

# Late 17th-century refuse dumping at Holywell Mount, Shoreditch: evidence from excavations at 1 Phipp Street

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## Introduction

‘One man’s rubbish is another man’s treasure’ – this well-known saying is perhaps most applicable to archaeology. After all, as a discipline archaeology deals with what is essentially the detritus of daily life in all its forms – whether it is pieces of broken pottery or larger-scale structural remains. Thus it is all the more interesting when one encounters an entire mound of refuse – in this case, the truncated and buried remains of what was once a large, late 17th- and 18th-century rubbish tip in Shoreditch, known as Holywell Mount. Part of this was revealed during archaeological investigations conducted by MOLA between November 2015 and September 2016.<sup>1</sup>

The site, at 1 Phipp Street (bounded by Phipp Street to the east, New North Place to the west, Scrutton Street to the south and Luke Street to the north) in the London Borough of Hackney, was investigated in three phases during redevelopment (Fig 1).<sup>2</sup> The first phase – a watching brief on geotechnical investigations (including boreholes BH1A, BH2 and BH3 and trial pits TP1 and TP2) – took place between November 2015 and February 2016. This led to the excavation of three evaluation trenches (Tr 1, Tr 2 and Tr 3) in March and April 2016.

Further archaeological excavations (Tr 4a, Tr 4b and Tr 5) and a watching brief were carried out between August and September of the same year. In the southern part of the site (Tr 5), natural deposits were reached in two sondages. In the central area, two lines of auger holes (AH1–AH8) were drilled to determine the height of the underlying

natural geology sealed beneath the lowest archaeological deposits. The finds from thick layers of waste dumped on the site between c. 1660 and 1710 provide evidence for domestic life, trade and light industrial processes of the period.

## Open ground before the later 17th century

The underlying geology of the site comprises river terrace gravel over London Clay. At the centre of the site, a depression in the natural gravel was

found to be covered by a possible alluvial deposit of grey, slightly clayey, silty coarse sand up to 0.5m thick, perhaps the result of low-energy water action. This might have been the result of drainage towards the south-east, on a gently sloping floodplain, into the upper reaches of the Walbrook stream (one of London’s lost rivers).<sup>3</sup> To the south, a sondage near the centre of Tr 5 showed that the gravels were overlain by at least 0.4m of probably natural clayey brickearth.<sup>4</sup>

No evidence for prehistoric activity

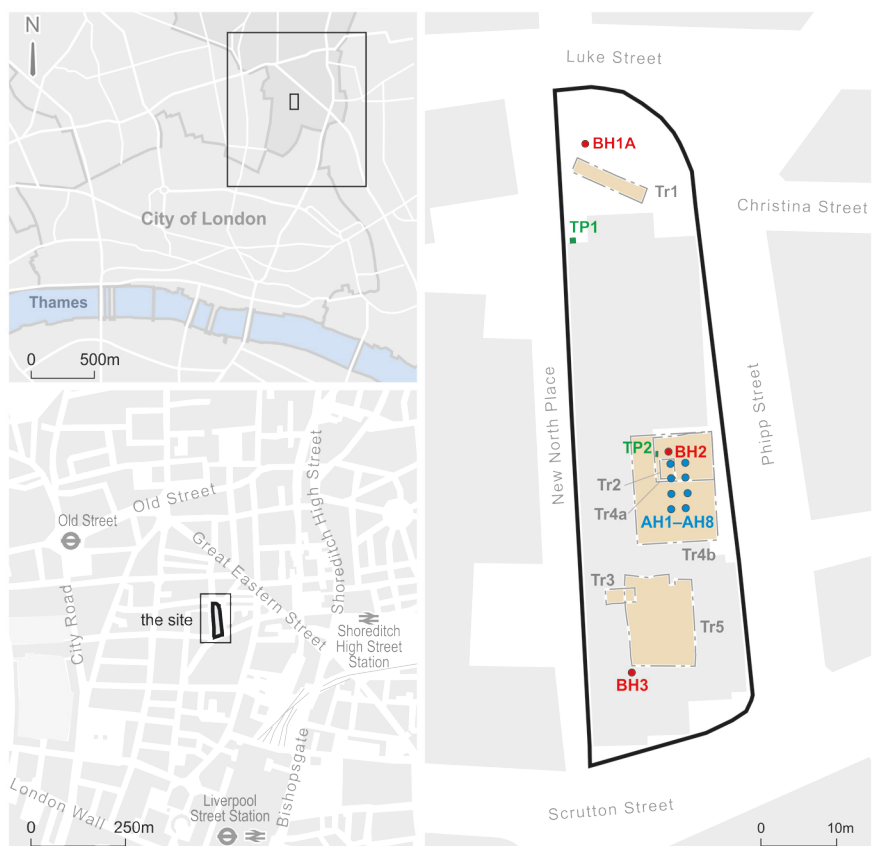


Fig 1: site and trench location



Fig 2: copper-alloy mount <11> (front and back)

was found, nor were there any deposits or features that could be dated to the Roman period. There were, however, two sherds of residual Roman pottery from post-medieval deposits. In Roman times, the site lay c. 1km to the north of *Londinium*, in open or perhaps wooded ground about 300m to the west of the major north–south road often referred to as Ermine Street, the line of which is followed by Shoreditch High Street.

