

# **ROMAN POTTERY: DISCUSSIONS, THEMES AND APPENDICES**

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**Undated**

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### **Development of the study area in the mid 1st century**

#### **Pottery assemblages associated with the construction of the road and the earliest settlement**

Contemporary with or slightly later than the construction of Road 1 on 1 Poultry are a series of box-like wooden structures aligned parallel with the road that acted as land revetments. The assemblages recovered from Structure 4 and associated make-up in Open Area 19 comprised the largest individual groups of pre-Boudican pottery and include some interesting aspects. Further along Road 1 at CID90 external dumping and the backfilling of the laying-out ditch and associated quarry pits appears to be broadly contemporary with Structure 4 and Open Area 19. The assemblages from both sites have several points of similarity which are discussed below.

#### **Open Area 19**

The assemblage from Open Area 19 totals 294 sherds (8.16 EVEs / 8517g). In this assemblage imported wares are abundant and include fragments of two early wall-sided mortaria one in a RHWW and the other in NFSE ware. Hartley has categorised wall-sided mortaria into three broad typological groups. The NFSE mortarium can be classed as category II, with the bead defined on the exterior but not internally, and have been dated c AD 20–55. It should also be noted that this mortarium shows no sign of trituration grits on the interior surface, although it is quite worn, an absence which is paralleled on similar vessels from Sheepen; the spout form also finds comparison in this assemblage (Hartley 1985, 92–5 fig 49–50).

The Rhineland ware mortarium has a similar range of inclusions to RHMO-2554 but with only sparse red agrillaceous inclusions and no evidence for their use as trituration grits (Davies *et al* 1994, 71). The form has a swollen bead (category III), which is considered to date later, c AD 45–60/5 (Hartley 1985, 93).

There are a number of samian vessels represented in a wide range of forms including Drag 24/25 and Drag 27 cups and Drag 15/17 and Drag 18 plates alongside mould-decorated Drag 29 bowls. There is also a small samian sherd with an unslipped interior that possibly comes from an inkwell. One sherd of KOLN from an early 2nd century beaker is also present but considered intrusive.

Romano-British wares are represented by AHSU, ECCW and VRW wares. An ERMS jar was recovered almost complete and other grog-tempered and large joining sherds also represent sandy ware jars.

#### **Structure 4**

The assemblage from S4 was the largest individual assemblage recovered from a single land use, totalling 708 sherds (16.32 EVEs/37373g). The samian stamps from these deposits all date within the range AD 40–65/70,

with the exception of one unidentifiable stamp which has been broadly dated as Flavian and is considered intrusive.

The quantified data demonstrates the importance of samian in this assemblage (Table 1). The forms are typical of a pre-Flavian group with examples of Drag 24/25, Ritt 8 and Ritt 9 cups, Ritt 12 bowls and four further sherds from a samian inkwell. A Drag 18 plate in MLEZ samian and sherds of marbled samian are less common 1st century types, which are present in this assemblage. The presence of the marbled sherds in particular is of note, as it has been suggested that the virtual absence of marbled samian from immediate post-fire levels is an important distinction between pre- and post-Boudican assemblages (Davies *et al* 1994, 186). It is also worth noting that some of the plain ware samian shows little or no use prior to disposal.

Other important pre- Boudican indicators are present such as SLOW and LYON ware. At least ten individual SLOW vessels are represented in the S4 assemblage in a range of forms including a reed-rimmed bowl, necked jar, small flagon and larger collared flagon or amphorae. The LYON ware includes examples of both everted rim beakers and hemispherical cups. A further early wall-sided mortarium in NFSE is present, also of a category II type (see above).

Romano-British wares are represented by a group of unsourced oxidised wares, some of which are white-slipped. These are predominately flagons, both collared and early ring-necked types, which are the principal pre-Boudican flagon forms. The predominance of unsourced oxidised wares is a feature of pre-Boudican assemblages previously noted in the City (Davies *et al* 1994, 168). The reduced ware jars are exclusively necked and beaded-rim types and the presence of vessels in the ERSI ware is also indicative of a pre-Boudican date (*ibid*, 165).

The condition and completeness of many of the vessels suggests the source of this material was not of a distant sufficient enough to disassociate sherds and in fact the completeness of the jars would normally be taken to indicate primary rubbish disposal. However it is difficult to identify contemporary activity in the vicinity to which this rubbish may relate, particularly given the large quantity and varied nature of the assemblage.

Ware	EVEs	%EVEs	Wt	%Wt
AMPH	0.66	4.0	27338	73.1
FNMP			44	0.1
FNRD	0.2	1.2	13	0.0
OXID	5.32	32.6	4772	12.8
REDU	1.57	9.6	1634	4.4
SAM	8.05	49.3	2056	5.5
TEMP	0.52	3.2	1516	4.1
Total	16.32		37373	

**Table 1 Structure 4 pottery assemblage by ware**

### Cheapside (CID90) Open Area 2 /Open Area 3

The assemblages from Open Area 2 and Open Area 3 on CID90 was selected for full quantification because of the high proportion of early imported fine

wares and local coarse wares that provide good comparative data for the 1 Poultry assemblage. The assemblage was recovered from a series of external dumps, quarry pit fills and the fill of the laying-out ditch for R1. One of the most important aspects of this assemblage is the large quantity of SLOW and imported fine wares.

Fine wares, including samian, account for 26.6% (EVEs) 5.1% (weight) of the total assemblage, which is slightly higher than the RCP1A figure of 21% (EVEs) 4% (weight) (Davies et al 1994, 168 Tab 2). Of this, samian accounts for 79.9% (EVEs) 90.3% (weight) of all fine wares, which again is higher than in RCP1A where it accounts for 77% (weight). The non-samian imported fine wares are composed of LYON, CGGW, PRW1 and an unsourced colour-coated sherd. Lyon colour-coated ware is the most common non-samian fine ware present (47.8%/38.7% of non-samian fine wares). The Lyon ware all relates to cups rather than beakers and a range of types and decoration is present.

Two examples of Greene type 5.2 with applied raspberry roundels and flat, squared leaves are present (Greene 1979, 21-2 fig 6). Lyon cups with roughcast decoration are also present) including one very substantial fragment, representing at least 50% of the body (*ibid*, 19 fig 5, type 1). The rim has broken off along the ridge at the top of the roughcast zone and is not present. A further vessel is represented by a single sherd from a hemispherical cup decorated with applied scales.

The Sugar Loaf Court ware (SLOW) in these assemblages totals 83 sherds, (1.0 EVEs /1929g) and is an important component in terms of dating. Amongst the oxidised wares SLOW accounts for 51.5% (EVEs) and 35.7% (weight) and encompasses a range of forms and number of individual vessels. The forms include a reed-rimmed bowl, which has a thick covering of burnt residue on the external surface, which reflects its use as a cooking vessel. This form is a known type in the SLOW repertoire. A further SLOW vessel from this assemblage is a necked jar. The rim has a square profile with a sharp edge and has been neatly trimmed; there is a slight groove at the base of the neck. This vessel also has sooting over the rim and shoulder, again suggesting it was used for cooking. A further rim sherd, is probably from a doubled handle flagon (1E) on the basis of the rim shape, although no handles are present. The rim has a triangular profile and a slightly dished upper surface.

Of importance amongst the SLOW vessels are a number of sherds belonging to one jar. The necked jar has an everted rim and strongly carinated shoulder demarcated with a cordon. Of note is the presence of two attached cups with perforations, of the type commonly seen on face pots. There are also two joining sherds with an applied moulding of clay and incised lines, which may form part of the face on this pot. Face pots have not been previously recorded in SLOW and the identification of this vessel is therefore important.

In London face pots are most frequently products of the *Verulamium* region industry and these are mainly from 2nd century deposits (Davies et al 1994, 47). The presence of a face pot in this early period is therefore unusual and important. Unfortunately there is not enough of the face detail for it to be considered on stylistic grounds but the shape of the jar is very different to the 2nd century face pots. A parallel for this vessel is found at the early fort at

Cirencester, although this example only has evidence for one spout; the form is also known at Wroxeter (Rigby 1982, 166-9 fig 51 no. 71). It should be noted that in Britain most face pots of an early date are found on military-associated sites.

Other oxidised wares in this assemblage included pre-Flavian indicators such as ECCW. The ECCW honey pot is of a standard form. The NFSE collared flagon, although a typical pre-Boudican type has three distinctive grooves, as opposed to the more common single groove or undercutting on the rim. Multiple grooves can be paralleled in other early wares, for example on ECCW flagons (Detsicas 1977, 31 fig 3.2 no 52). These NFSE sherds are mudstained, which is a trait previously noted for the fabric (Davies et al 1994, 63).

Also indicative of an early date are the base sherds from a butt beaker with rouletted decoration. The oxidised fabric may fall within the Gallo-Belgic white wares (GBWW) but has been separated on the basis that it also has similarities with *Verulamium* region white ware (VRW), which is thought to produce a similar form (Davies et al 1994, 46 fig 37 no 184). The fabric of this vessel is hard, white in colour, with patchy off-white to buff-yellow surfaces. The inclusions are moderate sub-angular quartz with rare larger quartz and rare red iron-rich inclusions. The external surface is smoothed and slightly polished on the undecorated zones. Gallo-Belgic white wares are mostly pre-Boudican in date and the *Verulamium* butt beaker type-vessel is also from a pre-Boudican phase; more generally butt beakers account for one-third of all beakers in RCP1A (*ibid*, 184).

Reduced sandy wares and grog-tempered wares are dominant ware groups in this assemblage. The range of fabrics, many unsourced, contrasts with the limited range of form types present, which is restricted, virtually exclusively, to bead rimmed jars. However there is great variation in the rim and decoration details amongst these jars.

Amongst the recognised fabric types, those classified as Early Roman Sandy wares are the most common, with ERSA, ERSA/B and ERSB present along side ERSI and ERSS. The jars are typically types 2A5-6, 2A7-8, 2A9-11, where classifiable (Marsh & Tyers 1978). The decoration is restricted to burnished lines, most frequently vertical or horizontal, but occasionally wavy or zigzag patterns occur. The burnished decoration is particularly common on the 2A7-8. This jar type is also common in unsourced sandy wares (SAND), but not amongst the grog-tempered wares, which are more usually form 2A1-4 and undecorated. Of note amongst the reduced wares is the relative lack of HWB, which is usually very common in this period. In RCP1A it accounts for over one-third of all reduced wares. Here HWB accounts for less than 2% (weight) whereas unsourced grog-tempered wares that comprise 36.5% (weight) of all reduced wares.

