DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE USES OF MEDIEVAL POTTERY

AN INTERIM STATEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Until lately the development of medieval pottery studies have been advanced by studying both the pottery itself and the contexts in which it was found. Recently scientific aids have been used to identify sources of manufacture and provide an independant dating medium. Little attention has been focused, however, on the wealth of evidence that survives in medieval documentation, and in the various branches of the medieval arts. Exceptions amongst modern studies include the work of the late Dr. Gerald Dunning and Mrs. Jean Le Patourel, the former in numerous fields, particularly the identification of medieval pottery roof furniture (documentary evidence given in Dunning 1961 a, 84-5), documentary evidence for the importation into this country of European ceramics (Dunning 1961 b) and the identification of various ornamental devices illustrating medieval customs as decoration on medieval pottery (Dunning 1968 and Dunning 1972), while the latter has opened up a new field of study with her fundamental and seminal discussion of documentary evidence for all aspects of the medieval pottery industry (Le Patourel 1969).

Medieval documentation can make at least two further contributions to the study of medieval pottery: the various uses to which the pottery was put, and the effect of the pattern of land tenure and the farming economy on the siting of production centres and the distribution of medieval pottery. The purpose of this paper is to outline the wealth of evidence for the former of these topics while stressing the importance of the latter, in advance of a more detailed study which is in preparation.

The limited range of common forms produced by the medieval potter, the 'cooking-pot', 'jug' and 'bowl', coupled with the functional terminology applied to these vessels by modern students, has created a sub-conscious assumption that medieval pottery had a very limited range of uses. An ever increasing awareness of pottery containers manufactured for specific purposes, such as distillation (Moorhouse 1973), and the wide range of residues now being recognised in vessels whose modern name implies a domestic culinary function, is suggesting that pottery had a much wider use than previously realised. Evidence from documentary sources shows that its use was much wider than may ever be recognised from the pottery itself.

Some work has been carried out on the documentary evidence for the uses of medieval pottery. In 1850 William Chaffers junior published one of the first papers on English medieval pottery, in which he drew on a wide range of contemporary documentary evidence for the pottery he was describing. (Chaffers 1850). Various subsequent papers, published around the turn of the century, touched upon the documentary evidence for the uses of medieval pottery, but Chaffer's detailed approach was not followed until recently.

In 1968, Dr. Francis Celoria published an exhaustive study of the medieval urinal and post-medieval chamber-pot, (Amis 1968. especially 4 - 11). Dr. Celoria demonstrated from a wide variety of medieval documentary and pictorial sources the various uses of the medieval urinal and the names used to describe it, showing the rich variety of written material available for the vessel. It was

this study that prompted the writer to re-examine these sources with regard to other forms of earthenware. The work was expanded to include other classes of documents, principally of vernacular nature (see below), resulting in a study of which this present survey is only an interim statement, (see appendix). Work on documentary evidence for other forms of medieval pottery has appeared since then, notable Leslie Matthews' work on references to late medieval drinking cups in the records of the Inns of Court in London (Matthews and Greene, 1970, 1 - 2).

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE USE OF MEDIEVAL POTTERY.

Evidence for medieval pottery and its uses can be found in almost any class of medieval document. A few documents will clearly not contain any evidence, such as tax returns or legal documents associated with property transactions. By far the most useful are the various forms of household, manorial, monastic and royal accounts recording annual or more frequent expenditure. The proceedings of various types of court are helpful, particularly coroner's rolls and courts concerned with the distraint of goods and chattels. Reference works such as medical recipes and treatises, agricultural manuals, cookery books and courtesy books are frequently a mine of information for the use of earthenware vessels: this is particularly true of medical recipes (see below). Wills and inventories have produced some information, but many of those surviving are from upper class families and do not relate to the majority of the population. Pottery is often not included because these documents record items of personal or financial value and most pottery in use during the Middle Ages did not fall into either of these two categories. Language teaching aids such as dictionaries, grammers, nominales and vulgaries were used to teach English and other languages either by defining a word, or by expressing in both languages, phrases which describe everyday objects. As a result the various types of vocabulary contain a wealth of social detail not obtained from other sources, including uses of medieval pottery. Narrative sources and personal records such as chronicles, diaries, autobiographies, and contemporary foreign travellers' accounts of medieval Britain, also contain useful information. Among the most under-rated classes of document are the truly vernacular sources - poetry, songs, ballads and particularly sermons and proverbs, in which everyday items are used in similes and metaphors when describing things familiar to their audiences. More specialised uses of earthenware are found in documents associated with the sea, such as port books and inventories and accounts for individual ships, the last group being frequently more detailed than the equivalent class of document on terra firma. Finally visual records of the medieval period are frequently extremely useful. Paintings, illuminated manuscripts, stained glass, wood carvings, and sculptures all contribute information.

Evidence from documentary sources and archaeological finds can both be misleading if one is used in isolation from the other for determining the range and types of containers in use during the Middle Ages. The former has a number of limitations: most classes of document mentioned above were concerned with the upper ranks of society, who were perhaps not the greatest users of pottery. The evidence is therefore biased towards the wealthy. A similar bias occurs in the excavated material. Pottery is virtually the only material used for containers that has not been subsequently destroyed by soil action or was not re-cycled in one form or another during the Middle Ages. Pottery was discarded in rubbish-pits or became mixed with the manure which was scattered on the fields. It is recovered in quantity during excavation, giving the impression that it was the most common material used in the household for containers. That this is incorrect is demonstrated from documentary evidence where it is clear that woodworkers, and particularly the turner, were important members of rural society, and accounts frequently record the purchase of large quantities of a variety of wooden objects

which are not represented in the potter's repertoire of forms. Wood, however, quickly decays in our environment when buried, unless it lies in an anaerobic deposit. Evidence for the former extensive use of wood is therefore rarely reflected in an archaeological context. A combination of both forms of evidence shows that particular, separate ranges of vessels and containers were produced by the two sets of craftsmen. The virtual absence of plates and cups in the repertoire of the medieval potter is compensated by the wood turner whose staple products were cups, plates and small bowls, the latter particularly used for drinking.