There were also no features or deposits that could be assigned a medieval date, although a small amount of residual medieval pottery and ceramic building material was recovered. Historically, the site lies on the northern fringe of the Moorfields area, which in the medieval period is known to have been generally marshy.<sup>5</sup> However, the Shoreditch volume of the Survey of London refers to the north-eastern part of Moorfields – to the west of Curtain Road, north of Worship Street and south of Great Eastern Street – as the former (post-medieval) ‘High Field’ or ‘Finsbury Field’. It is not clear how wet the area may have been by then.

The marshy character of the land north of the city wall (Roman and medieval) has been attributed at least in part to drainage alterations made in Roman times.<sup>6</sup> On the ‘Agas’ map of c. 1562, the earliest known map showing the area, the site is located in open ground to the west of a trackway.<sup>7</sup> The area seems little changed on Faithorne and Newcourt’s map of 1658, although windmills are shown to the west.<sup>8</sup>

#### Early finds

On the Phipp Street site, the gravel, sand and brickearth were sealed by organic layers up to 1m thick, mainly composed of silty clay and thought

largely to represent the remains of the Moorfields marsh. These contained four residual sherds of medieval pottery, the earliest dating to c. 1080–1350, and a piece of medieval roof tile, but most finds date to between c. 1660 and 1680.<sup>9</sup> They include clay tobacco pipe fragments, post-medieval domestic pottery, a fragment of glass and a classical-style

cast copper-alloy stud or mount (Fig 2), arguably the most interesting object from the whole site.

Measuring 36.4mm by 29.7mm, this decorative oval object features the relief bust of a male facing right, with a downward-curving ram’s horn visible in his tousled hair (above the ear). While the profile view omits a number of Hellenistic traits,<sup>10</sup> the combination of leonine hair and ram’s horn is specifically confined to Alexander the Great in portraits.<sup>11</sup> Ram horns were worn by the Greek deity Zeus Ammon, as seen on Hellenistic, particularly Ptolemaic, coins. These depictions of Zeus Ammon show shaggy hair – and horns – and a full beard. Alexander proclaimed his descent from Zeus Ammon, but his portraits introduced the clean-shaven, youthful, dynamic face.

Most Hellenistic representations show gods, kings and heroes (Alexander was all three) naked (or as just a bust, on coins for example), but the figure on

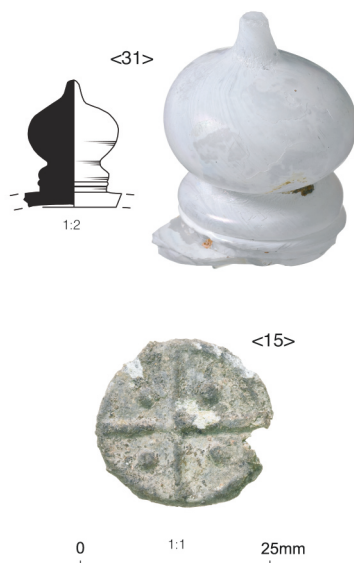


Fig 3: residual 16th/17th-century finds: glass knob/finial <31>, lead token <15>

the Phipp Street object is dressed in a draped garment pinned at the right shoulder. The remaining surface is covered with O-shaped punch marks to give a textured appearance, while the outer edge is bevelled. A stout shank of rectangular cross-section projects from the centre of the flat, undecorated reverse, the length of which – at least 7mm – provides some indication as to the thickness of the backing material.

This object was clearly designed to function as a decorative plaque, but what it was attached to is uncertain as no clear parallel has been found. The size and robustness of the object, together with the form of the shank mean it is likely to be a furniture mount or from a small box, perhaps a snuff box.<sup>12</sup>

Figurative oval plaques on both furniture<sup>13</sup> and boxes<sup>14</sup> are known, but illustrated examples are typically luxury items (for example, a silver mount riveted on to a tortoiseshell box)<sup>15</sup> whereas the Phipp Street object may be from a simpler, low-end item. The divergence from strict Hellenistic style suggests that the manufacturer may have been copying a popular trend, to make a saleable item, rather than striving for a faithful representation.

Residual finds from this period include the complete onion-shaped knob or finial from a glass lid (Fig 3: <31>), probably of 16th- or 17th-century date, found in an early 19th-century drain or soakaway, and a lead ‘cross and pellet’ token stylistically dated to c. 1550–1650 (Fig 3: <15>). This was found in a make-up deposit laid down at some point after the Holywell Mount had been levelled.