Ware	Weight	%	EVEs	%
AMPH	26036	55.1	2.7	16.0
FNMP	121	0.3	0.63	3.7
FNRD	114	0.2	0.27	1.6
MISC		0.0		0.0
OXID	5409	11.4	1.94	11.5
REDU	6112	12.9	4.74	28.2
SAM	2200	4.7	3.58	21.3
TEMP	7291	15.4	2.97	17.6
	47283		16.83	

**Table 2 CID90 OA2& OA3 Pottery assemblage by ware**

Type	Rows	Count	Weight	%	EVEs	%
-	47	243	3319	7.0	0	0
AMPH	25	233	26036	55.1	2.7	16.0
BEAKER	11	39	288	0.6	0.46	2.7
BOWL	12	40	487	1.0	0.68	4.0
BOWL/DISH	2	2	51	0.1	0	0.0
CUP	17	34	226	0.5	1.58	9.4
DISH	26	77	1835	3.9	2.22	13.2
FLAGON	14	47	1392	2.9	0.7	4.2
JAR	87	360	12101	25.6	8.09	48.1
LAMP	3	6	30	0.1		0.0
MORT	6	12	1518	3.2	0.4	2.4
Total	250	1093	47283		16.83	

**Table 3 CID90 OA2 & OA3 Pottery assemblage by form**

The source of this material, both on CID and 1 Poultry is uncertain. The features from which it was recovered are clearly related to the laying-out and construction of the road, with the dumping of material seen as a indication that the site lay beyond the main focus of settlement (Hill & Woodger 1999, 8). The relatively high number of vessels of imported origin suggests this material is coming from part of the City which has both access to and a population that desired highly Romanised wares. That the assemblages are similar in composition is likely to be significant although it is not possible to relate them to a single source. The presence of 'above average' quantities of SLOW in these features specifically may be of importance, particularly as both the features at CID in this period and Structure 4 are directly associated with the construction of R1. In the earliest period at 1 Poultry SLOW is restricted to the assemblages from Structure 4 and a single quarry pit fill in Open Area 4, which could be taken to suggest this ware was not in use throughout the population in general. If the pottery was derived from general domestic disposal a more even spread of wares through all of the features may be expected. The presence of artefacts with military association from these features at CID should not be forgotten (Hill & Woodger 1999, 6).

That these assemblages find most parallel with the assemblages from Fenchurch Street is also of note; that this material is being transported from

the Fenchurch Street area to Cheapside/Poultry for disposal seems unlikely, when other unoccupied areas could be found to the north or east.

### **Sugar Loaf Court ware from the study area**

The established dating of SLOW to the pre-Flavian period is based on various typologically aspects and its occurrence with early samian and imported fine wares, particularly at sites such as 5-12 Fenchurch Street (FEN83) and the type-site at Sugar Loaf Court (SLO82). Importantly the presence of wasters at the type-site led to the suggestion that this was a locally produced ware, although direct kiln evidence is still absent (Davies *et al* 1994, 29). The style of the SLOW vessels places the production within a Continental tradition, probably involving migrant non-native potters. The known vessels in the SLOW repertoire find parallel in a number of places including Gaul, the Rhineland and western Switzerland, particularly the site at Augst with a suggested origin of between the valleys of Saane and Aare for the potter (*ibid*, 29).

This same Continental influence can be seen in the wares produced at Usk and Wroxeter for the military establishments, although association of the production of SLOW with the military has generally been avoided.

Previous studies of SLOW have concluded that although the combination of imported fine wares and immigrant potters might be interpreted as a 'military' assemblage, that there is no evidence for such association at sites where large quantities of SLOW have been found, such as FEN83 (Chadburn & Tyers 1984, 25). This same study examined the quantified pre-Boudican assemblages from seven sites and compared the quantity of SLOW present in each. The figures show that SLOW is only present in any quantity at FEN83 (26%/15.3%) and SLO82 (54.5%/55.1%), whilst at other nearby sites it is a very minor component, if present at all.

The recent spot-dating of pottery from excavations at 168, Fenchurch Street (FEH95) suggests that this assemblage has much in common with that from FEN83 with high proportions of SLOW and early imported fine wares (Richardson 1999). This seems to confirm that the distribution of this ware is not consistent across the City and does concentrate in the Fenchurch Street area. The quantities of SLOW at ONE and CID although not as high as the Fenchurch Street sites are slightly higher than some of the other sites, CID in particular.

Unfortunately only a handful of sites with pre-Boudican activity have fully quantified data available so the study of SLOW's distribution is still limited. However the distribution and depositional context of SLOW appears to be a key indicator for not only identifying pre-Boudican activity but also characterising the areas in which it appears.

Site	%EVEs	%Weight
FEN83	26%	15.3%
SLO	54.5%	55.1%
BIR	2.8%	0.8%
Forum68	no data	1.0%
GPO	0	0.1%
ONE94	3.0%	1.2%
CID90	5.9%	4.1%

**Table 4 Comparative quantities of SLOW (additional data taken from Chadburn & Tyers 1984, 23)**

### The nature of the pre-Boudican settlement

The large Roman pottery assemblage from the pre-Boudican period suggests the activity and buildings in this area of *Londinium* formed an important part of the town, which was dynamic and intensely occupied right up to the destruction by fire in AD60/1. The commercial nature of the area is best illustrated by the exceptional assemblage from Building 23 and the *in situ* destruction in overlying Open Area 24 but this interpretation is supported in general by the quantities of imported wares and highly Romanised nature of the assemblage. The location of these buildings along the main east-west road, probably close to the Walbrook crossing on the west side, was at the core of the early settlement to the west of the Walbrook and would have been well positioned to serve to re-distribute goods to this part of the settlement. It has been suggested that the area around the Forum served a similar purpose for the east of the town, based on proportions of amphorae present and a comparable picture can be suggested for the buildings at Poultry.

Where there are suggestions of vessels in use or contemporary with individual buildings, or the underlying buildings, the function of these vessels is predominately the storage, preparation and cooking of food, suggesting not surprisingly that most of the buildings had a domestic, residential nature, perhaps as well as a commercial aspect. This is particularly well demonstrated by Building 23, where a well is located in the back room, furthest from the street frontage, which was probably for domestic use. This dual domestic and commercial nature is also reinforced by the negative evidence for more heavy industrial activities such as metal working, both in terms of features such as hearths and the artefactual evidence. This is in contrast to areas such as Borough High Street, where metalworking was found amongst the pre-Boudican roadside buildings.

### Commercial Activity

#### **Pre-Boudican Trade & Imported wares**

If the assemblage from this early period is examined by ware group it is clear that both amphorae and samian are important components and as a whole imported wares account for 53.9% by sherd count, 57.2% by EVEs and 79.1% by weight (with the increased percentage by weight due mainly to the increased average sherd weight of amphorae). This pattern remains

consistent into period 3. The table below shows comparative pre-Boudican data from Borough High Street, Southwark, Regis House and from RCP1A (Davies et al 1994, 168). The group from Regis House only consists of one quantified context which is unsealed but is probably contemporary with the other pre-Boudican. It is interesting that the figures for amphorae are higher at Poultry in this period than in the Regis House group. The very high percentage of samian at Regis House may be indicative of the waterfront activity at this site even at this early date.

Ware	%Weight					
	RCP1A	ONE Period 2	ONE Period 3	CID OA2	BGH OA2	KWS [4233]
AMPH	40	67.6	67.7	55.1	62.0	57.7
OXID	25	13.2	14.0	11.4	16.0	21.8
REDU	31	12.3	13.1	28.3	19.2	4.5
FINE	1	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.3	1.1
SAM	3	6.6	5.0	4.7	2.6	14.8

**Table 5 Comparison of pre-Boudican assemblages (ware by %weight)**

Ware	%EVES					
	RCP1A	ONEp2	ONEp3	CID OA2	BGH OA2	KWS [4233]
AMPH	5	9.8	5.3	16.0	15.6	6.7
OXID	34	25.8	29.5	11.5	24.8	14.8
REDU	40	21.3	24.0	45.8	40.0	8.4
FINE	4	0.7	2.3	5.3	3.9	6.1
SAM	17	42.4	38.9	21.3	15.8	64.0

**Table 6 Comparison of pre-Boudican assemblages (ware by %EVES)**

	RCP1A	ONEp2	ONEp3	CID OA2	BGH OA2	KWS [4233]
Sherd Count	-	1209	2823	1093	848	271
Weight	102337	60725	110024	47283	33112	6784
EVEs	55.39	29.9	32.02	16.83	14.74	3.58

**Table 7 Total quantities of pre-Boudican assemblages**

Aside from B1 there are no other structures in the earliest phase and much of the samian is derived from deposits associated with the construction of the road and associated ditches and revetments. These large assemblages from period 2, particularly those south of the road in OA19 and S4, are presumably being brought onto site and used to backfill the roadside revetment. The source of this material is therefore unknown but the condition and completeness of the material suggests it is not being transported large distances. That much of this samian shows little or no sign of usage is also of note.

The high occurrence of imported wares in pre-Boudican assemblages has already been noted as a common feature with imported wares more common than in any subsequent period. The figure for RCP1A imports is 25% by EVEs (Davies *et al* 1994, 167). For the entire pre-Boudican assemblage from ONE (periods 2, 3 and 4 combined) the figure is 51% by EVEs. When this figure is broken down into amphorae and samian and compared to other pre-Boudican quantified assemblages from the City the differences are equally stark. For both types the figures are unusually high; for samian no other site is comparable and for amphorae, on most other sites it accounts for less than 50%, with the exception of Pudding Lane (PDN), which has a higher quantity reflecting the waterfront activity, and Forum68 which has a figure comparable to Poultry.

	Samian (EVEs)	Amphorae (Weight)
ONE94	42.2	68.3
FEN83	24.8	46.0
LIM83	20.7	49.1
BIR83	26.8	42.9
SLO82	14.6	20.0
GPO75	10.7	38.7
Forum 68	no data	60.5
PDN81	no data	85.5

**Table 8 Pre-Boudican imports ( samian %EVEs of total assemblage; amphorae %weight of total assemblage)**

In a study of amphorae distribution using phased assemblages dated c AD60-100, sites around the Forum were found to have above average quantities of amphorae, after the port or waterfront sites (Davies 1993, 140). With the main inland route being the road to the Forum this is not surprising. Poultry with 68.3% is considerably higher than most sites except the waterfront, which presumably reflects its position along the main east-west road and suggests this area had a commercial nature and/or a reasonable level of wealth amongst the inhabitants who clearly pursued a highly Romanised lifestyle. The other sites to the west of the Walbrook (GPO75 and SLO82) have considerably lower proportions of amphorae than the other sites. The figure from SLO82 has already been noted as unusual and atypical for domestic assemblages from the City (Chadburn & Tyers 1984, 23) and the site at GPO is on the periphery of the City with more evidence for workshops and industry. In this respect, the buildings at Poultry, which are probably at the core of the settlement west of the Walbrook, may have had an important role in the re-distribution of imported wares to this part of the settlement. The Walbrook crossing was thought to be in the area of the Bank of England, which is just to the east of the Poultry site and therefore this stretch near the crossing, along the main east-west road was a logical place to situate shops and other buildings with a commercial function. In other large Roman towns the shops are situated on the main roads, often around the forum (Rhodes 1989, 49). At this early date the forum had not yet been

constructed in *Londinium* so the main east-west road was an obvious focus for commercial activity instead.