Direct references to earthen vessels fall into two principal groups: those which describe the vessel by its shape and a much larger second group which describe the vessel by its use. The most common form referred to is a pan, probably a vessel whose rim diameter is greater than the diameter of the base. Most references occur in medical recipes. For example, a 14th-century prescription describes ingredients made in an erthyn panne, (Henslow 1899, 57), and a mid 15th-century recipe specifies a panne of earth for melting ingredients, (Dawson 1934, 208). Pottery pans were also used for cooking as demonstrated by an early 15th-century recipe which instructs the cook to heat two lytel erthen pannys, during the initial stages of making sew trappe, (Austin 1888, 54). A 15th-century medical recipe recommends that an owl be chopped up and placed in a poshnet of erthe, (Schoffler 1919, 233), while another medical recipe states that the ingredients should be mixed in a cle vrynall, (Ogden 1938, 10). Steans, large vessels usually of pottery used as containers, have also been noticed occasionally: an inventory of distrained goods in 1396 include an earthenware stene amongst items collected from the buttery, pantry and cellar of a house (Chapman and Hunnisett 1963, 116); and a 15th-century medical recipe recommends that the ingredients should be placed in a new stene of erthe, (Schoffler 1919, 225). Another recipe in the latter collection describes a certain pot firstly as a pot of erthe and then as a stene, (Schoffler 1919, 226). This suggests that a variety of vessels of different shapes and sizes may be covered by the ubiquitous term 'earthen pot' and that only occasionally are terms given describing either shape or size. It is also probable that many of the equally numerous ubiquitous references in recipes to a 'pot', without any further qualification, refer either by context or implication to vessels of pottery. Occasionally we are given the size of the vessel. The two lytel erthen pannys used for cooking, have been mentioned above, while an early 14th-century industrial recipe for white lead, suggests that the process be carried out in a great erthen pot or barel, (Wright 1844a, 154). Such references are however deceptive, for size is relative.

Domestic Uses

The most commonly recognised use of medieval earthenware, from the pottery itself, was for cooking, identified not only by the frequency of the 'cooking pot' form, but by this and other vessel forms being externally fire-blackened near and under the base. Few of the extant medieval cookery recipes specifically mention pottery vessels. This is surprising considering the number and variety of surviving recipes, the quantity of pottery found that has been externally fire-blackened (accepting that not all pottery with external marks of the fire was used for cooking), and the frequency of earthen pots mentioned in other types of recipe. Surviving medieval cookery recipes probably represent dishes prepared for noble or middle class households, for the ingredients of many would be beyond the resources of the lower classes. It is therefore likely that in the many cases where the vessel used in the preparation of the recipe is simply described as a 'pot' or 'vessel', without the material of the container being specified, such vessels were of bronze. This suggestion is also supported by

other evidence for the increasing use of metal cooking-pots during the 14th-century (Le Patourel 1969, 101 - 102).

Despite the widespread use of metal cauldrons in the kitchens of the households in which the recipes were mostly used, some recipes do specify that earthen pots were preferable to vessels in other materials. Others describe particular aspects of features of the pot and its use. One particular 15th-century recipe for stewed capons, still popular as coq au vin, includes most of the features of present interest found in medieval cookery recipes, while adding information not found in any other cookery recipe examined so far, about the firing of the pot and heat effect on the earthenware body (Hodgett 1972, 14 - 15, with modern English translation facing facsimile reproduction of original Middle-English text). For a slightly different version of c. 1450, (Austin 1888, 72 - 73). The recipe begins with the herbs and their preparation, used to stuff the bodies of the capons. The birds were then placed in an earthen or brass pot, and the author adds 'but an earthen one is best'. After describing the use of splints to keep the chickens away from the body of the pot, and the adding of wine and more herbs, the text describes in some detail the fitting and luting of a lid, the material of which is unfortunately not given. To quote the recipe text:

> ... and set a lydde ther upon (the pot) that wylt ly withyn the brym and make batur of white of eggys and floure and put betwene the brym a paper lefe or old lyncloth that the batur may stop hit sowrely that no eyre (the translation has 'egg', but the facsimile clearly gives eyre for air) com owte (.) loke that hit be thyke of bature

In other words, take a lid that would lie within the brim of the rim, implying that the vessel may have had an everted, outward sloping rim, perhaps one with an internal lid seating. A sheet of paper or an old linen cloth was placed between the lid and the brim and then the junction of the lid and rim appear to have been covered with a thick batter made from egg whites and flour, creating a seal when dried and preventing any air from escaping from the pot. The recipe then goes on to describe the cooking of the capons on a charcoal fire 'to the middle side', allowing it to stew for a long time. Then follows instructions for taking an earthen pot off the fire and allowing it to cool without cracking:

> and when iu supposyth hit is enowgh take hit from the fyre (.) yf hit be a pot of ~~urith~~ (crossed out in manuscript and erth substituted on line) erth set hit upon a wyspe of straw that hit toche not the cold grownde and when the hete is well drawn and over past take of the lydde

This passage describes one method of preventing an earthenware pot from cracking, which could have happened if the hot vessel was placed directly onto a cold surface; the pot was placed on a bed of straw, which absorbed some of the heat, but more importantly created an air flow between the pot and the ground allowing the pot to cool naturally without fracture. The rest of the recipe describes the preparation of a sauce and the presentation of the dish.

A great deal of knowledge can be gained from these recipes, about the containers which were used. The different terms occasionally given to the earthen pots imply the different shapes of the vessels, some of which suggest another function, and the wide variety of advice given to the cook demonstrates the various methods of sealing or handling the vessel.

Documentation, principally from the various types of accounts and monastic

inventories, shows that a wide variety of household commodities were stored in earthenware containers. A few of the many examples can be given to show this range: an inventory of Peterborough Abbey in 1460 mentions '3 earthen pots for storing flour', (Myers 1969, 1150); in the same year, an inventory of a small cell at Lytham, Lancashire, records in the pantry 3 pottes of erth for hony of ye whech 1 is full; in the brewery, 1 crok for cleryng of worth (fermenting new beer), and in the brewhouse, 1 crok of salt, (Fishwick 1907, 79. 79 and 80 respectively): at Dunster in 1405, 1½d. was paid for 'an earthen pot in which to put white salt', (Maxwell-Lyte 1909, 102); at Durham in 1340 an earthen pot for storing bread was purchased, and in 1329-30, 5d. was paid for '2 earthen pots bought for sugar (zucur)', (Fowler 1898, 202, Fowler 1899, 515); and in 1337-9, 1d. was paid for '3 little earthenware pots for putting mustard in' at Holy Trinity Priory, Dublin, (Mills 1891, 10). There are many references to the purchase of earthen pots for storing wine, as at Elton in 1297-8, (Ratcliff 1956, 66).