#### The Holywell Mount

The beginning of the next phase in the history of the site was marked by a dump of rubble (broken-up brick, tile and mortar) on the marshy ground to a depth of up to 0.4m. This event can be dated by the associated finds (a small amount of pottery, clay tobacco pipe and roof tile fragments) to after c. 1630 and perhaps to between c. 1660 and 1680.<sup>16</sup> This dating is the same as that of the post-medieval finds in the underlying marsh layers, strengthening the conclusion that large-scale dumping began in these decades. As well as being refuse in its own right, this rubble probably served to prepare the wet

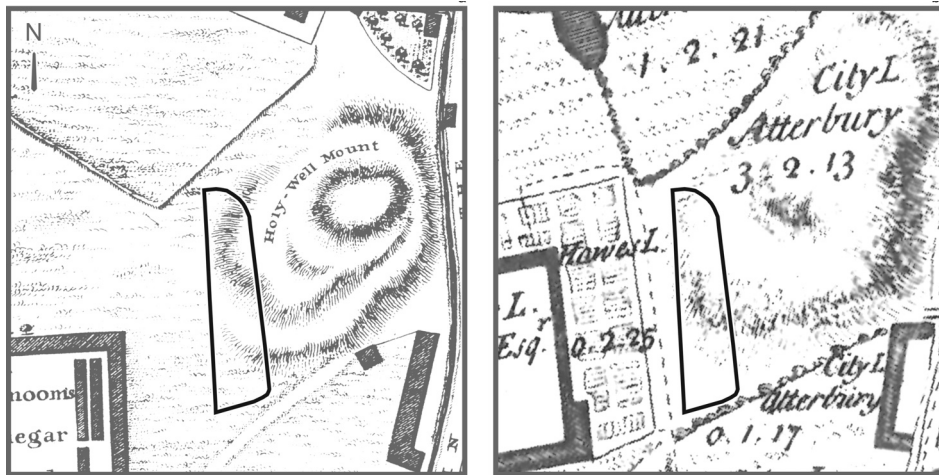


Fig 4: the approximate position of the site on details from Rocque's map of 1746 (left) and Chassereau's map of 1745 (right)

ground for on-going mass rubbish dumping, perhaps making the area more accessible to wheeled carts.

Disposal of rubbish may not be the most glorious of activities, but it is without a doubt one of the most vital tasks for any population that has adopted a settled way of life. A failure to keep settlements, towns or cities clean has very serious consequences for the natural environment and the wellbeing of the citizens. Medieval and early post-medieval London was, by modern standards, a filthy place, but rules and injunctions regarding refuse disposal and removal in the city are known from at least the 13th century.<sup>17</sup> In late 17th-century London, 'carmen' collected household waste, with precise timings set for this task.<sup>18</sup> The rubbish would be taken by carts to refuse mounds or 'laystalls' on the edges of the city, where it would be picked over by scavengers.

Two 18th-century maps clearly

show the Holywell Mount. Rocque's 1746 map of London even labels it as 'Holy-Well Mount', but the mound is also shown, unlabelled, on the Chassereau map of 1745 (Fig 4).<sup>19</sup> The mound was depicted on a parcel of land labelled as belonging to the City of London and occupied by 'Atterbury' (who also held properties to the north-west and south-east).

On the Phipp Street site, layers of refuse identified as remains of the Holywell Mount were recorded directly over the consolidation rubble. These dark, sandy-silty deposits were up to 1.6m thick<sup>20</sup> and they contained a relatively large amount of finds. Individual phases or tips were not discernible within the dump layers, and the dating evidence from the sequence is mixed such that age does not appear to correlate with height – either resulting from continuous deposition of very similar materials or disturbance of the layers. The combined dating

evidence, however, suggests that they accumulated c. 1660–1710. The character of the finds is predominantly domestic, but a few are indicative of craft activities.

*The pottery*

A large amount of pottery was recovered from 18 dumped deposits, totalling 559 sherds,<sup>21</sup> mainly dating to the late 16th and 17th century (redeposited in the late 17th century); imports amount to c. 6% of the total sherds. A wide range of forms is represented, but most were used for the cooking and consumption of food and drink. The latter include a small London tin-glazed ware bowl with floral decoration (Fig 5: <90>), two Dutch tin-glazed ware dishes, one in the Chinese Wan Li style (Fig 5: <91>), the other with floral decoration (Fig 5: <92>), and a sherd from a jug made in Liguria, Italy.

An intriguing find is part of a late 16th-/early 17th-century Palissy-type dish, with moulded polychrome decoration on the upper side and a green glaze on the underside, sadly heat-altered and not illustratable. Such vessels were first made in France but also produced in Germany, notably Nuremberg; they are extremely rare in London, the closest known parallel being a smaller dish from a site in Blackfriars.<sup>22</sup> The other imports are more common types, mainly Frechen stoneware but including Dutch red ware, Martincamp stoneware, and a few Spanish and Italian wares.