A site further to the east of the Walbrook stream, on Lombard Street (BRD88) produced another very important pottery assemblage of imported wares. That this was also recovered from the back fill of a quarry pit may be significant and certainly the date of the assemblage is contemporary with the earliest pre-Boudican activity on Cheapside and 1 Poultry.

The group was selected for full quantification because it contained several vessels that are partially complete and contained a range of imported fine wares, including an unparalleled collection of Spanish colour-coated ware cups (SPAN). The imported fine wares and local coarse wares suggest the assemblage dates to some of the earliest activity in the City, certainly pre-Boudican in date and probably closer to AD50/55. The presence of rare fine wares and dominance of fine wares in general raises the question of 'military' association and certainly this deposit is to date unique.

Aside from the fine wares there is an unusual coarse ware vessel in this assemblage, a jar with moulded ribs applied below the shoulder. This jar form is recorded at the fortress at Usk, with the applied vertical strips of clay on the body, where it occurs amongst the fortress deposits and at North Hill, Colchester (Dunnett 1966, 50-1, fig 10 no. 26). It is also well evidenced on the Continent across Gaul and the Rhine-Danube frontier, with particularly similar examples from Augst, Switzerland (Greene 1993, 26–33, fig 14 nos. 16–7). The presence of this distinctive form in the same group as the Spanish colour-coated vessels is intriguing and with strong military associations for both types, this assemblage is probably one of the strongest candidates for being military associated. The isolated nature of the pit is unfortunate and there is no other evidence to support this interpretation; arguably such fine wares could also have been imported as personal possessions.

The samian from this assemblage includes sherds from six individual SAMLG decorated Drag 29 bowls and one Drag 30 decorated bowl. There are also two stamped Drag 24/25 cups, one stamped Drag 27 cup and one stamped Ritt 9 cup, which were recorded at spot-dating but could not be found for further quantification or analysis.

Although LYON is frequently represented by a few sherds in most pre-Boudican levels from the City, the range of form types is generally restricted to the everted rim beakers and cup with roughcast or barbotine decoration (for example Davies *et al* 1994, 127 Fig. 107). Some sites, such as 5–12 Fenchurch Street (FEN83) produce a wider range of forms and in greater quantities than is usually encountered and the assemblages from Lombard Street (BRD88) and Cheapside (CID90) should be included in this group.

The imported fine wares in this assemblage comprise one of the most important collections from London. Lyon and Spanish colour-coated wares are present in some quantity and include some of the less common forms. Of most interest is a LYON tripod cup, which is defined by Greene as type 1; a rare undecorated shallow cup or bowl with small everted rim supported on conical, pointed feet (Greene 1979, 22). There are also two examples of everted rim beakers (Greene type 20) alongside some further body sherds.

Spanish colour-coated wares have only occurred very rarely in London assemblages and there is no quantified data available (Davies *et al* 1994, 126).

This assemblage contains a minimum of eight vessels and as such is one of the largest single groups to have been excavated from Britain. The types present are discussed with reference to the typologies of both Mayet (1975) and Greene (1979).

#### *Beakers with barbotine spines*

At least two, possibly three beakers of this type are present. The barbotine decoration consists of spines in vertical rows, alternating with rows of smaller points. These beakers have a smoothly curved profile, although this decoration also appears on other forms. A similar beaker, although with a slightly more carinated base, is published with a provenance of St. Swithin's Lane, London (Greene 1979, fig 31 no. 15). Other examples from Britain are from Twywell, Northants. and Exeter (*ibid* fig 31 no 14; Greene 1991, 72-4 fig 20 no. 1).

#### *Beaker with rouletted decoration*

There is a plain band across one of the body sherds. The sherds although probably from one vessel do not join, but the beaker is likely to be similar to Greene 1979 fig 31 no 12.

#### *Beaker with barbotine decoration*

Two vessels are present with barbotine decoration of 'plant-derived' motifs including 'fern leaves', 'flat heart-shaped leaves' and 'flat oval-shaped leaves with longitudinal ridge'. These are interspersed with curved lines of barbotine. There is no indication of the use of rows of dots as commonly occurs with the foliage barbotine.

There are five bases (either complete or large fragments that all come from individual vessels) that do not join to any of the above catalogued vessels. One base appears to relate to the rouletted beaker and another probably relates to one of the barbotine-decorated beakers. The remaining three pieces do not join each other or any of the other vessels listed, so must be assumed to represent other vessels for which no associated body sherds survive.

#### *Spanish Colour-coated wares from London*

In his extensive study of 'Pre-Flavian Fine wares' Greene listed sixteen Spanish colour-coated vessels known in Britain (1979, 74). In addition to these were sherds from the excavation at Usk from a further two vessels which brought the total to eighteen (*ibid*, 74). A further ten vessels were identified from Exeter and one sherd from Cirencester, which brought the total to 29 vessels (Greene 1991, 72). Of the original sixteen vessels, two are from London. One cup from St. Swithin's Lane has barbotine spines, similar to the examples recovered from Lombard Street and the second cup, with horizontal rows of barbotine dots, is from the National safe deposit Company site (both from the Guildhall Museum collection).

Excavations and discoveries since Greene's work have increased the number of SPAN vessels known from London. A bowl with barbotine ridges was recovered at 64-70 Borough High Street, Southwark (Hammerson 1988, 228-9, fig 92 no. 220) and at least two further vessels have been identified

from the City. From Fenchurch Street (FST85) a single sherd was recovered with an applied barbotine roundel decorated with smaller barbotine dots (Davies et al 1994, 105, fig 105 no. 689). The style of this decoration recalls the ‘raspberry’ roundels found on Lyon colour-coated cups but is not produced with a stamp. Two further sherds from Pudding Lane, Lower Thames Street (PDN81) may belong to one or two vessels. There is no join and the sherds are from different contexts. The body sherd is decorated with barbotine in small diamond shapes, similar to the decoration on a vessel from Winchester (Greene 1979, 72 fig 31 no. 3). The decoration is not particularly raised and appears to have been applied with the use of a template. A single sherd was also found near the site of the Roman amphitheatre at the Guildhall. This has a roundel similar to the example from Fenchurch Street, but also appears to have the stem of another foliage motif.

The SPAN vessels from London show the variety of vessel shapes and decoration styles that are typical of the ware. Whereas the imported Lyon colour-coated wares are fairly standardised, the Spanish examples are much more varied. What is also noteworthy is that with the exception of the Lombard Street group, virtually all other finds are single sherds or single vessels. This pattern seems to be typical of Spanish colour-coated wares in Roman Britain in general. The overall number of vessels identified is low and yet there is much variation in shape and decoration. What is also of interest is the distribution of this ware in Britain: London, Silchester, Winchester, Richborough, Wall, Colchester, Twywell, Exeter, and Cirencester. The only towns with groups as opposed to single vessels are London, Exeter and Richborough.

This distribution may suggest the ware is circulated in a different manner to other early imported fine wares, although it is over-simplistic to associate this directly with the military, despite the obvious connections with most of the towns listed above. The number of vessels in Britain is low enough to suggest they were brought over as personal objects rather than through established trade routes but the movement of large quantities of olive oil in Dressel 20 and other amphorae from the same area of production does provide a trade route for the movement of these fine wares.

The distribution of this ware in London is not surprisingly concentrated in the core of the early settlement. The example from PDN may be associated with the use of this area as an early port as dumps of Neronian pottery were found from the pre-quay forehsore and levels associated with the first quay (Chadburn & Tyers 1984, 35).

The area around Fenchurch Street is at the core of the early settlement on the eastern hill and has produced several large assemblage of Neronian pottery including quantities of SLOW and LYON so the presence of SPAN from this area is not surprising.

To the west, the findspots of SPAN do cluster near to what was probably the crossing point of the Walbrook. Clearly Lombard Street, St. Swithin’s Lane, the National Safe deposit site and Poultry are all quite close to each other and formed the core the early settlement on this side. The outlier in London is the sherd from the Guildhall, which is not only some distance from the main concentration of finds but is also beyond the main area of settlement in the early period, with little evidence of pre-Flavian activity from

this part of the City. Clearly more evidence is needed both from London and Roman Britain before the distribution of this ware is more fully understood.

### **Building 23 and Open Area 24: the ‘shop’ assemblage**

In this section the assemblages from the occupation of Building 23 and the overlying destruction debris that comprised part of Open Area 24 will be considered together as evidence for the specific use of Building 23 and examined against a wider discussion of Boudican ‘shop’ assemblages and other early dumps of ‘stock’ pottery.

The pottery assemblage from Building 23 and associated overlying fire debris totalled 1025 sherds, 24372 g and 17.67 EVEs. The fire debris overlying Building 23 is comprised of two groups. Group 623 is at least partly *in situ*, where it banked up against the brick earth sills of Building 23 and sealed objects lying on the floor. Group 690 includes re-deposited fire debris but on the presence of numerous sherd links, would appear to be at least partially re-deposited debris from building 23, so has been included in this analysis. The presence of some pottery types that would usually be dated from AD 70, such as HWC and some Flavian decorated samian may have been introduced through later robbing of Building 23 or truncation of the group 690 features. Millett has argued that that we might expect material from a Boudiccan deposit to appear later than contemporary rubbish deposits and particularly pottery from a Boudican shop to appear newer. If this line of argument is accepted then the presence of types usually considered Flavian, whether forms such as Drag 37, or simply decorative motifs, may not conflict with a Boudican date for the deposit (1987, 104).

The assemblages from both the occupation floor layers of Building 23 and the overlying fire debris of Open Area 24 was composed on four main types: decorated samian from south Gaul, glazed wares from central Gaul, Pompeian red ware dishes and lids and Rhône valley mortaria. Table 9 shows the full range of fabrics present in the assemblage and the dominance of CGGW and SAMLG is clear.