Some treatises advise that certain commodities would keep better in earthenware containers. Such an item is oil. Palladius states that oil should always be kept in earthenware, (Lodge 1873, 219), and also a number of references to the purchase of a pot for oil occur in 1454-55 at St. Ewens, Bristol, when 1d. was paid for an erthyn pot to put lamp oyl yn, (Maclean 1890, 156).

The most suitable vessel shape for most of the commodities mentioned is the open-mouthed 'cooking-pot'. Many vessels of this basic shape were used for cooking, for they are fire-blackened externally on and near the base, although a large number have no signs of having been near a fire. It is therefore likely that the traditional medieval 'cooking pot', or open-mouthed pot, was an extremely versatile vessel.

Apart from cooking and general storage purposes, earthenware vessels had a great many uses in and around the home. Many of the uses placed by scholars/ archaeologists, on pottery vessels of particular shapes, can be confirmed from either documentary or contemporary pictorial evidence. Flat bottomed, long narrow shallow containers, usually semi-rectangular in shape, with handles on one of the long sides only, have been identified as dripping-pans because the side opposite the handles is frequently sooted when found on a domestic site. That pottery containers were used for such a purpose is demonstrated by the household account book of Lady Alice de Bryene in 1419, where amongst the kitchen expenses, 4 earthen pans were bought 'for receiving the dripping of the flesh', (pro *stillacionem carnum recipiendo*), (Dale and Redstone 1931, 123), and a 14th-century manuscript illustration shows a pan, probably of earthenware, in position under a spit, (illustrated in Bennett 1948, pl. 5, facing 234, (47)). Similarly, the use of pottery vessels as containers for drawing water from wells is demonstrated in an archaeological context where pots are found at the bottom of filled-in well deposits, and in the documents, by earthenware vessels and their drawing cords being claimed deodand for causing the death of a person by drowning in a well (see Anonymous 1900, 210, for three such cases involving people drowned at Calverley, Tickhill and Walton, all in Yorkshire, in the years 1323-24).

Documents can also confirm the period of introduction or popularity of a particular form of vessel, whose date has been determined from archaeological evidence. During the 15th-century, large, usually tall, pottery vessels with a bung-hole near their base, became popular - for they are frequently found on sites of this date and some late medieval kiln sites specialised in their production. Such vessels have been called 'bung-hole pots' or 'cisterns' by archaeologists. During the 15th-century, accounts and wills and inventories begin to record

vessels called 'cisterns', 'alepots' or 'stands', frequently in association with vessels containing ale or beer, and items variously termed 'spiggots', 'ducels' or'forcets', the latter term dependent on the dialect used by the scribe. The value or cost of individual vessels called cisterns, alepots or stands, suggests that they were large in size, and that the spiggots, ducels or forcets were taps used to control the flow of liquid, and were almost certainly inserted in the bung-hole in the vessels with which they were associated. These taps were invariably of wood, as shown by their frequent purchase from turners, accounting for their absence in the archaeological record. Two examples can illustrate these points: the will of Thomas Vicar, a farmer of Strensall, Yorkshire, in 1451 listed under the contents of the cellar, '3 stands with 8 clay pots for putting ale in', valued at 8d. (Raine 1865, 118), and at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, in 1475-76, consecutive entries in the household accounts record the purchase of a dozen alepots for 2s. 1d. and 2d. for a dozen spiggots 'for the said alepots', (Myatt-Price 1957, 53).

Lighting was an important factor in most medieval houses. Lamp oil is a commodity which frequently occurs in accounts, and its use has already been referred to above. Pottery lamps or cressets from the late Saxon period and shortly after, are common finds in some parts of the country, and although stone cresset lamps continue to be used throughout the medieval period, later ceramic finds are rare. That pottery cressets continued in use is shown by the Confessio Amantis of John Gower, written in 1392-93, where he refers to a pot or erthe, in which he tath (takes) a lyt brennende (burning) in a kressette, (Macauley 1901, 340). A number of references identify uses of pots around the house which may never be recognised from the pottery. One example occurs in a mid 15th-century book of medical recipes, describing what is probably a precursor of the modern hot water bottle (Schoffler 1919, 226). The recipe describes a cure for dropsy, palsy and pleurisy, in which various herbs were prepared and placed into a pot of erthe, which was then covered with all so many clothys, the pot being tightly sealed by binding the neck. The vessel was then placed in the bed and let syte the stene in thi bydde-strawe (bed-straw) at thi fete. The feet were to be placed against thepot, separated from it by a cloth, until the pot went cold. The process was to be repeated each night for a week. It is easy to see how, on cold nights, this treatment for a medical condition, was adapted to serve as a general bed warmer!

Farming Uses

Earthen vessels also have a wide variety of uses on the farm. Those associated with the dairy can be taken as an example. Manorial accounts frequently mention, under the heading of costs for the dairy, the purchase of earthen bowls (patelle terre) and earthen jugs (urceolus terris) probably for use in the various stages of butter and cheese making. Earthen vessels are specifically mentioned in association with butter making, as for example at Sevenhampton in 1275-76, where the reeve accounted under expenses of the dairy, the purchase of 5 earthen bowls (patelle terre) and various other vessels 'for making butter (ad impondum buturum)' (Farr 1959, 191). Milk was cooled and stored in earthen vessels within the dairy, for at Cuxham in 1289-90, the costs of the dairy included '1 earthen bowl (patella terrea) for cooling milk (ad lac frigendum)', (Harvey 1976, 185), and at Elton in 1350-51, the costs of the dairy included '1 clay bowl for keeping milk (patella luteo pro lacte custodiendo)', costing 2½d. (Ratcliffe 1946, 372) - a price which probably reflects the size of the bowl. Many other examples occur where pots (olla) were bought for the dairy, which by their price suggests that they may have been earthenware. The large numbers, and range of pottery vessels bought specially for the dairy suggests that a detailed study of such entries in account rolls may prove fruitful, not only in the range of names given to the

vessels purchased, but also by identifying the range of uses of pottery vessels in medieval dairies - uses which may not be reflected in residues left in or on the vessels themselves. The frequent mention of pottery in association with the dairy is one of the few occasions where the use of earthenware vessels can be implied with some degree of certainty without being specifically stated. The use of another form in the dairy is indicated by a late 13th-century farming treatise. In describing the duties of the dairy-maid, the anonymous author of the Seneschaucy states that the dairy-maid ' ought to keep and cover the fire (couverir le fir) so that no harm arises through lack of supervision' (Oschinsky 1971, 288 -89). The French has been translated as 'screen' but its literal translation as a fire-cover, is quite acceptable in the context of the passage). This entry implies that not only did hearths exist in medieval dairies, but that curfews, and probably ceramic ones, may be present in pottery debris recovered from their excavation. Similar evidence to that presented above exists for the use, by implication, of pottery vessels in other parts of the farm.