Other activities are represented by sherds from numerous jars, 23 chamber pots, a bed pan, three candlesticks, a sugar mould, two flower pots and a watering can. Of interest is a tin-glazed jar fragment with the remains of two rows of lettering (Fig 6: <93>); the upper reads '.. PIFER: QUE..', but the lower is impossible to decipher. It has

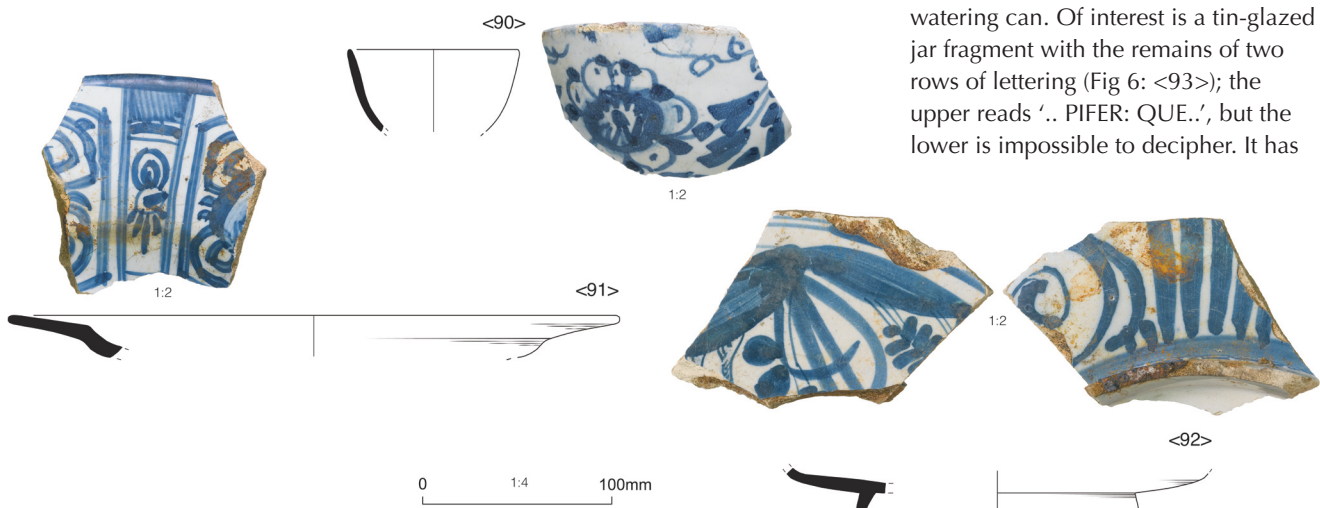


Fig 5: London tin-glazed ware bowl <90>; Dutch tin-glazed ware dishes <91>, <92>

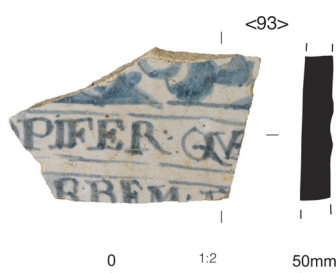


Fig 6: tin-glazed jar fragment <93>, with lettering

not been possible to identify the original contents of the jar, although 'QUE' might be part of *Quercus* (oak tree) or *Quercetanus* (calomel, introduced by French chemist Joseph du Chesne). The second most common finds are clay tobacco pipes, with 230 bowls and 32 stems attesting to the use of tobacco by 17th-century and 18th-century Londoners. One pipe bowl dating to c. 1660–80 is marked with the maker's initials SA stamped in relief on the heel (unidentified).<sup>23</sup>

#### Glass

Glass is much less abundant, perhaps due to recycling, with only 20 fragments, of which nine are window glass.<sup>24</sup> Three are from late 17th-century wine bottles of shaft-and-globe, shaft-and-globe/onion and onion form, while one is from the shoulder/neck of a small bottle or flask in natural blue glass (Fig 7: <94>), probably an apothecary's vial.<sup>25</sup> Also present was a base fragment from a small cylindrical phial or perfume bottle in colourless glass with vertical trails in opaque white glass *vetro a fili* (Fig 7: <27>)<sup>26</sup> possibly English and of mid-/later 17th-century date. The vessel glass comprises bases from two cylindrical beakers, a large 'raspberry' applied pad from a Römer beaker of Willmott type 7.2<sup>27</sup> – imported from northern Germany or the Low Countries in the late 16th–early

17th century<sup>28</sup> and relatively rare in England – and part of an early leaded glass goblet<sup>29</sup> dating to the late 17th century.