FABRIC	Count	%Ct	Wt	%Wt	EVEs	%EVEs
AHSU	10	1.0	157	0.6		
AMPBS	1	0.1	17	0.1		
AMPH	10	1.0	375	1.5		
BAETE	51	5.0	5263	21.6		
CADIZ	1	0.1	41	0.2		
CADIZ1	11	1.1	2447	10.0		
CCIMP	2	0.2	1	0.0		
CGGW	239	23.3	1583	6.5	4.06	23.0
CGOF	1	0.1	9	0.0	0.18	1.0
COAR	1	0.1	25	0.1		
COLWW	1	0.1	46	0.2		
ECCW	3	0.3	26	0.1		
ERMS	2	0.2	75	0.3	0.22	1.2
ERSA/B	1	0.1	9	0.0		
ERSB	1	0.1	33	0.1		
ERSI	1	0.1	21	0.1		

FINE	3	0.3	19	0.1	0.23	1.3
FMIC	7	0.7	46	0.2	0.02	0.1
GAUL1	5	0.5	253	1.0		
GAUL2	1	0.1	38	0.2		
GROG	6	0.6	214	0.9		
HOO	1	0.1	5	0.0		
HWB	7	0.7	327	1.3	0.2	1.1
HWC	4	0.4	56	0.2		
LYON	4	0.4	19	0.1		
MLEZ	1	0.1	30	0.1		
NFSE	14	1.4	929	3.8		
NKSH	1	0.1	55	0.2		
OXID	25	2.4	618	2.5	0.42	2.4
PRW3	104	10.1	494	2.0	1.82	10.3
RHOD2	17	1.7	1703	7.0		
RVOX	48	4.7	2658	10.9	0.59	3.3
SAMLG	402	39.2	5349	21.9	9.4	53.2
SAND	20	2.0	513	2.1	0.42	2.4
SHEL	2	0.2	36	0.1		
VRW	17	1.7	882	3.6	0.11	0.6
Total	1025		24372		17.67	

**Table 9 Shop assemblage pottery from B23 and overlying OA24**

Ware	Ct	%Ct	Wt	%Wt	EVEs	%EVEs
AMPH	97	9.5	10137	41.6		
FNMP	350	34.1	2106	8.6	6.06	34.3
FNRD	10	1.0	65	0.3	0.25	1.4
OXID	109	10.6	5164	21.2	1.12	6.3
REDU	39	3.8	864	3.5	0.64	3.6
SAM	403	39.3	5379	22.1	9.4	53.2
TEMP	17	1.7	657	2.7	0.2	1.1
Total	1025		24372		17.67	

**Table 10 Shop assemblage pottery from B23 and overlying OA24**

Source	Ct	%Ct	Wt	%Wt	EVEs	%EVEs
BRIT	113	11.0	3163	13.0	1.62	9.2
CGAUL	349	34.0	2135	8.8	6.06	34.3
ITALY	1	0.1	17	0.1		
MED	17	1.7	1703	7.0		
NGAUL	14	1.4	929	3.8		
SEGAL	54	5.3	2949	12.1	0.59	3.3
SGAUL	402	39.2	5349	21.9	9.4	53.2
SPAIN	63	6.1	7751	31.8		
UNK	12	1.2	376	1.5		
Total	1025		24372		17.67	

**Table 11 Shop assemblage pottery from B23 and overlying OA24**

The assemblage from [9055], which overlay Building 23 room A, produced a range of wares, which are mirrored in larger quantities by the assemblage from [9038] and [8833] which lay over room B (see below). Of

note in this group are three joining sherds from a relatively large CGGW beaker, which has square panels of barbotine dot decoration. There are also two sherds of PRW3 plate and two sherds of RVOX mortaria. The condition of both the internal trituration grits and grits on the underside of the mortaria base indicate the vessels were unused at the time of destruction. Also in this group is an early VRW mortaria of unusual form. It has a bulbous, squat flange and small bead; the interior has pronounced scoring that continues over onto the flange. The scoring can be paralleled to other early mortaria, for example at Longthorpe, on Sugar Loaf Court ware and Rhône Valley vessels (Hartley 1987, 128; Davies *et al* 1994, 34 & 71). Two similar vessels were recorded from Brockley Hill, which at the time were noted as ‘unexpected types’ with no close parallels. A pre-Flavian date is suggested on the basis that non-standard forms tend to be early, prior to the establishment of mass-production (Castle 1974, 256–8).

The largest group is from over room B, which is one of the most important assemblages examined, not only from this site but also for this period from London in general. A total of 764 sherds (13379g/13.10 EVEs) were recovered, the majority of which are highly burnt and fragmentary. This assemblage is heavily dominated by SAMLG, CGGW, PRW3 and RVOX. The forms are predominately mould-decorated Drag 29 bowls although plain samian cups, dishes and bowls are also present alongside glazed ware beakers and a flagon.

At least five individual RVOX mortaria vessels are present, restricted to the typical hooked flange type (Davies *et al* 1994, 71–2; 130). Most of the mortaria come from [8833] which may reflect the original location of the vessels within room B. A further five unused RVOX mortaria vessels were found in Neronian-early Flavian deposits at 37-40 Fish Hill Street (Davies *et al* 1994, 71). The presence of a large masonry structure on the west side of the bridge-approach road at this site may suggest these mortaria were also from a shop or store building.

The PRW3 sherds are very burnt and highly fragmentary but at least four dishes and two lids can be identified. The vessels are standard forms with concentric lines on the interior of the dishes. Contexts [9152] and [9038] both have sherds of BAETE Haltern 70 amphorae, which may suggest some movement of debris has occurred between room A and room B.

### ***The decorated samian (by Joanna Bird)***

Samian recovered from such contexts as shops, shipwrecks or warehouses is always of particular interest, since most of the vessels in such a group are likely to have been made within a few months of their loss. This means that the date ranges of individual pots can each contribute to a closer aggregate dating for the group as a whole. In addition, such an assemblage can provide valuable information on trading patterns, showing which potters’ products were being traded together, and what other fine wares and goods were being sold with them (for a discussion and gazetteer of such sites see Rhodes 1989). Where the context itself is closely dated, as with shops destroyed in the Boudican revolt of AD60/1 – the shop at No. 1 Poultry and the two in Colchester (Hull 1958, 152–8, 198–202; Crumly 1997, 82–3) – or the crate at

Pompeii that had not been unpacked when Vesuvius erupted in AD 79 (Atkinson 1914), then the significance of the group is greatly increased.

Apart from some of the sherds from a Drag 30, the decorated fragments found within what survived from the use of Building 23 are few, small and mostly unburnt, suggesting they were broken and lost during the life of the shop. The samian that is interpreted as the stock of the shop at its moment of destruction was almost all recovered as numerous joining fragments from the overlying layers of burnt debris which contained the remains of the destroyed building and its fittings. Where the footings of the bowls survived they were almost all apparently unused and most of the pots were at least partially burnt, some of them heavily. One bowl is obviously a 'second', and it is interesting that such a vessel was apparently put on sale in a shop specialising in imported goods of high quality.

The decorated bowl forms recovered from the shop and its destruction debris consist of two examples of Drag 30 and twenty-six of Drag 29. Two of the bowls bear signatures of the mould-makers, a detail which is frequently lost during the finishing process, and two have potters' stamps on the interior of the base; a third stamped base of Potitus could not be linked with any of the decorated pieces. One signature is fragmentary but is almost certainly of Modestus, and is set among the decoration of the bowl in his usual style. The second signature is faint and difficult to read but Brian Hartley has suggested it is Senecio; it lies below the decoration on a bowl in a style normally associated with stamps of Lucceius and G. Salarius Aptus. The two potters' stamps are of Modestus, one on a typical Modestus design but the other on a second bowl in the 'Lucceius-G. Salarius Aptus' style showing that, despite being a mould-maker himself, Modestus used and stamped the moulds of other potters.

Of the bowls where no potters' marks survive, the two examples of Drag 30 are both probably from the Masclus workshop. A high proportion of the Drag 29 bowls are in styles associated with stamps of the potters Bassus-Coelus and Niger, including that of the anonymous mould-maker(s) classified by Geoffrey Dannell as T-1 (Dannell 1992-3; 1996; 1999, nos. 543-557). The other bowls include two possible further examples of Modestus's style and at least one bowl that is probably by Murranus. These are potters who are well represented in Neronian groups from London, and the decorated samian from other contexts at Poultry includes a second mould signature of Modestus, stamped by Legitimus, two further Modestus bowl stamps and two stamps of Bassus-Coelus.

The Poultry shop group is significant from several reasons. For samian studies, its value lies both in the close dating available and in the potters' marks and the styles with which they occur. Found separately, the individual pots would normally be dated AD50-65/70; their survival here enables us to see a range of pottery, made, transported and placed on sale together around the year AD60 or 61. The details of the signatures and stamps are important in our attempts to understand the complex workshop structures and relationships within the South Gaulish potteries, where we are only now beginning to establish which potters were also mould makers and how the moulds and even the individual motifs were shared or traded. For the archaeology of London, we have a unique glimpse of a shop trading in

expensive imported pottery and other goods within only a few years of the city's foundation, abruptly preserved at a catastrophic moment in its history.

#### Footnote

There seems no good reason to accept Millett's suggestion (1987) that the first pottery shop at Colchester should be dated somewhat earlier than the Boudican destruction: the decorative styles, potters' stamps and other finds would all fit a Boudican date, while the features of the site itself are characteristic of Colchester's Boudican destruction horizon. I am grateful to Geoffrey Dannell for discussing this point.

#### ***Plain samian***

The plain samian from the shop assemblage includes Ritt 12 and 9, Curle 15 and Drag 15/17, 18, 24/25 and 27. Of these Drag 27's are the most commonly represented by EVEs and are much more common than Drag 24/25's or Ritt 9, both of which are considered more diagnostic of pre-Flavian groups.

The number of stamped plain ware vessels is low, with only one stamped Drag 27 from the occupation of Building 23 room C and three stamps from Open Area 24 group 623. There are three stamped examples from group 690, but due to the re-deposited nature of the debris in this group, these are possibly not shop stock. There is a further stamped Drag 27 that has been assigned to the construction of Building 23, but given the heavily burnt condition of the vessel, it should perhaps be considered with the occupation. However even considering all of these stamps, the total number is very low in comparison to the numbers recovered from other Boudican shop assemblages and only single examples of each potters name are present.

Form	EVEs	%EVEs
4DR29	4.75	50.5
4DR30	0.4	4.3
4DR37	0.14	1.5
4RT12	0.71	7.6
5CU15	0.08	0.9
5DR15/17	0.01	0.1
5DR18	0.38	4.0
6DR24/25	0.33	3.5
6DR27	2.39	25.4
6RT9	0.21	2.2
Total	9.4	

**Table 12 Samian forms from the shop assemblage (% of samian)**

#### ***Glazed Wares***

The collection of CGGW vessels from the shop assemblage is unique for London, with at least eleven different CGGW vessels identified. These include one or possibly two flagons, four beakers and four mould-decorated Drag 29 bowls. Although the colour and matrix of the pottery has undoubtedly been altered by the intense heat, it is apparent that these vessels are all in a micaceous fabric, which is clearly visible on the surfaces and in the fabric

section. On the less burnt sherds the original fabric appears to be off-white in colour, with a silty matrix. This fabric is generally ascribed a Central Gaulish source, and is one of two variants assigned to this area: a white, inclusionless fabric and an off-white, micaceous fabric (Tomber & Dore 1998, 51).