Earthenware vessels were used extensively for horticultural purposes. Gardens of various kinds were common in medieval England. These ranged from the small kitchen garden of the manor tenant, to the extensive garden complexes of monastic houses, or the ornamental gardens of the wealthy classes. An equally wide variety of flowers, herbs, trees and vegetables were grown. The frequency with which people are described by the occupational name le Gardener, or other more specialised gardening terms, demonstrates, not only how common gardens were, but also the various branches of horticulture which were practised. Despite the awareness of organised horticulture, the importance of gardening during the Middle Ages is not reflected in the few surviving medieval treatises on the subject. The most popular reference work was that of the 4th-century scholar Palladius, whose treatise on husbandry survives in a number of late medieval Middle English translations (Rodgers 1975). The author covers a wide variety of farming topics, including many aspects of husbandry, in which he specifies the use of earthenware vessels (Lodge 1873, et passim). The latter ranges from the extensive use of pottery containers in the growing and preservation of a wide variety of fruit and vegetables (Lodge 1873, 111, 117, 120, 122, 152, 161, and 218 - 19), to advice on the types of bee-hive to use. He adds a cautionary comment, but the potters hyve though forsake, (Lodge 1873, 38). What does a 15th-century pottery bee-hive look like ?

One of the most extensive horticultural uses of earthenware pots must have been in watering. For the watering of plants in hard soil, Palladius advises An erthen potte though take and yeve it drinke (Lodge 1973, 4). Pottery vessels were purchased during the medieval period specially for watering plants - one of the more vivid descriptions occuring in the cellarer's accounts from Battle Abbey in 1464-65, when 2d. was accounted for '2 earthen pots for watering the plants in both the cellarer's garden and the kitchen garden', (Searle and Ross 1965, 140). That gardening was fashionable during the medieval period is perhaps reflected in the manufacture of two distinct types of earthen watering pots, a conical shaped vessel with a thumb-hole at the top and holes pierced in its base, and a large jug-shaped vessel with a pouring-rose springing from the shoulder (Roberts 1874, Quirk 1900, and Gwilt 1850), similar in shape to modern watering cans. The use of the conical vessel is demonstrated on a French tapestry of c. 1400, where the Duchess Valantine de Milan is shown watering flowers in her garden (reproduced in Evans 1948, 184 and pl. 170). The ornate decoration on the watering pot suggests it may have been made from silver. A functioning pot of similar shape formed part of a family badge emblazoned on a knife sheath made for John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, between 1385 and 1404, (Dalton 1907, pl. 39, opp. 426, discussed 427 - 28). Some of the descriptions given by Palladius for the horticultural uses of pottery vessels suggest that they may have been

purpose made, for example the fruit of the ziziphus tree is kept in cleyed erthen pottes longe to preserve it (Lodge 1873, 144). Whether or not vessels were specially made for use in gardening, it is likely that many of the more familiar shapes were used for such purposes. Residues and deposits may not be visually present on the surface of pots used for various horticultural purposes, but wherever there is any suspicion of horticultural use, it may be rewarding to carry out chemical tests on the surfaces of the vessel.

Craft and Industrial Uses

Perhaps one of the widest non-domestic uses of medieval pottery was in the preparation of medical recipes. It appears from the thousands of extant medical recipes in Middle English (see Robbins 1970), that procedure and sequence were the all-important factors in the potency and success of the particular prescription. Consequently not only are the ingredients described in great detail, but the vessels in which they were brewed and stored, and the materials from which they were made are similarly described. Many recipes describe vessels whose shapes have not been recognised in the present repertoire of pot forms. Recipes also describe pottery containers with pierced bases used in conjunction with other vessels during the distillation process of the prescription (see below). Bowls and cooking pots with primary or secondary pierced bases have occasionally been found; could these have been used in the preparation of medical prescriptions ? A number of recipes describe in great detail that the concoction should be placed in an earthen pot and then buried in a hole in the ground, either individually, or with two or three pottery vessels on top of each other, under a dung heap or with a fire burning constantly over the pots, for anything up to a year. While these more intricate methods of fermentation are not common, those which describe single pots which have been buried up to their rims for a much shorter period, are relatively common. How tempting it would be to place a folk, magical, or even religions interpretation on the finding of such a vessel, or group of vessels ! Many of the recipes suggest that the ingredients must be prepared in a 'new earthen pot', which, if the recipes were followed faithfully, could suggest a rapid turnover of pots. The wide variety of potions, of both liquid and ointment form, are likely to have left residues of the process in the pot, and it is likely that many of these vessels survive unrecognised in collections today.

Apart from the preparation of prescriptions, the medical practitioner used earthenware for other purposes. One example occurs in the 1397-98 account of expenditure incurred in the infirmary at Durham Priory, which describes the purchase of blood-letting equipment, as including one piercing-lance (securis), and 12 'dishes of earth for blood-letting (disci terrani pro fleubotomia)', (Raine 1898, 267). It is clear from various cases of witchcraft and sorcery, that medical recipes were adapted for non-medical purposes, which could have been carried out anywhere: one case describes in some detail the burial and subsequent finding of the pot and its contents in a back garden (Middle English text in Ashton 1963, 82-90, modernised text in Storey 1966, 199-200). Before the 14th-century, medical writings were in Latin and their use was restricted to the upper echelons of the medieval medical profession, but during the 14th and 15th-centuries, many of the recipes and treatises were translated into the vernacular, making their contents available to many more people. Because the instructions were printed in Middle English, many of the practitioners adapted existing recipes and produced their own variants of standard treatments. In these variant recipes, the use of pottery was detailed with some precision, the large number of recipes describing pottery vessels suggesting that they should have survived in pottery collections. The large number of doctors recorded in the Middle Ages (Talbot and Hommone 1965) that is apart from the far more

numerous people practising medicine on the fringe of the profession, also suggests that large numbers of pottery vessels were involved.