#### Other finds

Other ceramic items included tin-glazed floor and wall tiles, peg and pantile roofing and a probable chimney pot. One floor tile has a rather crudely painted mounted figure in blue, yellow and orangey-brown (Fig 8: <64>). The straight lines in the background suggest it is probably from the centre of a so-called 'medallion' tile. The depiction of figures is relatively unusual on medallion tiles, although a man is present on a floor tile from Tower Hamlets.<sup>30</sup> A second tile has an unusual polychrome flower-head pattern (Fig 8: <62>). Both floor tiles date to around the late 16th to mid-17th century. They were probably made in London, although a Dutch origin cannot be entirely discounted.

Two blue-on-white tin-glazed 'delftware' wall tiles are certainly Dutch. One, dating to c. 1670–1700, shows a female figure riding a dolphin (Fig 9: <67>). Similar figures and other designs showing various mythical beasts were a popular feature of Dutch tiles.<sup>31</sup> The second tile, of similar date, may be one of many hundreds of Dutch tiles found in London showing children's games (Fig 9: <63>). Both probably came from a fireplace surround, which was the most popular use for Dutch wall tiles during the late 17th century.

Another interesting find from the mound deposits is an incomplete copper-alloy pin with a wire-wound head and white metal plating on the shank,<sup>32</sup> dating from the 14th–17th centuries.<sup>33</sup> Wire-wound pins are not uncommon finds from excavations in London and could have been used in tailoring or for fixing items of dress.

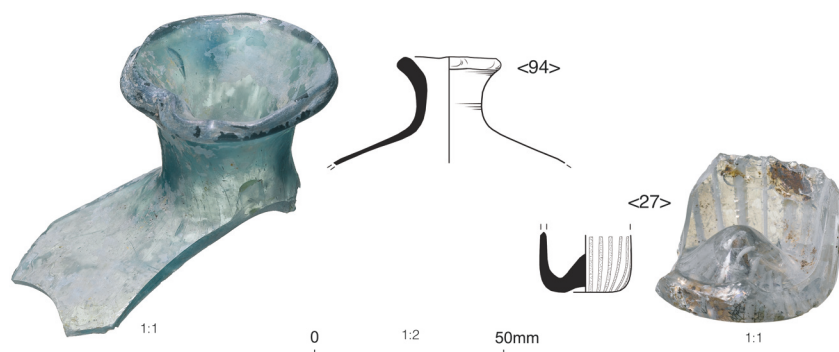


Fig 7: glass bottle fragments <94> and <27>

Light industrial activities were evidenced by waste materials associated with pottery and tile production, and metal- and ivory-working. Their presence indicates that at least some of the mound was made up of manufacturing waste. The pottery comprised sherds from one or two biscuit tin-glazed ware bottles. They could have come from a possible kiln found 320m to the south-east at 13–15 Folgate St, Spitalfields.<sup>34</sup> A floor tile with part of a blue-on-white flower vase design may be from the same source, as there is an orange clay setter attached to one edge showing it was used as kiln shelving in a London pithouse.

Evidence for small-scale metal working came in the form of sherds from three ceramic crucibles for melting copper alloy, as well as copper-alloy slag, a fragment of iron slag and melted lead-alloy waste. A fragment of ivory waste<sup>35</sup> was the by-product of the process of dividing the hollow basal part of a tusk to produce workable blanks from the raw material.

A large quantity of animal bone (over 500 fragments) was also recovered from the layers attributed to the Holywell Mount. Overall, carcase-part recovery seems to suggest that the assemblage represents butchery, consumption and disposal associated with consumption of good-quality beef, mutton, pork and, occasionally, veal, lamb and poultry, including adult and juvenile domestic fowl and goose.

The few skeletal remains of other domesticated animals such as dog and, less commonly, cat and horse, are thought to represent disposal of dead or slaughtered elderly animals (as there is no tool mark evidence for processing of the carcasses).<sup>36</sup>

#### Provenance

It is impossible to establish the exact source of the finds summarised above. During this period, the closest properties of any size would be on the site of Holywell Priory<sup>37</sup> and buildings adjacent to it in Holywell Lane, where similar pottery, including some notable imports, was found.<sup>38</sup> However, some proportion of the material dumped on the mound probably derived from further afield, including Spitalfields, so finds do not necessarily reflect the economy of the local area.

## PHIPP STREET, SHOREDITCH

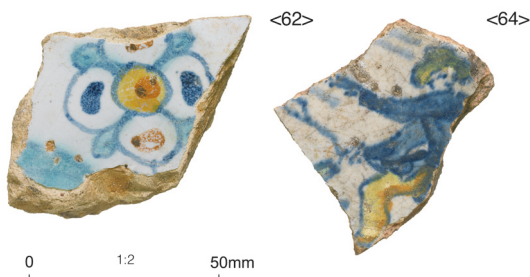


Fig 8: tin-glazed floor tiles <62>, <64> from the refuse mound layers

### A note on later developments

The site was built over in the late 18th century (Fig 10).<sup>39</sup> Mixed layers of earth over the refuse layers, attributed to the Holywell Mount, suggest that some of the mound deposits were spread and levelled prior to the construction of terrace buildings. Considering that the levelling layers were in part derived from the refuse mound, it is likely that some of the mid- to late 18th-century finds are from the later years of refuse dumping rather than the construction activities or new occupation.

