discovery on his land of the Ingoe *paterae*. Due to the kindness of Beamish Open Air Museum this letter has also been acquired by the Society.

Newcastle upon Tyne 2 July 1879

My dear Sir Arthur,

Two bronze vessels of the Roman period have been found by a drainer, on your property, near Bewclay. They are a kind of saucepan of not un-common form. Unfortunately they are not perfect, the sides of both of them are corroded. On the handle is the maker's name.

I went to Stamfordham on Monday to see them at the request of Mr Bigge. The labourer who found them lives at Stamfordham and keeps them there. The vessels have been very carefully made and are interesting relics of the Roman period and are the more interesting as being found near the Roman road leading from the Tyne to Berwick. Bronze vessels, are I believe, not Treasure Trove, but the man very properly, I think, wishes to place them at your disposal.

Should you become the possessor of them might I suggest the propriety of their being placed in some museum — either that at Newcastle or the Duke of Northumberland's at Alnwick Castle. In the later there is an important collection of Northumberland antiquities and I am at the present moment engaged in preparing an illustrated and descriptive catalogue of the objects contained in it. I told Mr Bigge that I would write to you informing you of the 'find'.

I am my dear Sir Arthur

Yours faithfully

J. Collingwood Bruce

Sir Arthur Middleton Bart

Belsay

Before the letter was sent, the place name 'Bewclay' was crossed out and the sentence 'They were found on north fields of Shield Green to east of Tongues in Ingoe township' was inserted.

This letter is of obvious interest as an example of Dr Bruce's correspondence but it also sheds more light on the discovery of the two *paterae*, confirming — albeit after a slight hiccup — the findspot of the Ingoe *paterae*. Shields Green is shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1894–9 as being immediately to the north of the hamlet. The more precise location, Tongues Farm, is 2 km NNW of Ingoe, beside the line of the Devil's Causeway (NZ 033767).⁶ To the east are the Coal Burn and the Blackheddon Burn, both of which are headwaters of the River

Blyth; possibly the 'drainer' was working somewhere in this vicinity. Why 'Bewclay' (now Beukley), nearly 8 km to the south-west, to the east of the A68 on the road to Great Whittington, was first thought to be the findspot is not known.

The letter also reveals the tortuous reporting route of archaeological discoveries in the 19th century. It is to be presumed that 'Mr Bigge' was John Frederick Bigge, the vicar of Stamfordham, who, at that period, would be considered a proper person to notify of the find.⁷ That he then considered it a correct course of action in such a situation to contact Dr Bruce, the well known antiquary, to get his opinion, reveals the close knit community that was Northumberland at this time. That Dr Bruce then felt it was his responsibility to write to the landowner to inform him of the discovery and to suggest a suitable repository for the vessels also provides an elegant vignette of 19th century etiquette. Sadly for the Society and for the Duke of Northumberland, Sir Arthur decided to ignore Dr Bruce's advice and gave the vessels to Bowes Museum, as is shown by the note on Sir Arthur's visiting card that accompanied the *paterae* when they were finally transferred to the Society's collection nearly ninety years later, courtesy of Dr Atkinson.