The micaceous fabrics have been associated with glazed ware production at Lezoux, and it is worth noting that in the hand the fabric of these vessels does bear a strong resemblance to PRW3, for which a Lezoux source is widely accepted (*ibid*, 53). The manufacture of glazed Drag 29's is also evidenced at Lezoux and two vessels from Britain have been assigned to this source on the basis of fabric and style; however Drag 29's are also manufactured at both St. Rémy and Vichy and the micaceous fabric is also recorded at these production sites (Greene 1978, 39). However the growing number of sites known to produce glazed wares in the central Gaulish area means that a source of one of the other sites in the Allier Valley should not be dismissed (Vertet 1986, 25). Clearly the sourcing of glazed ware vessels in Britain still requires much research, both on the analysis of the fabrics and study of the decorative traits. A previous study of the fabrics of a group of glazed ware vessels from Colchester, Silchester and Gloucester showed that they were all made of similar or the same clays but it was impossible to ascertain whether they were the product of one or several production sites (Hatcher et al 1994, 451). The study of decorative motifs on both vessels and moulds from kiln sites may provide more conclusive links, as has been achieved with the study of decorated samian. However the relatively small number of mould-decorated vessels recovered in Britain to date has limited the success of this type of study (see Greene 1978).

Whatever the exact source of this ware, what is important is the relatively rare occurrence of this fabric type in the City in comparison to the clean, white fabric (CGGW-1039 Davies et al 1994, 128–9). Only two vessels in the micaceous fabric are published by Davies et al, a mould decorated flagon and bowl with applied decoration (*ibid*, 129 & 132 fig 110 no. 703). Nine mould-decorated vessels from London are listed by Greene in his survey and although the fabric description is somewhat limited, most of these vessels are described as white or whitish in colour (1978, 32-6).

In his study of Central Gaulish glazed wares Greene concluded that the circulation of this ware may be dated c AD 43–70 (Greene 1979, 99). This evidence is supported in London for the white fabric (CGGW-1039), which occurs predominately in pre-Flavian or Flavian contexts but the two CGGW-3967 vessels come from a Flavian and Trajanic group respectively (Davies et al 1994, 129). Clearly more examples are needed from London but the evidence from Building 23 and the overlying fire horizon seems to suggest that in fact this fabric does appear in the pre-Flavian period and does conform to Greene's suggested dates. Clearly glazed vessels may have been valued items that remained in circulation for a period after production and importation ceased, this may particularly be the case for the vessel from the Trajanic group. This point may be emphasised by the frequent use of glazed ware vessels as grave goods (Greene 1978, 40).

The catalogue below details both the mould-decorated and hand decorated vessels from the shop assemblage. Greene's work on mould-decorated motifs has been referred to where parallels are present (1978).

### *Mould-decorated vessels*

[9038] Flagon Dech 60/ form 2 (Greene 1978, 33)

The moulded decoration on the shoulder consists of a leaf/palm motif within arcs with circular rings at both ends. The leaf is similar to Dech 1175 (Dechelette 1979, 165) but larger, both longer and wider, and is also comparable to C4 (Greene 1978, 53 fig 3.7). The circular rings are like G3 (Greene, 1978, 55 fig 3.8). The moulded decoration is defined below by a beaded row.

[9038] ?Flagon

Single sherd from a mould-decorated enclosed vessel, probably a flagon. The decoration consists of rosette and leaf motifs. Rosettes are a relatively common motif but no exact parallel has been found. Although not identical, this sherd is similar in style to a published sherd from Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949, pl LXIX no. 379) which is also decorated with rosettes and detached leaves, but the rosette motif is different.

[9155] Pedestal base

This base is probably from a flagon, although similar base types were also used for handled bowls.

Bowl Drag 29/ form 5 (Greene 1978, 37)

The scrolled design in the upper zone has a leaf motif similar to C20 (Greene 1978, fig 3.7) and corded tendril bindings of tri-fid form. The zones are divided by a beaded row with large vertical gadroons on the lower zone.

The sherds from this vessel were predominately recovered from [9038] but also occurred in [8546] (two joining base sherds) and [8741] (one base sherd). Total sherd count for this vessel is 54 sherds; 0.78 EVEs; 564g. The base is complete.

Bowl ?Dech 59/form 4 (Greene 1978, 48)

Relatively small bowl, more rounded than carinated in profile. There is only one zone of decoration with vertical gadroons running from the base to under the rim. Within each gadroon is a circular motif with a central dot, similar in size to G3 (Greene 1978, 55 fig 3.8), atop a corded motif. The vertical gadroons are also on examples from Sonning, Berkshire (Greene 1978, 49 fig 3.5 no. 4.3) and Evreux, Normandy (Jigan 1988, 197, fig 4 no. 3). The Normandy vessel is described only as an open form and has a diameter of 240mm, which is considerably larger than <P72>, which has a diameter of 170mm.

All sherds from [9038]. Total sherd count for vessel = 10; 0.24 EVEs; 86g.

Bowl Drag 29/form 5 (Greene 1978, 48)

The lower zone has closely spaced gadroons, whilst the upper zone is filled with an oblique corded motif. This vessel is very similar to a published sherd from Richborough (Bushe-fox 1949, pl LXIX no. 381; Greene 1978, fig. 3.5 no. 5.6). The Richborough sherd is from the carination of a Drag 29 bowl with the tips of the gadroons in the lower frieze visible; the lower part of the corded

motif is visible in the upper zone. The size of the motifs is close enough to suggest that these bowls are related, either from moulds using the same set of poiçons or even from the same mould and therefore potentially by the same potter.

Sherds predominately from [9038] but sherd link to [8679], [9094] and [9171] (One rim sherd from each context). Part of base is present but not complete. Total sherd count for this vessel = 56 sherds; 0.42 EVEs; 346g [9094] sherd from this vessel.

#### Bowl Drag 29/form 5 (Greene 1978, 48)

The lower zone of this bowl has closely spaced gadroons and is divided from the upper zone by two rows of motifs; one of elongated beads, with a double circular motif above. The upper zone has vertical corded motifs, smaller in size to that used on above.

All sherds from [9038]. Thirty-two definitely but four remaining joining base sherds may also belong to this vessel, although no direct sherd links. Total sherd count for this vessel = 32; 0.55 EVEs; 128g.

#### *Hand-decorated vessels*

##### [9055] Beaker

Three joining sherds from the lower part of a relatively large beaker. The decoration consists of square panels of barbotine dots.

##### [9038] Beaker

Large everted rim beaker with vertical barbotine ridges.

##### Beaker [9038]

Everted rim beaker with barbotine dot decoration arranged in a diamond shaped panel.

##### Beaker [9038]

Everted rim beaker with barbotine decoration arranged in a square shaped panel.

There are also a number of miscellaneous body sherds with closely spaced barbotine dots in strips, squares or diamonds panels where distinguishable. None of the body sherds have horizontal rows of larger dots (cf Greene 1979, fig 41.12) and no geometrical patterns are apparent.

#### ***Comparison to other Boudican shop assemblages and dumps of stock***

A number of other assemblages have been identified as the debris of Boudican pottery shops and these, along with other Boudican fire horizon assemblages, were the subject of detailed study by Millett (1987). The recovery of another shop assemblage provides an important new body of data against which these assemblages can be examined, particularly the two shop assemblages from Colchester, but also assemblages from Verulamium and

the dump of unused Neronian pottery from the fort in Cirencester. Summaries of these assemblages are provided for comparison below but for full details the original publications should be consulted (Hull 1958, 152-8, 198-202; Frere 1972; Wacher & McWhirr 1982).

### *Colchester pottery shops*

The two Colchester pottery shops are probably the most well-known examples of what appear to be *in situ* assemblages of shop stock destroyed in the Boudican fire.

The site known as the 'First Pottery shop' (Hull 1958, 153-8; Millett 1987, 108 site CVI) was discovered during construction work and subsequent excavation. A substantial assemblage of pottery was recovered which consisted largely of samian fragments. In this group plain ware vessels are much more abundant than decorated and the range of forms present is shown in Table 13 (Millett 1987, 112 Appendix 2). Consequently over 60 samian stamps are recorded with several names occurring more than once. Also from this assemblage are other imported fine wares, including Lyon colour-coated wares, Central Gaulish glazed wares and Pompeian red ware plates and lids, as well as fragments of lamps (Rhodes 1989, 53). Hull also records the presence of six fragments of mortaria (1958, 156).

The second pottery shop assemblage (Hull 1958, 198-202; Millett 1987, 108 site CVIII) was collected during two phases of excavation of the site. The 1971 excavation uncovered a small timber building with pottery mixed with building debris, close to one wall (Rhodes 1989, 53). The assemblage is again dominated by south Gaulish samian, both plain and decorated vessels alongside small amounts of central Gaulish glazed wares. Of importance from this later excavation was the recovery of seeds on the floor of this building, including figs, stone pine, barley, lentils and coriander (*ibid* 53).

Form	Colchester First pottery shop	Colchester Second pottery shop	Verulamium Insula XIV	Building 23 (sherd count)
Dr29	24	44	20	250
Dr30	5		13	13
Dr37				3
Ritt 9	4			3
Dr24/25	63	22	11	3
Dr16	1			
Dr15/17 or 18		14		
Dr15/17	60	38	19	3
Ritt 1	1			
Dr18	40	54	22	10
Ritt 8	6	5	2	
Dr27	29	78	20	33
	4			
Ritt 12	2	3	3	30

*Table 13 Occurrence of samian forms (after Millett 1987)*

#### *Verulamium Insula XIV*

The timber buildings uncovered in Insula XIV appear to have functioned as shops with a shared roof and portico. Like Building 23, the front of these shops appear to have been enclosed by wooden shutters rather than front walls (Frere 1972, 13). Although not recovered from within a building, a large number of samian vessels were recovered amongst burnt debris from the portico outside Room 14. The footings of the vessels are unused and the group has been interpreted as breakages from a shop or stall. The samian assemblage includes Drag 29, Drag 30, Ritt 8, Drag15/17, Drag18R, Drag18, Drag24/25 and Drag27.

From these brief summaries it is clear that there are a number of common points between these assemblages. The range of pottery vessels from Building 23 is virtually identical to those recovered from the Colchester shops, although few lamps were recovered. This group of wares: South Gaulish samian, central Gaulish glazed ware, Lyon colour-coated ware (vessels and lamp) and pompeian red ware appears to have been commonly sold together in Roman Britain and presumably is a reflection of the way these vessels were transported, exported and traded between provinces. There is less evidence for the common inclusion of Rhône Valley mortaria, although clearly mortaria were a specialised form, traded alongside fine wares. That these wares appear together at a number of sites suggests that at least some of these wares are imported together and not split up until they arrive at the point of re-distribution and that this pattern is maintained, irrespective of whether the site being supplied in civilian or military in nature.

The same range of wares dumped into a major ditch of the early fort at Cirencester further supports this. Over 30 vessels were complete when discarded, which has led to the interpretation of this assemblage as originating from a quarter-masters store (Rigby 1982, 179-87). The assemblage includes a large group of decorated and plain ware samian, which has been dated c AD 55-65, possibly in the second half of the period rather than the earlier. All of the samian is South Gaulish almost certainly from La Graufesenque (Hartley & Dickinson 1982, 133). The range of plain wares is as expected and also includes fragments of inkwells, two of which are more or less complete. This samian group is also noted for its similarity to the Colchester pottery shop assemblages (Hartley & Dickinson 1982, 142). Alongside the samian, there are Lyon colour-coated ware vessels, central Gaulish glazed wares, including a mould-decorated flagon with a mould signature, and PRW3 platters and lids. There are also fragments of mortaria that appear unused and other coarse wares, particularly flagons and honey pots (Rigby 1982, 179-87).