A tin-glazed floor tile recovered from these layers has an early to mid-17th-century pomegranate design and was probably made at either the Pickleherring or Rotherhithe pothouse (Fig 11). There was also a fragment of mid- to late 14th-century Penn floor tile (from the village of that name in Buckinghamshire). This has part of a

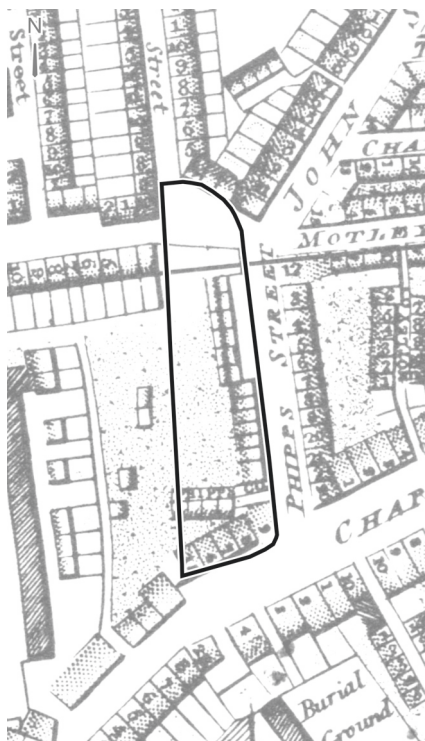


Fig 10: the site on Horwood's map, 1813

previously unpublished design (Fig 12) and probably came from the floor of a monastic building or parish church. The levelling dumps also produced a small assemblage of pottery, including the base of a sugar collecting jar – a form not seen amongst the pottery of the previous phase.

The earliest structural remains recorded on the site were parts of several brick walls, floors, a soakaway and a drain thought to relate to the buildings shown on Horwood's map. These were later replaced (and in one instance, partly re-used as a foundation) by several stretches of wall that correspond with the rear parts of buildings depicted on Ordnance Survey mapping from 1872.<sup>40</sup>

One particularly intriguing 19th-century item was found as an intrusion into earlier (18th-century) deposits. This is a child's nursery plate with 'improving sentiments' decoration: in the centre of the base is a purple star-like roundel framed by 12 triangular rays with the motto 'CONTENTMENT MAKES THE BELIEVER RICH / WHILE PLENTY LEAVES THE SINNER POOR' (Fig 13); the border is decorated with moulded floral sprigs enhanced with overglaze painting. Pottery, glass, clay tobacco pipes and coins were also recovered from the deposits associated with the brick structures, along with personal items including bone and copper buttons dated to the 18th and 19th centuries, a bone toothbrush, ceramic marbles, a copper ring, a glass bead that could be dated as early as the 17th century, and two pencils.

### Conclusion

While present-day Shoreditch is known for being a vibrant part of east London undergoing a long programme of urban regeneration, 17th-century Shoreditch was very much a hinterland to the City of London, located a good distance north of the city wall. In fact, the site lay outside the metropolis for centuries before it was finally consumed during the urban sprawl of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

For much of its early history, the site was open land, on the northern fringe of a wetland that began to develop

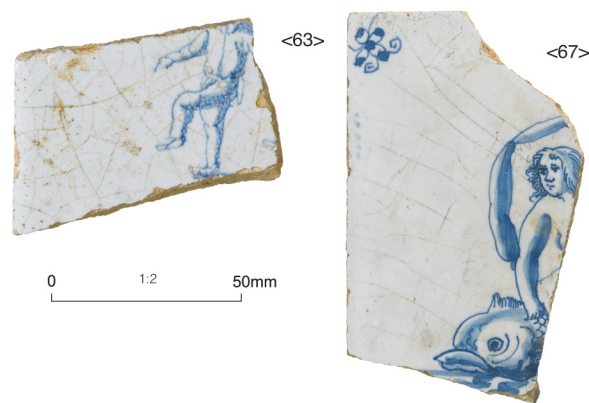


Fig 9: tin-glazed wall tiles <63>, <67> from the refuse mound layers

during late Roman times in the Walbrook drainage basin beyond the city wall. A laystall or refuse dump grew up here from the late 17th century and became known as the Holywell Mount. The mound was levelled in the late 18th century, but work at the Phipp Street site demonstrates the survival of laystall layers below the modern buildings and streets.

### Acknowledgements

MOLA would like to thank Workspace for commissioning and funding the archaeological fieldwork, technical reporting and production of this article; and also John Gould of Historic England for his advice. The completion of archaeological analysis and the preparation of this article were carried out after a post-excavation assessment report written by Rob Tutt.