So, at the end of 2009 the Society found itself the possessor of four late 1st to early 2nd century *paterae*, all of which are now confirmed as having been found just to the north of Hadrian's Wall and in very close association with the Devil's Causeway, near Halton Chesters. Such vessels have been the subject of a number of studies and it would appear that their initial place of manufacture was in Campania, although the later examples come from other sources.⁸ Two types of *paterae*, or *trullea* as they are also called, were produced in Campania; the first is shallow, often with a central *omphalos*, and with a tubular handle sometimes ending in an animal's head — such a *patera* was found in the Daniels' excavations at Wallsend and is on display in Segedunum Roman Museum and Baths (unpubl.). These shallow *paterae* are commonly referred to as 'bath-saucers' and were used for pouring water whilst bathing as well as for pouring libations. A fine example of a religious *patera* of this type from South Shields, although without a handle, is also in the Society's collection; this vessel was dedicated to Apollo Anextiomarus by Marcus Antonius Sabinus.⁹ The second type of *patera*, to which the Ingoe and Great Whittington *paterae* can be ascribed, is deeper, with a flat handle pierced at the terminal; these Bennett and Young suggest were used for heating liquids.¹⁰ The lathe-turned rings on the base ensured the pans were held proud of the heat of a fire whilst the thin metal between the rings allowed heat to transfer quickly to the contents. The method of producing these *paterae* was revealed through painstaking experimentation by Mutz.¹¹ Illustrations of legionaries on Trajan's Column show them carrying a similar pan whilst on the march¹² and R. P. Wright suggested that the pans came in graduated sets, with legionaries on the march carrying one each.¹³ A relief from Arlon also shows an example on the shelf of a civilian family's living room.¹⁴ Bennett and Young have commented that while bath-saucers tend to come from civilian contexts, although with some notable exceptions, the deeper 'skillets' are most often found on military sites, particularly on the Roman frontiers.¹⁵ This may imply that the Ingoe and Great Whittington *paterae* were lost or deposited by the military. However, Hilary Cool has pointed out that a high proportion of the pans found complete appear to have been deliberately deposited and has further suggested that the deeper pans are often found in religious contexts, citing the sacred spring at Bath as an example.¹⁶ The possibly marshy environment to the east of Tongues Farm and the close proximity of the Coal Burn and the Blackheddon Burn may suggest that the two Ingoe *paterae* fall into this category.

The Whittington *paterae* were not found on their own. Several other artefacts varying from 1st century bronze harness trappings to a coin dated to 406–8 have also been found through metal detecting in the immediate area of Great Whittington and could have been deposited in association with the *paterae*. A purse hoard, which included a Gloria Romanorum coin, was published by Rob Collins in 2008;¹⁷ the rest of the material and an assessment of the site will also be published in due course. In the meantime it is worth noting that *paterae* are not easy items to lose; even if they were hung from a soldier's pack whilst on the march and could theoretically drop off, they would not do so silently or un-noticed by the soldier or his colleagues. In the case of both the Ingoe and Great Whittington *paterae*, they were found in pairs, a fact that makes casual loss an even more improbable reason for their appearance in barbarian territory. There is aerial photographic evidence for a road emerging from the north gate of Halton Chesters fort and then splitting into two, one branch of which heads north-west to meet Dere Street north of the Portgate whilst the other heads north east to meet up with the Devil's Causeway. Both Ingoe and Great Whittington lie close to either this second branch road or the Devil's Causeway itself. We must await further study of the Great Whittington material before we can postulate a valid theory as to why both sites have each produced two Campanian *paterae*.

Catalogue of *Paterae* in the Society's Collection

PROVENANCE	ACC. NO.	CONDITION	PUBLICATION
The Guards, Bolton, Nd.	1956.130	Base only	Hodgkin 1892, 165
Tongues Farm, Ingoe, Nd.	1968.13.1	Rim, base and stamped handle	Wright 1969a; Wright 1969b, 238, no. 19a
Tongues Farm, Ingoe, Nd.	1968.13.2	Rim, base and stamped handle	Wright 1969a
Prestwick Carr, Nd.	1890.11.11	Complete with stamped handle	Hodgkin 1892; Bosanquet 1918; Eggers 1966; RIB 2415.32
Prestwick Carr, Nd.	1890.11.12	Complete	Hodgkin 1892; Bosanquet 1918; Eggers 1966
Prestwick Carr, Nd.	1890.11.7	Missing handle	Hodgkin 1892; Bosanquet 1918; Eggers 1966
Prestwick Carr, Nd.	1890.11.8	Missing handle	Hodgkin 1892; Bosanquet 1918; Eggers 1966
Risingham, Nd.	1925.1.27	Complete	
Rudchester, Nd.	1925.18.10–11	Handle and fragment of body	Brewis 1925, 108
South Shields, TW	1923.10	Complete handle-less 'bath saucer'. Inscribed APOLLINI.ANEXTIOMARO M.A. SAB	Petch 1925, 29; Allason-Jones & Miket 1984, no. 3.357
South Shields, Herd Sands, TW	1935.7	Complete	Petch 1925, 29; Bosanquet 1935; Allason-Jones & Miket 1984, no. 3.358
Unknown	1956.76	Handle only	Unpubl.