Clearly the context of this material is different; it is not Boudican fire debris and derives from a military site, but it is another example of these same wares together in large groups of unused pottery, irrespective of whether the context is commercial or official.

The Building 23 assemblage does appear to be unique with the presence of glazed Drag 29 bowls and there are fewer plain ware samian vessels in this assemblage than in the Colchester shops. To what extent this assemblage represents the usual stock of the shop, with a high number of samian and glazed Drag 29 moulded bowls, is unusual is impossible to

ascertain. The presence of spices and seeds at both the second Colchester shop and Building 23 emphasises that these shops dealt in mixed provisions. However, the evidence for glass vessels being sold in Building 23 is limited with only a few fragments present. In the Colchester assemblages and shops on the continent, glass vessels appear to be an important component of the stock.

The unpacked wooden crate of vessels from Pompeii demonstrates the transportation of samian and lamps together. Ninety samian bowls were found in the crate with 37 lamps, all of which are unusual. The crate is interpreted as a recent consignment to Pompeii from a wholesale dealer, based on the combination of lamps of Fortis and Comunis who produced lamps from Italy, with samian from South Gaul, suggesting that these products had not travelled together from their place of manufacture (Atkinson 1914, 28).

### *Implications for status*

The identification of a pre-Boudican shop is very important for Roman London, providing *in situ* evidence for the type of commercial activity seen at other towns such as Colchester and *Verulamium*, within a decade of its foundation. The shop strengthens the impression that *Londinium* was a commercially important town from its inception and implies a high level of Romanisation and desire for Roman wares amongst its population.

The use of pottery to determine status however is problematic and to what extent the presence of this shop, or more specifically the wares available from this shop can be used to reflect the status of this part of London is debatable. Greene supposes that the price of glazed mould decorated wares must have been relatively high when compared with other fine wares because of the increased resources involved in the manufacture (Green 1979, 101). This must be viewed against a hypothesis that in general imported fine wares can be used to indicate status on the basis that the technology employed in their manufacture and additional transport costs coupled with restricted access and availability to such wares increased their price and desirability to Roman consumers. Classical literary sources suggest that pottery was a cheap substitute for metal table wares and high quality glass ware and the imitation of metal forms in samian underlines this relationship.

The status of samian ware itself has recently been re-assessed with the conclusion that, in comparison to other pottery types, samian does appear to have been regarded differently. This is suggested by its distribution and, perhaps more importantly, the increased frequency of graffiti and repairs evidenced on samian vessels (Willis 1998, 85-6). Against this the shop might be seen as a purveyor of relatively high status goods, with decorated samian and glazed wares, alongside smaller quantities of glass vessels, lamps, other fine wares and spices.

### **Evidence for the Military**

In London it is difficult to isolate 'military' assemblages and for this early period no buildings or areas of London have been positively identified as military structures or being military in character. The only ware that could arguably be associated with the military is SLOW, with the strong evidence for

Continental influence and traits. Elsewhere it is argued that the distribution and short production period of this ware may lend weight to the association of this ware with the army rather than it being in general circulation and consumption. The facepot vessel from Cheapside is also new evidence that can be used to argue very close parallels between the SLOW repertoire and other assemblages from early military sites.

The interpretation of assemblages with large quantities of imported pottery as being associated with military activity is not an explanation appropriate for London. The assemblage from Lombard Street, is perhaps the only exception to this, with such as exceptional group of vessels, of a type that are rare in Britain and where they do occur in any number are generally restricted to military sites. However it is not inconceivable that these vessels could have brought into London as personal possessions, by non-military personal.

## **Flavian and Trajanic developments**

### **The character of the settlement in the post-Boudican period**

The dating of the post-fire activity is difficult to refine. The levelling and clearing of the fire debris, which must have been amongst the earliest post-fire activities, whenever they occurred, by their nature involve predominately pre-Boudican material and there is little later pottery that would date this activity. Even the phase of re-building tends to incorporate re-deposited pre-Boudican pottery in the make-up and levelling layers with little contemporary material entering the archaeological record. The occurrence of some wares generally dated to the Flavian period (ie AD70 +) may indicate the date of this renewed activity and would suggest a hiatus of some ten years before major re-building occurred. Undoubtedly the blunt-ended approach of ceramic dating doesn't allow the refinement required to differentiate between this ten year period and this is compounded by the large quantities of material occurring in the pre-Boudican period and fire horizon, which has made it difficult to isolate contemporary material from residual in this immediate post-fire period.

The late Neronian-early Flavian (*c* AD60/1-75) ceramic phase notes the increase in Romano-British wares such as VRW and AHSU and the decrease of imported wares. It also marks the near absence of LYON and decline of SLOW as diagnostic. There are few wares that are actually introduced in this period and more emphasis is placed on the relative proportions of wares, which is obviously problematic when dealing with an assemblage with a considerable re-deposited component. The absence of marbled samian and material from Montans in immediate post-fire levels has been cited as a possible distinction between pre-and post-Boudican assemblages and this is certainly held out by the Poultry assemblage. One of the most key aspects of this assemblage in terms of dating is the small amount of HWC present, which evidence from elsewhere in the City has suggested appears sparsely in the late Neronian – early Flavian period (Davies et al 1994, 82).

The huge amounts of residual Boudican material that continues to be re-deposited, masking those deposits that are contemporary with post-fire activity, means that the character of this settlement is harder to identify. The

lack of assemblages directly associated with the occupation of the new buildings compounds this problem and the huge quantities of pottery from the open areas of this period are difficult to relate to individual structures.

### The dating of the ‘Hadrianic’ fire

The dating of the ‘Hadrianic’ fire, both at 1 Poultry and other sites in London is still problematic and although there clearly was either a wide-scale conflagration or series of fires in the first third of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, it has not been possible to tie all of the fire debris of this broad date together and demonstrate the extent of the ‘Hadrianic’ fire to the same confidence as has been possible for the Boudican fire (Davies et al 1994, 219).

The fire horizon assemblage (period 9) from 1 Poultry was examined in relation to RCP 4, which is composed of groups from Cornhill (CNL81) and fire debris from Newgate Street (GPO75), Fenchurch Street (FEN83) and Lime Street (LIM83). At these sites an early Hadrianic date for the fire horizons is supported by the recovery at Newgate Street of three samian stamps from Les Martres-de-Veyre, dated c AD 100-120 and c AD 110-130, from Fenchurch Street, two Les Martres-de-Veyre stamps and from Lime Street a single *dupondius* coin dated AD 98-117 (*ibid*, 220-28).

The samian evidence from this assemblage is mainly supportive of an early Hadrianic date with decorated samian attributed to Les Martres-de-Veyre, dated c AD 100-125 and to Chémery, dated AD 110-140. However two decorated samian, are dated c AD 125-150 and one of these vessels is suggested to be samain ware manufactured at Pulborough, Sussex, using a mould made at Lezoux. Importantly, the mould has been dated c AD 125-150 which suggests the manufacture of the bowl using this mould in Sussex is likely to have been later in this date range, rather than earlier.

The presence of other SAMCG sherds in period 9 may also suggest a later date. Samian from this area, predominately from the Lezoux is not represented in RCP4 and first appears in groups assigned to RCP5 (*ibid* 209, 214). In Open Area 55 this includes plain ware forms such as Drag 18/31, Drag 42 and Drag 33, but aside from one sherd recovered from Open Area 53, all of the SAMCG were located in the large dumps on terrace 2. Open Area 55 is also the source for the sherd of BB1 incipient-flange bowl and it may be that the dumping in this area contains some intrusive elements or continued in use after the fire, which has resulted in the presence of this later material. The presence of later Roman sherds, PORD and AHFA, also from this open area may give support to this argument.

Unfortunately there were no coins recovered from these open areas and the samian stamps from this period have all been dated to the Flavian or Flavian – Trajanic periods. However, there are two mortaria stamps present, which have been dated c AD 85-120 and c AD 100-140

Fabric	OA48	OA53	OA54	OA55	OA56	Total
AHFA				1		1
AHSU	9	5	7	104		125
AMPH	1	2	1	21		25
BAETE	7	25	31	279		342
BB1		1		6		7
BB2				25		25

BBS	2	1	2	3		8
C186				3		3
CADIZ				19		19
CAMP1				2		2
CC		1		4		5
COAR		1		10		11
COLWW				4		4
ERMS		2	1	28		31
ERSB				11		11
FINE				33		33
FMIC		3	2	20		25
GAUL			1	20		21
GAUL1	7	1	88	35		131
GAUL2				1		1
GROG	1	1	1	30		33
HOO				3		3
HWB			4	14		18
HWB/C				3		3
HWC	4	11	3	75	0	93
HWC+				2		2
ITMO				11		11
KOLN				2		2
LCWS				1		1
LOMI				4		4
LOXI				9		9
LYON		1				1
MICA				2		2
MORT				2		2
NFSE		1		14		15
NKSH	1		2	76	2	81
OXID			1	15		16
OXIDF			1			1
PORD				1		1
RDBK		1		16		17
RHOD1				1		1
RHOD2				1		1
RVOX				3		3
RWS		2		6		8
SAMCG		1		14		15
SAMEG				1		1
SAMLG	1	2	16	93		112
SAMMV	4		2	14		20
SAMMV1				1		1
SAMMV2				4		4
SAND	5	18	8	52		83
SESH				2		2
SHEL				23	69	92
SLOW				1		1
SUG		2		2		4
VCWS		1	1	7		9
VRG				34		34
VRW	26	27	11	263	50	377
Total	68	110	183	1431	121	1913

**Table 14 Period 9 Open Area pottery assemblages by fabric**

On balance the dating evidence from the samian and mortaria stamps suggests a date of c AD 125/30 for this fire horizon. The later pottery types in Open Area 55 could be seen to indicate a later date, but the status of this material is questionable. Roman ceramic phase 4 marks the increase of Black-burnished wares, local mica-dusted wares and *Verulanium* white ware bowls, with the emerging wider regional trade patterns a key distinction of this period (*ibid*, 205). In this ceramic phase Black-burnished wares account for 10% of all reduced ware (by weight) and this is mainly BB2, rather than BB1. In the period 9 assemblage the figures for Black-burnished wares are 8.3% (by rows) and 6.0% (by sherd count), and like RCP4, BB2 and other Black-burnished wares are present as well as BB1. When examined by group the period 9 assemblage compares well to RCP4 (Table 15).