Documentary evidence is particularly helpful for the various branches of the building trades and industries. Space here can only allow a few examples to demonstrate the scope. Dr. Dunning has demonstrated the range of different pottery forms of roof furniture (see bibliography in Evison, Hodges and Hurst, 1974, 17, 'Medieval roof-fittings'), and identified medieval pottery water pipes (Dunning 1967, 86-89). The latter are of the form described in the Middle English translation of Palladius' treatise on husbandry. He says that the best form of conduit for transporting water is 'trumpes of clay by potters', one end being wide and the other narrow so that each may go a hands' breadth into the other (Lodge 1873, 177). More importantly he gives directions for sealing the joints, which may be of relevance when a length of pipe is found in situ; the joints should be cemented with lime and oil, or ashes and water should be allowed to run through them (Lodge 1873, 177). The use of lime in pottery containers is recorded in the Northumberland pipe roll for 1297-98 when 1000 earthen pots 'for casting lime', were purchased (Lilburn 1963, 115). The use of pottery vessels in one branch of the extensive building industry can demonstrate how widely pots were used. Painters played an important, but until recently, little recognised role in the building industry (Harvey 1975, 118-19, 159-72). Numerous treatises on colour preparation were copied and translated during the Middle Ages (Thorndyke 1959 and Thorndyke 1960). Collections of recipes (Clements 1933, Wright 1844a and Wright 1844b) describing the making of colouring mixtures occasionally mention earthen pots as containers for preparation of compounds (Wright 1844a, 65 and Wright 1844b, 152), while the painters themselves used earthen pots to contain the liquid compounds while working with them (St John Hope 1913, 196, 209, note 45).

The variety of industrial uses of pottery can perhaps best be demonstrated by the illustrations which accompany Georgius Agricola's De re Metalica, published in 1556 (Hoover and Hoover 1950). Although Agricola was drawing his information from contemporary German industries and crafts, many of these were employing traditional techniques widely used in Europe. References to pottery vessels in the accounts of expenditure on certain building and industrial sites can be ambiguous, for it is seldom clear whether the vessel is for industrial or for domestic use. The 1350-51 accounts for the forge at Tudely in Kent, however, contain under the heading of 'keeper of the forge with repairs to the forge structure', the purchase of '1 pot of clay bought for drinking water (olla lutea empta pro aqua potanda)' (Giuseppi 1913, 159). Many other references show that earthenware was used directly in various building, scientific and industrial processes. These uses may be reflected in the manufacture of specific forms, or more probably deposits of the process being left on the vessel's surface.

Many recipes describing prescriptions for medical, scientific or industrial uses specify that vessels made from certain material should be used in the preparation. In many cases it is probable that the material and form of vessel used was that which was employed in the first successful recipe, and that all aspects of that recipe were retained whether or not they had any real bearing on the outcome. The authors, and perhaps perpetrators of the recipes, were also aware of the restrictive properties of the material from which the vessels or objects were made. John Arderne, in his treatise on Fistulo in Ano, describes the effect of vitriol, or sulphuric acid on various properties, by comparing it with the effect of fire on different materials: 'lead or other metals such as brass or silver when put into the fire become molten, but the tile stones and earthen pots, when put in fire become hardened', (Power 1910, 80); modernised here. In Thomas

Norton's Ordinal of Alchemy, written c. 1490, he describes the use of instruments involved in the search for the philosopher's stone. When describing the properties of clay used for alchemy vessels, he has the following to say : 'Some vessels are made of lead, some vessels of clay, both retaining natural properties and fired very hard. A dead clay is one that has suffered great roasting. To prepare such a clay, mix in powder with good raw clay, and the pots will endure the fire and will not disintegrate. Many clays will fracture in the fire and these are not desirable' (Reidy 1975, 86); modernised here. Thomas then writes that not 'in any contray of englisch grownde' has been found workmen capable of making sufficiently hard and impervious pottery for alchemy, perhaps a reflection of the more general failure of the late-medieval English potter to adapt to specialised ceramic requirements. It is clear from the recipes that the effect of fire on vessels of certain materials was realised, and that earthen pots are frequently mentioned when the ingredients require heating in a closed oven.

Frequent mention is made in many contexts of the pott scarthe, a pottery sherd or fragment of an earthenware vessel. Medical and industrial recipes frequently mention sherds when compounds were either mixed or burnt on them. The pottery sherd is well documented in a wide range of written records of the Middle Ages, for commentators of the Bible make reference to them in Middle English texts (see for example, Bramley 1884, 74). They are referred to in Walter of Bibbesworth's important early 14th-century English-French language teaching glossary (Wright 1857, I, 171), and a pot sherde forms the subject of humour in John Skelton's early 16th-century play Magnyfycence (Ramsey 1908, 66). Fragments of pottery heavily burnt and encrusted with residues may not, therefore, form part of a broken vessel, but may have been used in their own right. (I have previously found these in pottery chemical assemblages and regarded them as fragments of broken pot which were thought to have become associated with waste from the processes with which the workshop was involved).

Other Uses

Medieval earthen pots were buried in the ground for a variety of reasons. A number of whole pots have been unearthed in situations which suggested that they were purposely buried. The most obvious use is as a container for a coin hoard. Others were buried in an upright position adjacent to, or under medieval foundations - either as a luck charm or to ward off evil spirits, (Hinton 1968, 70). The interpretation of other purposely buried pots is not as clear cut. They are frequently found buried in an upright position with their rims level with the ground surface, and have been found in a wide variety of locations and circumstances. A complete shelly-ware cooking pot of 13th/14th-century date was found at Upper Denby, Denby Dale (South Yorkshire) in a purpose-made stone-lined cist - (pot in Tolston Memorial Museum, Huddersfield; information from John Gilks). Two cooking pots were found in a shallow pit adjacent to a 14th-century farm complex at Sadler's Wood, Lewknor, Oxfordshire (Chambers 1974, 162, 164, fig. 9, nos. 1 - 2 and plan 151, fig. 3); a buried cooking-pot has come from Gungate in Tamworth (pot and its contents in the Castle Museum, Tamworth; information from P.R. Field, through Dr. S. Wrathmell); four buried pots in various position in shallow pits were found on the kiln site at Lyveden, Northamptonshire (Bryant and Steanr 1971, plan facing 16); and a pot was found sunk beside a hearth in a 13th/14th-century house at Dinna Clerks, Devon (Beresford and Hurst, 1971, 98), possibly for domestic purposes. While the pots or their locations can seldom explain their presence in the ground, documentary evidence can provide some reasons why these and other pots found in similar circumstances may have been buried. A large number of medieval recipes describe either single vessels or units of two or three vessels on top of each