NOTES

- ¹ *Patera* I is Find NCL-33CC76 in the Portable Antiquities Scheme database.
- ² *Patera* II is Find NCL-335745 in the Portable Antiquities Scheme database.
- ³ Acc.No. 1925.1.27
- ⁴ Acc. No.1968.13
- ⁵ Wright 1969a
- ⁶ I am grateful to Humphrey Welfare for first deciphering, and then pinpointing, 'Tongues Farm'.
- ⁷ Although no evidence has yet come to light to suggest that the Rev. Bigge was a member of the Antiquaries — his interests clearly lay more in the field of botany (member of The Botanical Society of London from 1844) — he clearly moved in antiquarian circles as, in 1885 he was to publish a biography of Ralph Carr-Ellison (*Ralph Carr-Ellison, Esq. of Dunston Hill and Hedgeley, JP, FSA Scot.*) who was a regular, if somewhat idiosyncratic, contributor to *Archaeologia Aeliana*.
- ⁸ Bennett and Young 1981
- ⁹ See catalogue; *RIB* 2.2415.55
- ¹⁰ Bennett and Young 1981
- ¹¹ Mutz 1972
- ¹² Cichorius 1896–1900, scenes iv and cxxvii
- ¹³ Wright 1969
- ¹⁴ Espérandieu 1965–6, 4097
- ¹⁵ Bennett and Young 1981, 38
- ¹⁶ Cool 2006, 47, 193
- ¹⁷ Collins 2008

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2. A LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WESTERWALD JUG

Louise Keech

In the Society's collection there is a fine piece of salt-glazed stoneware, a baluster-type jug, originating from the Westerwald region of the Lower Rhineland. The jug is not referenced in any publications and does not have an associated accession number. When and how the jug arrived in the Society's collection is unknown.

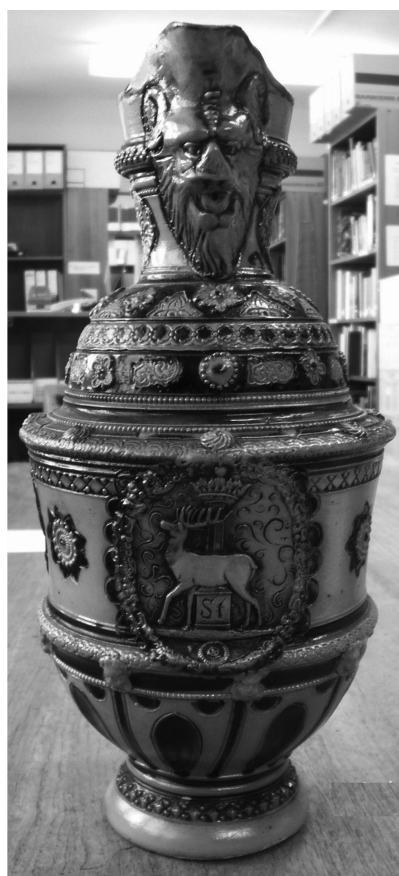


Fig. 2.1 (left) View of the jug, showing the double-headed eagle symbol. The motif to the left of the lion mask on the neck is a female bust with contemporary hairstyle and dress.

Fig. 2.2 (right) The front of the jug. The grotesque lion mask on the neck is known from other early 17th-century examples (Photographs: L. Keech 2009).