Other traits identified in RCP4 are reflected in the period 9 assemblage. Both HWC and NKSH are important components and both LOXI and LOMI are present, although in relatively small quantities. In terms of diagnostic forms the presence of a VRW flagon (1B5) is important. These increase considerably in the fire horizon groups of RCP4, particularly at Newgate Street and Fenchurch Street.

Ware	Period 9		RCP4	
	%Rows	%Ct	%EVEs	%Wt
AMPH	13.3	28.6	16	43
OXID	22.3	24.1	28	23
REDU	40.9	34.8	40	29
FINE	7.3	4.4	8	3
SAM	16.2	8.0	8	2

**Table 15 Comparison of period 9 assemblage to RCP4 by ware**

## Non period specific Roman themes

### Trade and Imports

Although the imported and traded wares of the pre-Boudican period have been discussed above (p00) this section examines the changing patterns of supply of imported pottery throughout the Roman periods, as evidenced at ONE94.

In RCP1A (Pre-Boudican) Samian accounts for 77% of all finewares (by weight); at Poultry in period 2 it accounts for 95.5% and in period 3 for 89.7% (by sherd count). Other imported fine wares and Romano-British fine wares are present in only very small quantities in the pre-Boudican period. This inundation of the City with 1st century samian has been previously noted, with the suggestion that it may have been a deliberate policy (Davies 1993, 138).

In period 5, the figure for imported non-samian fine wares is clearly an anomaly due to the highly fragmented nature of imported wares from the shop assemblage, particularly the CGGW and PRW3 vessels. In this period, that is dominated by the shop assemblage samian and imported fine wares account for c 50% of the assemblage each.

In the post-Boudican period the gradual increase in Romano-British fine wares can be seen; this increase continues throughout the Roman

occupation until in the late Roman periods, when it becomes the most common fine ware. This is undoubtedly related to the decline and eventual collapse of the trade in samian. However as the graph shows the proportion of non-samian fine wares is fairly stable and also increases slightly from the later 2nd century onwards.

#### 'Dolium' or 'Seria' type vessels

A number of sherds from large storage jars were found at ONE94, KNG85 and BOL94. The rim sherds of these vessels were distinctive in having a wide flattened rim; a feature that is diagnostic of the storage jars used in viticulture, *dolia* and *seriae*. Additionally a number of bodysherds have external strapping that is seen on similar vessels from Billingsgate Buildings (Green 1980, 60, fig 33, nos 270-71) and New Fresh Wharf (Green 1986, 106, fig 1.30). In total a minimum of five of these vessels are present at ONE94 and associated sites.

The diameter of the vessels and the thickness of the walls, particularly of the LCWS sherds, discount them from being true *dolia*, but as Green suggests of the New Fresh Wharf vessel these may be *seriae* (Green 1986, 106). A *seria* is a medium-sized storage jar that was primarily used in viticulture alongside the larger *dolia*. They were also used to store grain, preserve meats, as boundary markers and in shops as containers (White 1975, 187). It has not been possible within the confines of this study to determine the capacity of the ONE94 vessels but even the largest example (Catalogue No. 6) has a diameter that is only half the size of the New Fresh Wharf *seria*. This vessel type is rare in London and usually it is only single sherds that are found on excavations. Only one complete albeit smashed example is known from the City. This vessel is an antiquarian find from Salter's Hall, Walbrook and is in an oxidised fabric with external strapping and wavy line decoration (MoL Acc. No. 18683).

#### Fabrics

Vessels of this type from London, although not common, have been published with full fabric descriptions. The New Fresh Wharf vessel is in a shell-tempered fabric and the examples from Billingsgate Buildings are in a white-slipped fabric now known as ?Local Coarse White-slipped ware (LCWS) (Green 1980, 60, fig 33, nos 270-71) and a reduced grog- and organic-tempered fabric (*ibid*, 62, fig 34, no. 274). The majority of *seriae* from the City and Southwark are in oxidised fabrics although they also occur in unsourced grog-tempered (GROG) and coarse wares (COAR). The fabric this vessel type most commonly occurs in is LCWS, which is a rare fabric and as such is poorly dated, although a 2nd century date has been tentatively suggested (*ibid*, 60-2). The evidence at ONE94 can revise the start date to the mid 1st century as there is an example from the construction of Building 8, which is dated to the pre-Boudican phase.

All the *seriae* from ONE94 are in LCWS and like those in the reference collection tend to have a uniform wall thickness of 7-8mm. None of the examples show evidence of being wheel thrown although they were possibly finished on a wheel as has been suggested by Green (1980, 60). The fabrics of the other vessels are not as easy to define. All fabrics from this study were compared to two LCWS examples from Billingsgate Buildings; the mortarium

(*ibid*, 60-2, fig 33, no.268; MoL fabric ref. CGSnw700) and the *seria* bodysherd (*ibid*, fig 33, no. 270; ISnw1657). The inclusions in this fabric vary in quantity, with the mortarium containing less quartz and the occasional grog inclusion, which is not seen in the *seria*. All the examples from KNG85 share some of these attributes; in particular they contain grog which is similar to that in the mortarium sherd. It is possible that these LCWS and RWS vessels may share a common local clay source.

The fabric of one *seria* is significantly different from the other white-slipped examples and it is not possible to dismiss a foreign source for this vessel. Additionally the diameter of this *seria* at 400mm is notably larger than the LCWS examples.

### **The middle Walbrook in the Trajanic/Hadrianic**

#### **The ‘Walbrook’ assemblage**

##### *The Pottery*

A very substantial pottery assemblage was recovered from the primary silting within Structure 20 and the subsequent thick peaty deposits that filled the tank and accumulated over and around it. The fully quantified assemblage (Group 463) totalled 3446 sherds, 90832g and 85.9 EVEs. The date of deposition of this material is suggested as early in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, c AD 100–120. The dating of the samian stamps and decorated vessels places the manufacture of the majority in the late Flavian period. The latest vessel is a Drag 37 in the style of Drusus I of Les Martres de Veyre, which has been dated c AD 100–125. A total of 43 individual decorated samian bowls have been identified; these comprise 20 Drag 29's, 20 Drag 37's including one variant example with a spout and handles and three Drag 30's. One of the Drag 29 bowls, stamped by Frontinus appears unused when broken. The vessel dated, c AD 70-85, was presumably discarded within or soon after this date range. The presence of some pre-Boudican samian suggests there is some residual material incorporated, the burnt nature suggestive of Boudican fire debris, but this appears to be a very small proportion.

When the samian is examined by form the dominance of Drag 18 plates and Drag 27 cups is clear. This pattern is similar to that established for Roman Ceramic Phase 2 (Davies et al 1994, 180 fig 153).

The condition of this material, predominately large, fresh sherds, suggests the pottery derives from nearby activity. Many of the vessels are sooted and burnt, evidence of their use in cooking and food preparation. The mixed composition would also suggest a general domestic source for the assemblage and indicates no evidence for specialisation within the pottery vessels.

The only notable exception to this is probably the CADIZ Cam 186 amphora, found laying on the tank base. The handle, rim and spike have been removed presumably for the purpose of re-use. This amphora may have been re-used as a sump or drainage feature of some kind, possibly as part of the tank structure 20. In addition to the modification the amphora retained four lines of painted inscription, *tituli picti*, which have been read as .....

The range of fabrics and forms present in this assemblage are typical of Roman Ceramic Phase 3 (Davies et al 1994, 199-205). The major

industries that supplied the early city are well established, predominately Alice Holt, Highgate Wood and *Verulamium*. Romano-British fine wares, some of which are probably local London products are also well represented. In terms of vessel types, most categories are well represented and typically for this period bowls and jar are dominant. A number of mortaria are present including a stamped VRW fragment, which joins with a second fragment from the overlying dumps Open Area 77, to form over half of the vessel. The right-facing stamp, impressed diagonally, reads ALBINVS, whilst the left-facing stamp reads FLVGVDV and has been dated to c AD 60–90.

The absence of *tazza* must be noted and only one sherd from an *unguentarium* is present. It must also be emphasised that there are no examples of more specialised vessels such as triple-cuffed vases or face pots in this assemblage. In Merrifield's survey of Roman metalwork from the Walbrook (1995) he discusses a concentration of these two types in the Walbrook valley, suggesting they appear to have been manufactured solely for ritual purposes, partly on the basis of their frequent deposition in or near cemeteries (*ibid* 36–7). In regard to this on-going debate on the nature of 'Walbrook' assemblages, the absence of these vessel types from the Open Area 45 assemblage, particularly amongst such a large group of material, is interesting especially when examples of these types were recovered from other features at 1 Poultry.

Ware	Ct	%Ct	Wt	%Wt	EVEs	%EVEs
AMPH	189	5.5	33807	37.2	0.77	0.9
FNMP	7	0.2	27	0.0	0.06	0.1
FNRB	51	1.5	707	0.8	1.63	1.9
FNRD	257	7.5	3623	4.0	7.99	9.3
MISC	3	0.1	23	0.0	0	0.0
OXID	887	25.7	22705	25.0	15.73	18.3
REDU	1216	35.3	18645	20.5	37.45	43.6
SAM	625	18.1	6236	6.9	18.14	21.1
TEMP	211	6.1	5059	5.6	4.13	4.8
Total	3446		90832		85.9	

**Table 16 Open Area 45 (group 463) pottery assemblage by ware**

Type	Ct	%Ct	Weight	%Wt	EVEs	%EVEs
-	1733	50.3	21843	24.0	0.06	0.1
AMPH	188	5.5	33795	37.2	1.15	1.3
AMPHORA SEAL	1		3		0.13	0.2
BEAKER	124	3.6	1109	1.2	5.31	6.2
BOWL	270	7.8	5598	6.2	27.04	31.5
BOWL/DISH	21	0.6	375	0.4	0.29	0.3
CUP	177	5.1	1267	1.4	7.85	9.1
DISH	268	7.8	3734	4.1	9.58	11.2
FLAGON	128	3.7	5025	5.5	11.14	13.0
JAR	426	12.4	9582	10.5	17.24	20.1
LAMP	2	0.1	13			
LID	64	1.9	1805	2.0	3.49	4.1
MORT	43	1.2	6631	7.3	2.62	3.1
UNGuentarium	1		52	0.1		
Total	3446		90832		85.9	

**Table 17 Open Area 45 (group 463) pottery assemblage by type**

Analysis of the assemblage from Open Area 75, which was recovered from the continued process of dumping on terrace 4, has suggested that this activity was more or less continuous and certainly the assemblages from the two phases cannot be differentiated in terms of date or composition.

The Open Area 75 assemblage was again a large body of material, comprising 1300 sherds and like the Open Area 45 assemblage includes 11 samian stamps, that have all been dated to the Flavian period, with the exception of one vessel, stamped by loenalis of Les Martres-de-Veyre, dated c AD 100-120. The same chronological range is indicated by the decorated samian which is all south Gaulish and late 1<sup>st</sup> century in date.