other, buried in pits of varying sizes, but usually just large enough to contain the pots, for anything up to a year to allow fermentation of the ingredients to take place, (for a range of descriptions see: Ogden 1938, 64; Fleischlacker 1894, 195; and Power 1910, 96). It is probable that many of the reasons which prevented people from reclaiming buried coin hoards, could be applied to these vessels and perhaps explain why some of the pots remained in the ground. Medical and industrial recipes frequently describe processes which require a distillation action, where an earthen pot is placed in the ground buried to its rim. An earthen pot with a hole, or holes pierced in its base, containing the elements to be distilled, is then placed over the pot in the ground, and a fire lit around the upper vessel, heating the contents and allowing them to distill into the lower pot. The firing process frequently lasted for a month. Such a process is illustrated in some detail and described by Agricola when he writes of the making of sulphur, (Hoover and Hoover 1950, described 578-84, and illustrated 582). Where pots are found in undisturbed ground, and there are signs of severe burning adjacent to the pot rim, it is likely that the vessel has formed the lower part of a double unit used for the distillation of some liquid.

Palladius provides evidence for the digging of much larger pits, when he describes a method of determining the presence of water. A pit three feet broad and five feet deep should be dug at night, into which a vessel of either lead or brass should be placed, covered with a hurdle and mould and left overnight. If the inside of the pot was damp next morning, then water was near at hand. He also adds that an unbaked earthen pot placed in the pit would become softened (Lodge 1873, 174). While it is probable that where attempts were successful, evidence of the pit might be destroyed if a well was dug on the site, other attempts may have been unsuccessful, and the pit and its contents abandoned. It is probable that there are many other less obvious reasons why pots were buried in the ground, and it is likely that further detailed study of the documentary sources could identify some of them.

References to containers in other materials can occasionally help in the identification or interpretation of the use of a pottery vessel, particularly those used in the home. At least two probable explanations can be provided from documentary evidence for cooking pot or bowl forms which have no signs of external sooting or blackening, but are heavily blackened and sooted internally. Various classes of inventory frequently describe vessels called 'fire-pans'. For example a London will of 1386 contained a Ferpanne, (Sharpe 1890, 343); an inventory of goods distrained for non-payment in 1367 included '1 iron pan (patella) for putting fire in', (Thomas 1932, 73), valued at 3s. 4d., and a similar distraint inventory in 1477 included 'also a fire pan to bear fire in', (Myers 1969, 495). These were vessels made from brass or iron used to contain hot ashes or embers of a fire between a pair of fire side-irons, used to transport fire about the house, or from building to building. It is probable that many of them were used in the carrying of embers to light portable braziers, which were common in all but the poorest households. It is also likely that these metal fire pits were used as a container for the fire embers of braziers overnight, used instead of a curfew which covered insitu the hot embers of an open hearth or wall hearth. A mid 15th-century medical recipe gives an alternative reason for internally blackened pots. This describes a remedy for piles, where a hot pan, whose material is unfortunately not mentioned, filled with coals, was placed under a 'stool with a siege', that is a stool with a central hole in the seat, and the hot air allowed to rise, presumably to ease the affected parts ! (Dawson 1934, 100, no. 217). It can be suggested that pottery vessels of cooking pot or bowl form, were adapted to serve many other uses, for which vessels in metal or glass were purposely made.

Medieval pottery, its manufacture, and the people who made it, were frequently

used either in metaphors or similies in medieval writings, providing in many cases evidence not found in more direct references. Medieval recipes and treatises contain a wide variety of information. The late 14th-century Middle English translation of Lanfranc's Science of Cirurgie, describes the slow burning effect of a stone in the bladder and likens it to the firing of tiles in a kiln, described in some detail (Fleischlacker 1894, 273-74). The Bible contains various references to pots, particularly Psalms 2, lines 9, 11 and Jeremiah 28, lines 1 - 7. Middle English translations, and commentaries in various dialects provide a wide range of regional variations from the same source. One of the many examples which can demonstrate this is in the writings of two commentators, one from the north, the other from the south of England. Richard Rolle, the 14th-century hermit from Hampole near Doncaster, uses the northern dialect term 'lome' to describe earthenware vessels in his commentaries on the Psalms, (Bramley 1844, 11-12), while William of Shoreham, from Kent, uses the southern term 'crock' in his early 14th-century religious poems (Konrath 1902, 103). The 14th-century translations of the Bible associated with John Wycliffe (Forshall and Madden 1850), and its various subsequent versions, is of particular interest in the terms used to describe the different forms of pottery vessel. The medieval potter was not regarded very highly during the Middle Ages, and because of the nature of his craft, often worked either in isolation, or on the edges of communities. This low status is reflected in vernacular literature, particularly proverbs and songs, where the potter and his wares are frequently the subject of ridicule. In drawing such contrasts, medieval writers have preserved aspects of the potter's work, methods of firing, and products - even down to a detailed description of the tools he used, which have not been recorded in more conventional sources.

Lids are frequently mentioned, particularly in industrial and medical recipes where it was necessary to seal the vessel completely during the preparation of the prescription. The material from which the lid was made, and hence the form of the lid used, would depend on the use to which the pot was subjected. Intense heat in a closed oven would demand a pottery or stone lid for example. These practicalities were appreciated by the 14th-century English surgeon John Arderne when he defined the reasons for placing ingredients in pots of different materials, (Power 1910, 80). The most frequently mentioned materials - wood, linen and parchment, in that order, are those which would decay in the ground and hence leave little or no trace of their former existence. Wooden lids are particularly well documented, and some appear to have been of sufficient value to be recorded in domestic inventories. Pottery lids are rarely mentioned, and this is underlined by their virtual absence as archaeological finds. Linen is frequently, and parchment less commonly mentioned as a form of pot covering. Occasional references describe covers of these materials being tightly bound around the mouth of the pot; the ties were probably placed below the rim of the vessel, possibly explaining why pottery containers with sharply everted rims are found in distillation assemblages. Covers formed from 'tile stones' are commonly mentioned in medical recipes, but these as yet cannot be adequately explained, unless they were natural laminated stone slates shaped to fit the pot rim; perhaps this is one of the explanations for some of the flat, round, stone discs so common on sites of all periods in the north of England. Lid sealing agents used in association with solid lids such as those made from pottery or stone, are frequently mentioned, particularly in recipes of various types. The most common matrix in medical recipes was clay, but horse-dung, lime and wax were also used, occasionally in combination. A lute of thick batter made from eggs and flour was sometimes used to seal pots used in cooking, (see above), while lutum sapientum, a term used by alchemists for the material used to seal their vessels was made from flour, white of egg, chalk and clay. Occasionally the thickness of the seal is specified, in some instances up to half an inch thick. Most of the materials

used should leave some evidence on the rim or upper part of the vessel. There would also be many non-industrial uses for lids on earthenware containers, where the lid would simply sit on the rim top or within a specially made lid-seating. In these cases wear marks on the top or side of the rim may provide evidence for the use of a lid.