The Vessel (figs 2.1 and 2.2)

The vessel is a wheel-thrown baluster type jug measuring 310 mm in height and 160 mm in width at the widest point. The design features examples of moulded armorials, female heads with contemporary dress and hairstyles, lion heads, cherubs and flower heads. Each of these features has been painted in cobalt-blue colour before glazing, producing the blue and grey ware developed in the Raeren potteries which is typical of Westerwald wares dating from the late-sixteenth to the late-eighteenth centuries. The handle has been stamped with a floral design before being fitted to the vessel.

Three armorial motifs have been applied to the body of the jug. Two of the designs can be identified as being associated with the Holy Roman Empire. The unidentified motif shows a stag *trippant* in front of a pillar (see fig. 2.2). A crown circles the top of the pillar, while the initials 'St' appear on the base of the pillar. The initials may be those of the potter as it is not

unusual for a potter's or mould maker's initials or marks to appear on moulded motifs,¹ or possibly the letters represent an abbreviation of 'Saint'.

One of the identifiable armorials is the symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor as used after 1368: a double-headed eagle *displayed*. In the centre of the eagle's chest is another symbol associated with the Holy Roman Empire — the imperial orb (see fig. 2.1). The second identifiable armorial is made up of the arms of five counties and duchies in the Lower Rhenish/Westphalian Circle, one of the Imperial Circles of the Holy Roman Empire. This armorial was used by the Counts of Mark in the sixteenth-century, when the counties of Jülich and Berg and Cleves and Mark became linked by marriage, forming a single entity in the Lower Rhineland.² This was a time of expansion by the Holy Roman Empire through the Netherlands and much of Northern Belgium, and the Jülich-Cleve-Berg-Mark dukedom was surrendered to Emperor Charles V in 1543.³ Political and commercial ties between the powers were cemented in 1545 with the marriage of Duke William V to the Habsburg Anne of Austria.⁴

The *escutcheon* is divided into five quarters, carrying the arms for the Duchy of Jülich, the Duchy of Cleves, the Duchy of Berg, the County of Mark and the County of Ravensberg (fig. 2.3). These arms were particularly popular with the Siegburg potters working in the area southwest of Cologne, and appear frequently on Siegburg wares — the town was situated in the lands of this family and the local potters owed homage and duties to them.⁵ The heraldry of the five components of the arms is described as follows:⁶

Duchy of Jülich — *Or a lion rampant Sable, armed and langued Gules.*

Duchy of Cleves — *Gules, an escutcheon Argent, overall an escarbuncle Or.*

Duchy of Berg — *Argent a lion rampant Gules, queue fourchée crossed in saltire, armed, langued, and crowned Or.*

County of Mark — *Or a fess chequy Gules and Argent.*

County of Ravensberg — *Argent three chevrons Gules.*

The arms appear on the jug with the date '1580'; however, this does not necessarily mean the production date of the vessel. Many potters from Raeren and Siegburg brought wooden moulds with them when they moved to the Westerwald⁷ so it is possible that the jug was manufactured in the early 17th century and an armorial mould with an earlier date used.

The use of heraldic symbols and coats-of-arms as decoration was popular at all of the major stoneware production centres. This is perhaps not surprising as these vessels were intended for use amongst the emerging mercantile and artisanal classes, families and individuals who would often be granted arms based on manufactured genealogies to affirm their newly found social status.⁸ The main sources for the designs available to the potters and mould makers were civic heraldry, seals and coinage, so many of the armorials displayed on German stonewares are associated with German states and cities, families, and the Electorate of the Holy Roman Empire.⁹ By using armorial designs,



Fig. 2.3 Detail of the Jülich-Cleves-Berg coat-of-arms. Incised decoration is visible around the edges of the applied motif (Photograph: L. Keech 2009).