The archaeological field team included Alex Blanks, Kate Faccia, Cat Gibbs, Giulia Lazzeri, Alice Marconi, Hannah Murrell, Mary Ruddy, Sean Russell, Claudia Tommasino and Virgil Yendell, supervised on site by Rob Tutt.

Specialist assessments and analysis were undertaken by Ian M Betts (building material), Lyn Blackmore

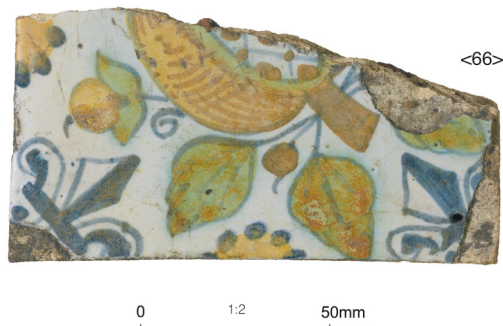


Fig 11: 17th-century tin-glazed floor tile <66> from later levelling layers

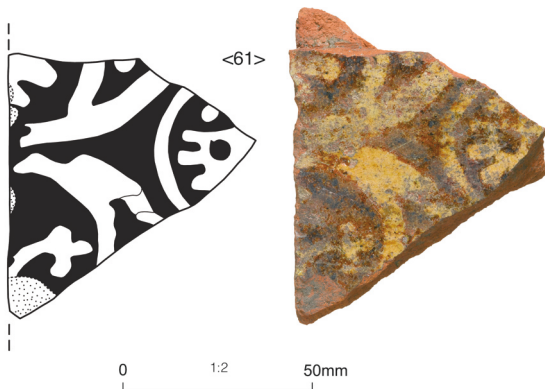


Fig 12: 14th-century Penn floor tile <61>

(pottery and glass), Jacqui Pearce (clay tobacco pipes), Rachel S Cubitt (registered finds other than glass and coins, and the bulk nails), Matt Phelps (iron-working remains), Julian Bowsher (coins/tokens and collaboration on

description/interpretation of the horned-man cameo/mount), Damian Goodburn (advice on wood), Alan Pipe (animal bone) and Liz Goodman (conservation).

Mark Burch and Diego Maganto digitally surveyed the site and Juan José Fuldain González prepared the article figures, with digital georectification of the Chassereau map by Vicki Ewens. The object photography was by Maggie Cox. Project management at MOLA was by Louise Davies, Nick Elsdon and Mike Tetreau.

Lyn Blackmore is a Senior Specialist in Medieval and Later Ceramics and Finds, Kasia Olchowska is a Senior



Fig 13: child's nursery plate (<95>; 19th-century) with 'improving sentiments'

Archaeologist and Rob Tutt is a Project Manager, all at MOLA (Museum of London Archaeology).

1. The paper and digital records of the excavation and the finds from the site are to be deposited with the Museum of London under the site code PHP15.

The archive may be consulted by prior arrangement at the Museum of London Archaeological Archive, Mortimer Wheeler House, 46 Eagle Wharf Road, London N1 7ED.

2. The site was occupied until recently by an office building with a small car park at the northern end. Modern pavement level near the site sloped down from 16.6m OD in the north to 15.3m OD in the south.

3. Natural gravel was at 12.9m OD in the north of the site (BH1A) and at 12.6m OD in the south (BH3). The auger investigation (AH1–AH8) targeted a lower area of irregular gravel-surface levels (between 11.32m OD and 11.67m OD) near the centre of the site. No palaeochannel was defined during the course of the work.

4. The brickearth was found at 12.48m OD. Its base was not observed.

5. J Bird (ed) 'Historical introduction: Moorfields' *Survey of London: Vol 8* (1922), 88–90. Available from British History Online: <http://tinyurl.com/y2eetr69> [accessed 29 May 2019]; W Fitz Stephen *Norman London* (1990), 58 (but cf. 50); J Stow *A survey of London written in the year 1598 by John Stow* (2005, repr. 2009), 33–4, 49, 357–8. Stow refers to windmills in the north part of Moorfields as built on land 'overheightened with laystalls of dung'.

6. S Ranieri & A Telfer *Outside Roman London: Roman burials by the Walbrook stream* (2017) 129–32.

7. R Agas 'Civitas Londinium' (c. 1562), reproduced in H Margary *A collection of early maps of London* Margary in assoc Guildhall Library, Kent (1981).

8. W Faithorne & R Newcourt 'An Exact Delineation of the Cities of London and Westminster and the suburbs thereof together with the Borough of Southwark' in H Margary *op cit* fn 7.

9. Two intrusive sherds may be of 18th-century date.

10. The style of the hair is typically Alexandrine, but the shape of the face is not up to the classical standard of the famous bronzes of Lysippos; cf J Onians *Art and thought in the Hellenistic age: the Greek world view 350–50 BC* (1979) 41–2.