Documentary sources can provide much evidence on the features of the pots themselves. The numerous references to earthen vessels 'of a gallon size', may suggest that there was a certain amount of standardization in the volume of some vessels - a suggestion which may be tested by measuring the liquid content of some complete examples. Parts of the pot were important in particular circumstances. For example it was important that the rims of vessels used in the preparation of industrial and medical prescriptions were flat and smooth on the top to ensure a tight seal when the lid or pot covering was placed over the vessel. What are now known as handles by archaeologists, were termed 'ears' in the medieval period. It is clear from the many references to them that they were used not only to hold and lift the vessesl, but also as a means of attaching the lid. Small intermediate handles, termed 'lateral handles' by modern students, were probably used in the same way. Many medical recipes frequently specify the use of a 'glasid' or 'glasen' earthen pot, a glazed pot - the documentary evidence complementing the evidence from the vessels themselves for the use of internal glaze.

There are many references to ornate earthen pots of different types. These range from ii stonding cuppes of erthe the toon keverid, two of four earthen cups referred to in the will of John Baret of Bury St Edmunds in 1463, (Tymms 1850, 23), to two 'painted pots' valued at 2d. occuring in the distrained goods of a bankrupt London merchant in 1393, (Thomas 1932, 211). A number of the references occur in royal inventories, but many refer to pots in private hands, complementing the evidence from fieldwork that ornate, and probably European pottery was being used by the middle ranks of English medieval society. Specific mention of 'pots of stone' are not uncommon, particularly during the 15th-century, referring to stoneware vessels, which were imported into this country from a number of European centres from the 13th-century. A number of references to stoneware pots occur in documents associated with East Anglia, which is not altogether coincidental, for the ports of East Anglia acted as some of the major through-fares for importing pottery into this country during the Middle Ages.

Reference to the purchase of earthenware pots can occasionally provide evidence for the centre where the pots were made. Some are casual mentions, such as the 12d. recorded in the account roll of the executors of Roger de Northampton in 1367, referring to the purchase of ollis (de) Luc, possibly referring to pots made at Locko near Spondon in Derbyshire (Cox 1886, 226), or the 12d. paid to the wife of Nicholas atte Mere for clay pots recorded in an account roll dealing with arrangements after the death of Sir John Cobham in 1408 (Maxwell-Lyte 1922, 342). In other cases the statement is more positive, as for example, in the household accounts of Sir John Howard in 1466, where there is recorded a memorandum that Wateken, butcher of Stoke, possibly butcher to the Howard household, delivered Sir John's money 'to one of the potters of Horkesley, 4s. 6d. to pay himself and his fellows for 11 dozen pots' (Botfield 1841, 326). A memorandum in William Worcester's Itinwries includes much more detail. It records a note to John Mey, a waxmaked of Wynchestrete (now Wine Street in Bristol), requesting that one of his children ask the potter of Hanham to make two pots similar to those which the potter had already made for William with the exception that the mouth of the pots be $\frac{1}{4}$ inch narrower 'according to this wooden measure whose breadth the mouth is to have', (Harvey 1969, 76, 77). William was ordering more pots from the potter at Hanham Abbots, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Bristol, providing a template for the potter to produce a mouth diameter of accurate measurement. The implications of this

reference are wide ranging, perhaps the most important point being that William required vessels of specific mouth measurements, implying that they were to be used in conjunction with something that William already possessed - for example to fit an ornate lid, or as replacement vessels in a pottery chemical unit; it is unfortunate that we are not given the reason why William required the pots. These and other references supplement information from other sources about production centres. They show that customers bought pots direct from kiln sites and that some manufacturing sites were worked by more than one potter, as at Horkesley, while William Worcester's memorandum demonstrates that potters were asked to produce pots to specific dimensions - in this case the customer providing a template measurement for the potter to work to.

Accounts provide ample evidence for the direct purchase of earthenware from the potter, whether that be from the kiln site or from a market stall. It is demonstrated from the vernacular documents that the potter went round hawking his wares. The itinerant potter was a disguise taken on by a number of well-known historical figures in medieval literature (Keen 1961, 18-19, 23-24, 56, 73); another reflection of the low status of the potter during the medieval period. Descriptions of these disguises provide yet another source of information on the medieval potter and how he distributed his products. Two examples can perhaps show the value of such descriptions. The De gestis Herwardi Saxonis describes how Hereward the Wake entered the camp of William I during the campaign in the Isle of Ely. Hereward changed his clothes, cut his hair and beard, and put on a dirty coat, and after acquiring the potter's wares, entered the camp of William shouting 'Pots ! Pots ! good pots and jars ! first class earthenware', (modernised passage in Hassall 1962, 154-55). One of the most descriptive accounts occurs in the ballads of Robin Hood and the potter, surviving in a corrupt text of c. 1500 which suggests that the scribe was either carelessly copying an earlier text or was writing down an oral version (for discussion and latest edition of text see Dobson and Taylor 1976, 123-32). The ballad describes how Robin challenged a potter, whom Little John had come across at Wentbridge, (south-east of Pontefract, West Yorkshire). After exchanging clothes, Robin sets out with his cart of pots for Nottingham. There he sells the pots for 2d. less than their true value. He sent the last five pots to the wife of the Sheriff of Nottingham, who, the ballad says, was so pleased that she said that when the potter was in the area again, she would buy more pots from him. While the events described probably never took place, ballads embody facts familiar to the listening audience. It is therefore likely that potters did travel long distances with carts full of pottery for sale.