potters could also communicate political and religious propaganda; this was a period of religious and military upheaval — one reason for the migration of Raeren potters to the Westerwald could have been local disturbances caused by the Revolt of the Netherlands (1566–1609).¹⁰ During this period the Raeren potters produced a series of wares displaying the arms of both the pro-Habsburg and anti-Habsburg factions of the conflict.¹¹

Examples of stonewares, including those from the Westerwald, bearing European heraldic decoration have been frequent finds at excavations at colonial Chesapeake in Virginia, North America.¹²

Manufacture

A semi-fused precursor to stoneware proper was developed in northern Europe during the late-twelfth to early-thirteenth centuries. Stoneware proper is a fully fused ceramic body that is impervious to water, hence its traditional use as a material for manufacturing general storage vessels. The character of the material is achieved through firing at very high temperatures — between 1200 and 1400°C. Salt is then introduced to the environment during the final phases of firing. It vaporises in the atmosphere of the kiln producing a clear, lustrous glaze on the surface of the ware. This glaze often forms an 'orange peel' effect which can be seen on this vessel and is characteristic of salt-glazed stonewares.¹³

The largest quantities of German stoneware imported to England came from the Rhineland; in the north-west from Cologne and the Aachen area and into modern Belgium, and from further south in the Westerwald.¹⁴ Six major production areas existed in this region: Siegburg, Raeren, Frechen, Langerwehe, Cologne, and the Westerwald. Variations between production centres means that it is possible to distinguish between the different centres, although this is sometimes with the exception of Raeren and Westerwald styles from the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Production of blue and grey decorated stoneware in the Westerwald area began in the late 16th century when potters from the Raeren district moved into the area.¹⁵ As production in the Westerwald began to flourish, the Raeren potteries fell into decline after about 1600–20. The distinctive blue and grey surface of Westerwald stoneware was introduced by the Raeren potters and was also common in that area, making wares from the two districts virtually indistinguishable; the practice of restricting the application of blue colour under the glaze to panels and medallions was brought from Raeren with later Westerwald wares breaking from this tradition and applying colour over the whole vessel.

The stoneware centres were located on or very close to clay sources suitable for firing at high temperatures — in the case of the Raeren and Westerwald potteries the clays had to be extracted from depths of up to 40 m using the bell-pit mining method, a technique most associated with early post-medieval coal mining. The extraction and processing of the clays was a seasonal practice; during the winter months the raw clays were extracted and left outside in shallow pits to break down through frost action.¹⁶ In the warmer months the clays went through various refinement processes such as soaking and kneading to remove air bubbles and impurities. A sand filler would also be added to reduce shrinking during firing. In order to achieve maximum plasticity the raw clay would undergo processing several times.

The perfection of the salt-glazing technique came in the early 16th century and from thenceforth large and regular quantities of salt were needed at the potteries. In the Westerwald the supply of salt was organised by specialist dealers via Koblenz.¹⁷ This as a whole was a labour intensive process requiring good transport links by road and river.

German stonewares from the mid 16th century onwards are usually highly decorated. This decoration typically uses applied moulded reliefs and medallions, though these techniques are commonly used together with incised and stamped decoration.

The development of metal plate engraving and woodblock printing in Northern Europe in the 15th century had a massive impact on the arts and crafts industries.¹⁸ The Rhineland was a major centre in the practice of making moulds based on popular imagery, and these moulds were used to form ceramic motifs that could be applied to basic wares. German stoneware was gradually transformed from being an essentially utilitarian commodity to a minor art-form. Biblical scenes, armorials and portraits were popular themes, as were designs of foliage, though these mostly occurred on early examples.

It was mentioned earlier that it is difficult to distinguish between wares produced in the Westerwald and Raeren potteries before the 17th century. There are certain signifiers, however, that can aid in the identification of Westerwald wares. One of these is the use of applied moulded motifs in the form of grotesque lion masks, a design feature popular on Westerwald jugs and included on the SANT jug (see fig 2.2). This feature has been noted on other Westerwald vessels where the origin has been confirmed by chemical analysis.¹⁹ The position of the lion mask on the neck of the jug below the lip is typical, suggesting that though Raeren and Westerwald wares of this period are often indistinguishable, this vessel is most probably a Westerwald example.