11. R R R Smith *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1991), 20.

12. Rachel Cubitt is grateful to Hazel Forsyth of the Museum of London for this suggestion.

13. M Baker 'Collecting and the grand tour' in

M Snodin & J Styles *Design and the decorative arts: Britain 1500–1900* (2001) 262.

14. V Avery, M Caleresu & M Laven (eds) *Treasured possessions: from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (2015) 146.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Some residual 12th-/13th-century material was also present.

17. E L Sabine 'City cleaning in mediaeval London' *Speculum* 12.1 (1937), 12–43; Folios clxxxvi and clxxxvii b in R R Sharpe (ed) *Calendar of letter-books of the City of London: H, 1375–1399* (1907) 249–266.

Available from British History Online: <http://tinyurl.com/y4e97v8s> [accessed 4 June 2019]; Folio lxiii in R R Sharpe (ed) *Calendar of letter-books of the City of London: I, 1400–1422* (1909), 55–67.

Available from British History Online <http://tinyurl.com/y4x2d7ay> [accessed 4 June 2019].

18. P Hounsell *London's Rubbish: Two centuries of dirt, dust and disease in the metropolis* (2013) 10; J Pearce & R Taylor 'The stock-in-trade of a Parish Scavenger: an 18th-century community reflected in refuse from excavations at 1 and 11 Duke Street, London' *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 47.2 (2013) 281–322.

19. J Rocque 'Exact Survey of the City of London Westminster and Southwark and the Country 10 Miles Round' in H Margary 'An Exact Survey of the City's of London Westminster ye Borough of Southwark and the Country near 10 Miles Round London' [and] 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark with the Contiguous Buildings from an Actual Survey' by John Rocque in 1746 (1971); P Chassereau *Survey of Shoreditch* (1745 reprinted 1983 by London Borough of Hackney, Library Services, Archives Dept).

20. The top of this sequence was noted between c. 14.5m OD (south) and 15.28m OD (north).

21. 448 ENV (estimated number of vessels); 13.683kg.

22. L Blackmore 'A Palissy-type vessel from Blackfriars, London' in D Gaimster & M Redknapp (eds) *Everyday and exotic pottery from Europe c 650–1900* (1992) 371–9.

23. Atkinson & Oswald's London type AO18: D R Atkinson & A Oswald 'London clay tobacco pipes' *J British Archaeol Assoc* 32 (1969) 171–227.

24. 16 ENV, 298g.

25. I Noël Hume *A guide to artifacts of colonial America* (1969) fig 17 nos 1, 3–5.

Cf R J Charleston 'Fine vessel glass' in M Biddle

*Nonsuch Palace* (2005) 255 fig 120 nos 124–5.

26. H Willmott *Early post-medieval glass in England, 1500–1670* CBA Res Rep 132 (2002) 16.

27. Registered find <29>.

28. *Op cit* fn 26, 53–4.

29. Registered find <28>.

30. I M Betts & R I Weinstein *Tin-glazed tiles from London* (2010) 99 no 50.

31. The same female figure riding a dolphin can be seen on a tile in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (J D van Dam, P J Tichelaar and E Schaap (eds) *Dutch Tiles in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (1984), 149 no 186 N) and a very similar scene is shown on another Dutch tile illustrated in J D van Dam *Nederlandse Tegels* (1991), 81 no 94.

32. Registered find <22>.

33. G Egan & F Pritchard *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3. Dress Accessories c. 1150–1450* (1991), 200; N Crummy *Post-Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971–85* (1988) 7.

34. The archaeological site code is FOL14; F Grew & B Watson 'London fieldwork and publication round-up 2015' *London Archaeol* 14 suppl 3 (2016).

35. Registered find <34>.

36. Cf H MacQuarrie, L Blackmore & L Yeomans 'The dog house of the common hunt: new evidence for a historic City of London institution at 18-30 Leonard Street, Islington' (in prep).

37. R Bull, S Davis, H Lewis & C Phillpotts with A Birchenough *Holywell Priory and the development of Shoreditch to c 1600: Archaeology from the London Overground East London line* MOLA Monogr 53 (2011).

38. L Blackmore & J Pearce 'Medieval and later ceramics, sites A and B' in Bull *et al* (*op cit* fn 37), 155–61; L Blackmore 'A group of German stonewares from 2–4 Holywell Lane, London EC2, in their local and wider context' *London Archaeol* 14 (5) (2015).

39. Fig 10 is a detail from R Horwood 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark', 3rd edn, reproduced in H Margary *The A-Z of Regency London* (1985); the area appears similarly on Horwood's earlier 'PLAN of the Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER the Borough of SOUTHWARK and PARTS adjoining Shewing every HOUSE' compiled 1792–1799 (all but western 8 sheets bearing imprint date 1799).

40. OS 1st edition 25in: 1 mile map (1872).