Study of the samian in this assemblage shows that Drag 18's and Drag 27's are the most common forms. Types such as the Drag 33 cup and Drag 35/36, which are predominately 2<sup>nd</sup> century types are present but in relatively small numbers. The absence of the plate form Drag 18/31 is probably the most revealing in terms of the date and nature of this assemblage. Forms such as the Ritt 8 is probably residual in this assemblage as a predominately pre-Flavian form but the continued predominance of south Gaulish samian amongst plain and decorated wares demonstrates the likelihood for continued use into the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Like the Open Area 45 assemblage, the forms Drag 18 and Drag 27 are the most commonly recorded. The proportion of decorated bowls is also comparable, with relatively low quantities of Drag 37.

## Ritual & Religion

This study has focussed on two areas: (i) ceramic vessels that are attributed a ritual function and when found complete more commonly occur in ritual deposits such as burials: 'face' pots (2FACE) and triple vases (9E); and (ii) ceramic vessels that are in a 'ritual' context: deposits in the foundations and thresholds of buildings. The opportunity is also taken to look at the dating and fabrics of the more unusual vessel types, triple vases and face pots, in

London in the light of the ONE94 examples. There is a catalogue of all of these vessels found at ONE94 and the associated sites.

In Merrifield's study of ritual deposition in and near the Walbrook (Merrifield 1995), he examines the distribution of two ceramic forms which 'appear to have been made solely for ritual purposes', triple vases and face pots (*ibid*, 36). He only includes those vessels which are substantially complete as they are more likely to be at or near the original place of deposition. He does not include tazze as these vessels tend to occur commonly across sites and may have been used in household cults. This view is upheld at ONE94 when the distribution of tazze are examined which shows them occurring across the site.

The triple vases and face pots from ONE94 and associated sites would not have been included in Merrifield's study as they are too fragmentary and occur in deposits where they represent refuse. However, the pattern suggested by Merrifield for triple vases in that they occur in or near early cemeteries and in 'ritual' deposits is held up by recent discoveries such as the complete examples at Eagle House (86-9 Cannon St), Albion House, (34-35 Leadenhall Street) and Dominant House (85 Queen Victoria Street).

#### *Triple Vases*

The majority of triple vases found in the City and Southwark are in oxidised fabrics, especially those of the Verulamium industry, Verulamium region white ware (VRW) and Verulamium region coarse white-slipped ware (VCWS). All of the recorded examples from London are of Kaye's Type 2, that is vessels with a common base (Kaye 1914, 175). A rare example in a reduced fabric was recently found in a pit at Britannia House, 16-17 Old Bailey, EC4 (OBL97). Although the form of this vessel is nearest to a Kaye type 2 with a common ring base, it also has pedestal base supporting the ring which is currently unparalleled in London. OBL97 lies within the southern edges of the extensive burial area known as the western cemetery. All the triple vases from ONE94 and associated sites are from contexts dated to the 2nd century or later, which corresponds with other excavated examples from the City (Davies et al 1994, 51).

#### *Face pots*

The face pots from ONE94 are all fragmentary and as such would not have been included in Merrifield's study. The majority of face pots from London like the triple vases are in oxidised fabrics and the largest single group are products of the Verulamium region pottery industry. In Braithwaite's study of face pots throughout Britain she says that the most common fabric for face pots in London is a 'red fabric with a gritty cream slip' (1984, 108), this is Verulamium region coarse white-slipped ware (VCWS). They also occur in VRW and are said to appear in London in the early Antonine period (Davies et al 1994, 51). The dating of the Verulamium face pots from ONE94 and CID90 does not revise this date significantly as the earliest VRW vessel comes from a context dated to AD 120-140. However the other face pot from CID90, is the earliest excavated example from London. One very rare example, has a

carefully moulded face applied to the shoulder of a fine reduced ware jar, although unfortunately this was recovered residual in post-Roman levels.

In addition to this vessel there are also two small vessels which are possibly miniature pots. They cannot be described as unguentaria but both are small closed vessels. They are in unsourced oxidised fabrics. One is flat bottomed and slightly 'egg' shaped. The other has a pedestal base and is slightly burnt.

#### *Foundation Deposits*

There are a total of three foundation deposits which contain ceramic vessels at ONE94 and CID90. They range in date from the 2nd to the late 3rd/4th centuries. All of the jars show evidence of being previously used as cooking vessels.

#### **The late Roman finds and ceramic assemblages**

A number of late Roman assemblage was fully quantified and studied in more detail. These were also compared to other late Roman groups from the city.

##### **Structure 38**

The disuse fill of Structure 38 contained a well-dated 4th century assemblage with large, joining sherds in good condition and little residual material. The majority of the sherds come from a single vessel, an OXRC necked bowl with stamped decoration. This vessel is Young type C78 (1977, 166, fig 62-63, C78) where it is dated to c AD 340–400+. The bowl is burnt, especially the base and lower part of the walls, and is virtually complete although smashed. The decorative scheme consists of large circular stamps alternating with two vertical rows of demi-rosettes either side of which is a herringbone stamp. There is no exact parallel to this particular arrangement of stamps in Young but there is generally great variation in the decoration of this type. These vessels are seen in several of the latest London assemblages such as in the roadside ditch assemblage at 165 Great Dover Street, Southwark (Seeley 2000) and the layer 9 assemblage from Angel Court which contains a coin dated from AD 364 (Orton 1977, 51, fig 10, no. 281).

The other OXRC stamped bowl is Young type C84 (1977, 170, fig 64, no. C84) which is dated c AD 350–400. This vessel has a double cordon, with rosette stamps above and below and is also very burnt. Other illustrated examples from London include three from the Layer 9 group from Angel Court (Orton 1977, 51, fig 10, nos 288, 291 & 292). The other Oxfordshire ware present is an OXWC mortarium, probably Young type WC5 as it has a closed hook and a grooved bead. The WC5 copies the white ware form M18 and is given the same date range of AD 240–300 (Young 1977, 122, fig 38, no. WC5.1). There is also a flanged bowl in an unsourced colour-coated ware. The slip is dark brown on a fine, hard dense fabric with a grey core and pink margins. It is intensely micaceous and may be a hard fired OXRC.

Other non-local fine wares in this assemblage include a NVCC flagon with white painted decoration over a brown slip. The white painted decoration that survives consists of a wavy line ending in an enlarged blob. One handle is present which joins the lid-seated rim, rising at the join in imitation of metal jug forms. It is not possible to define from the surviving rim exactly the type of

flagon. It may have a circular rim as with the double-handled example in Howe et al (1980, 22, fig 6, no.68) or it may have a trefoil or jug mouth (*ibid*, fig 6, nos. 64–5; Perrin 1999, 98, fig 62, no. 196). The fact that the vessel is decorated suggests a 4th century date (Perrin 1999, 98). A NVCC plain-rimmed dish is also present, similar to an example at Chesterton (Perrin 1999, 101, fig 63, no. 233). According to Perrin, although this type was produced as early as the later 2nd century they were most common in the 4th century.

A further mortarium sherd is from a very large vessel from Soller. The rim is similar to examples from New Fresh Wharf attributed to the potter Verecundus (Richardson 1986, 110–11, no.1.76). It is one of the few residual sherds in this assemblage as Verecundus mortaria are dated c AD 150–200 although later unstamped and lighter examples are possibly dated as late as c AD 200–20 (*ibid*, 110–11).

AHFA is the only reduced ware in the assemblage and is present in several forms. The later everted-rimmed jar is slightly abraded. A dark grey slip covers the interior of the rim which has been burnished. The most complete vessel in AHFA is a plain-rimmed dish with internal burnished decoration. Externally there is a groove below the rim which curves inwards slightly and is similar to a vessel at the kiln site which is dated AD 330–420 (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 48, fig 36, no.6A.10).

The absence of BB1 in this group reflects the pattern seen in other late Roman assemblages. The group from Billingsgate bath house has only small quantities of BB1 (3% by EVEs and weight) and appears to be in decline in early 4th century assemblages. The total absence of BB1 from the structure 38 group, not only supports the mid to late 4th century date indicated by the coin evidence but demonstrates that this material is contemporary; as such it provides some of the best evidence for the 4th century settlement. The disuse of Structure 38 is dated from c AD 364–78 onwards on the coin and ceramic evidence. This date may also reflect the date of disuse of Building 64 with which it was possibly associated and certainly contemporary in use.

As is typical of groups of this date, the pottery is dominated by products from the regional industries such as Nene Valley, Alice Holt Farnham and Oxfordshire. Like PORD and CALC, the Oxfordshire wares are typically more significant in the final phases of occupation (Symonds & Tomber 1991, 83). The presence of a coin dated AD 364–78 provides a tpq and places this group amongst some of the latest known from London with coin evidence.

Fabric	Count	Weight		EVEs	
AHFA	21	640	21.3	0.49	20.9
CC	2	86	2.9	0.14	6.0
EIFL	2	29	1.0	0.08	3.4
MARB	1	78	2.6	0	0.0
NVCC	16	375	12.5	0.41	17.5
OXRC	73	1148	38.3	1.01	43.2
OXWC	1	102	3.4	0.16	6.8
PORD	2	19	0.6	0	0.0
SOLL	1	523	17.4	0.05	2.1
	119	3000		2.34	

Table 18 Pottery assemblage from S38 by fabric

## OA77 Well Structre 53

### [18085]

#### *Dating evidence*

*The latest coin is dated AD 378–83.*

#### General comments

The sherds are medium to large in size, a feature characteristic of well. The deposit represents rubbish disposal and very unlikely to fit any religious or ritual interpretation. The assemblage is interesting as there are multiple examples of the same late forms such as hooked-rimmed jars and show the variations within the type.

#### PORD

There are three examples of hooked-rimmed jars, none have rims which are particularly hooked. All are necked, rilled and have rims that are out-turned and usually square-ish. There is slight variation within the rims.

#### AHFA

The storage jar is type 10 in the corpus of the kiln site material and has a 'cable' rim (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 51, Fig 41, nos 10.0-10.3). There are four examples of flanged bowls in this fabric. All are of the 5B type and have short stubby flanges and most have black slip over the rim which is usually burnished. There are no examples of the late 6C.1 type with the very small flange. Three examples have decorative burnishing on the interior similar to an example at the kiln site (*ibid*, 46, Fig 32, 5B.10).

**FINE WARES** The OXRC dish or bowl with white painted decoration is possibly the flange from a Young form C52 (1977, 160, Fig 59, C52) which is dated AD 350–400+.

#### Mortaria

There is another example of a white-slipped Young type WC4 mortarium and the type M22 is paralleled to an example in the corpus of the industry (Young 1977, 76, Fig 23, M22.20). There is also an example of a Young C100 mortarium a type which is uncommon in London and dated to AD 300–400 (1977, 174, Fig 67, C100). This vessel is possibly white-slipped but has been exposed to fire which has totally altered the colour.

### [18349]

This small group contains an abraded AHFA flanged bowl with a short stubby flange and a black slip over the rim.