Society

The early post-medieval period saw a massive increase in consumer activity, partly driven by the rise of the new mercantile classes. By manufacturing a genealogy a family could elevate their social status and re-affirm this in the eyes of their peers through their consumption of high quality goods.

Highly decorated German stonewares became very popular amongst the middle classes. While they were evidently of a high quality, the methods used in their manufacture and decoration made these wares less expensive than, for example, Italian maiolica, a luxury ware that was decorated entirely by hand.²⁰

German stonewares, both decorated and utilitarian, featured frequently in sixteenth and seventeenth century portraiture and still-life paintings. One Westerwald vessel is used as a subject in two still-life compositions by the Dutch artist Joris Van Son. In one, *Fire* (in a series of *Elements*), the vessel appears alongside other high quality decorative wares, Chinese porcelain, silver cups and plates, and drinking glasses.²¹

Trade

The golden age of the Westerwald potteries was between the early 17th and late 18th centuries when the wares were heavily traded across Europe and as far afield as North America, Africa and the Far East.²² During these years the Westerwald replaced Frechen as the major exporter of stonewares.

In England, German stoneware was imported into London — by the late 16th century the powers in the City sought to tighten their hold on the valuable cross-Channel commodities trade by granting a series of stoneware monopolies to merchants trading through London.²³ From London, stonewares were transported by ship to other ports around the country, including Newcastle upon Tyne, and fragments of stoneware vessels have been found in

excavations in the city. During excavations of the Carmelite Friary, for example, a mid-sixteenth century stoneware jug originating from Cologne was discovered associated with an early sixteenth century Low Countries slipware dish.²⁴

CONCLUSION

Decorated German stonewares are representative of a desire to affirm social status through the consumption of high quality goods. The stoneware ceramics produced in the Rhineland formed one of the principle mass-produced international exports of the early modern period, and the study of stonewares is integral to understanding the consumer behaviour of this period.

This jug is most likely of Westerwald origin, based on the similarities of decoration, such as the lion mask, with other confirmed Westerwald baluster wares. However, by looking at comparative models dated *c.* 1600–20, it seems possible that this vessel was produced in the early 17th century, with the date 1580 referring to the year the mould was produced. It may be that the vessel was transported into England in a bulk shipment of differing styles of stoneware vessels and sold on here, perhaps bought by a wealthy mercantile or artisan family and used to serve wine to guests. It is equally possible that the jug was brought into England at a much later date as an item of interest. The vessel is in extremely good condition and may have been passed down through a family or sold on as an antique or curio; it does not seem from its condition to have been found in the field.

NOTES

¹ An example is shown in Gaimster 1997, 147.

² Gaimster 1997, 163.

³ *ibid* 1997.

⁴ *ibid* 1997.

⁵ *ibid* 1997, 153.

⁶ The terms follow Franklyn and Tanner 1970.

⁷ Gaimster 1997, 251.

⁸ *ibid* 1997, 143; Howard-Davis, 2001, 211.

⁹ Gaimster 1997, 143.

¹⁰ *ibid* 1997, 251.

¹¹ *ibid*, 153.

¹² At Chesapeake a Westerwald vessel was recovered bearing the arms of the city of Amsterdam: Kiser n.d.

¹³ Museum of London Archaeology Services n.d.

¹⁴ Crossley, 1990, 261.

¹⁵ Gaimster 1997.

¹⁶ *ibid* 33.

¹⁷ *ibid* 33.

¹⁸ *ibid* 142.

¹⁹ *ibid* 256.

²⁰ *ibid* 143.

²¹ *ibid* 132.

²² *ibid* 251.

²³ *ibid* 81.

²⁴ Hurst, 1974: 281.

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