The use of documentary evidence for medieval pottery is not restricted to an understanding of the industry, manufacturing sites and the uses of pottery. Tenurial structure and the management of the administrative units of the township and parish played a major role in the siting of production centres and the distribution of the pottery. The pattern of the medieval road system, by which the pottery was distributed, was determined by necessary access to features of the landscape whose organisation and distribution were governed by the manor and parish, and additionally in the north of England, the township. The density of settlement patterns would be determined by the farming economy of a region, which in turn was determined by natural forces such as soil, climate, geography and altitude. Recent work on medieval settlement has shown that many more minor settlements existed over much of the country in the rich crop growing areas, but even so the pattern of individual settlement would be much greater in areas of pastoral farming in the upland areas. Both the road system and pattern of settlement in an area were important to the distribution of pottery. In the past, medieval pottery has been studied from the pottery itself. In recent years, various branches of the sciences have been employed in its analysis and interpretation. Let us hope that the many uses of the records of the medieval

period will make a similar impact on medieval pottery studies in the near future, and work towards Christopher Taylor has termed 'total archaeology', for medieval landscape studies.

Finally, one of the more outlandish uses of medieval pottery was as a weapon, not purpose-made objects of war like 17th-century grenades, but ordinary domestic pots used perhaps in a moment of anger, either to throw at, or to hit somebody with. The Luttrell Psalter, written and illustrated in East Anglia probably during the period c. 1335-40, illustrates two monkeys fighting with earthen jugs. One monkey is in the process of hitting the other over the head with a jug that has shattered into a number of pieces. (Millar 1932, plate 58). The reality of such a situation is demonstrated in the Elton court rolls in 1306, when a jury decided that Richard Schackelok 'broke one jar upon the head of Gilbert the merchant, in consequence whereof the same Gilbert justly raised the hue and cry upon him' (Ratcliff 1946, 122). In this case the recipient of the blow lived, but in later examples of pots being used as weapons, the end result is more serious, as shown by two 16th-century deaths in Nottinghamshire recorded in the coroner's rolls. In 1532 William Bakon, a Carmelite friar of Nottingham was found to have killed the prior of the Friary there following an arguement, by hitting the prior on the left side of his head with a yerthyn potte, which William held in his right hand, causing a wound two inches long which penetrated the prior's brain (Hunnisett 1969, 57, no. 102). In the second case, in 1546 at Newark on Trent, an erthen pott was thrown during an arguement, resulting in the death by stabbing of one of the parties involved, (Hunnisett 1969, 133-34, no. 279). It is probable that such fatalities caused by, or as a result of pottery vessels, did occur during the Middle Ages, and while such a use will never be identified from the pot itself, it is not too much to hope that human blood was spilt on the fracture of such pots during the more forceful attacks ! Even with the identification of human blood on the cross section of pots, such a use can only be one alternative, for it is likely that some vessels, now broken, were used to store blood derived from blood-letting, or that derived from the menstrual cycle of a maiden, the uses of which are occasionally mentioned as an ingredient in medical recipes. The fragments would produce similar evidence on analysis as a vessel used to hit someone over the head. While all this sounds a bit far-fetched, such extended interpretations are made possible by seeing what the documentary evidence has to offer for the uses of medieval pottery.

CONCLUSIONS

A wide range of printed documents have been sampled for the various uses of medieval pottery. So much useful information has been obtained that one is sufficiently encouraged to examine certain sources more systematically, and to extend into unpublished material, particularly for the various types of accounts and treatises. Although there are many references to earthen pots, there are relatively few which state the use of the vessel or give any details about it. That some of the more ambiguous references refer to earthen pots can be suggested by the context of the reference and the size of other pots referred to can be indicated by their price. There are many problems in the relationship between a name given in a document and the shape or use of the vessel. Different names were given to some vessels of the same shape if the material from which they were made was different. Other pottery forms were known by a number of different names, some of which were only regional in use. It is hoped that many of these terminological problems will be resolved as the work progresses. Many of the references occur in seemingly unproductive material and are individually insignificant, but when collected together they can provide a rich source of information about aspects of pots, the people who made them, how they were made and what they were used for. Each of the topics discussed above, and many of the

bland statements made without qualification, will be amplified and developed when the work is finished. Clearly much needs to be done, and not even the tip of the iceberg has been uncovered. This interim statement has attempted to show the wealth of information that can be obtained from documentary sources about medieval pottery and how it was used. The substance and extent of this evidence will be presented in my post-graduate work, in preparation. It would be foolhardy to think that ony one work, no matter how extensive, could do justice to the material. All I can hope to show are the numerous avenues along which other people may wish to tread in a search for a wider understanding of the most common artifact recovered by medieval archaeologists.

Postscript: Little unpublished material has been examined so far. If anyone has come accros references to the use of pots, particularly in account rolls, while examining unpublished sources, I would be most grateful for any information which would be properly acknowledged when the work is written up.

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Le but de cet article est d'illustrer par de nombreux exemples tirés dans la littérature médiévale l'abondance d'évidence documentaire qui y existe pour les différents usages, domestiques, médicinales, ainsi qu'industriels, auxquels la céramique était employée, et de montrer que l'échantillon de formes et de fonctions a ce temps-là était bien plus large que l'étude du materiel lui-même ou les présentes terminologies limitées ne suggèrent. L'auteur discute ensuite, à l'avance d'une étude plus detaillée, de nouvelles perspectives qui resultent pour la recherche plutôt socio-économique: l'influence de l'organisation des fonds de terre et agricole sur l'emplacement des fours, sur l'économique de la production, sur la vente des produits et peut-être même l'influence de la loi de l'offre et de la demande sur l'évolution des formes et des types. Etudié concurrement avec le témoignage du materiel lui-même et de l'analyse scientifique, l'auteur constate que l'évidence contenue dans les documents médiévaux devrait nous rapprocher de l'idéal de'l'archéologie totale'.

Dieser Beitrag befasst sich mit der neuen Einsicht, die durch das Studium mittelalterlichen Dokumente in den verschieden häuslichen, medizinischen und industriellen Benutzungen der mittelalterlichen Keramik und daneben in den Einfluss sozialen und ekonomischen umstande auf die hagebestimmung die Entwicklung und den Produktionsvertrieb der mitterlaterlichen keramikindustrien ermöglicht wird. Die reichlichen Beweise für das erste werden durch umfangreiche Beispiele erläutert, die Möglichkeiten des zweites weiden im voraus eines ausführlicheren Bericht hervorgehoben, während die Notwendigkeit des gleichzeitigen Studium der Zeugnisse dieser Dokumente, des Fundmaterials und der wissenschaftlichen Analyse wird nicht vernachlässigt, sondern dem Leser als einen noch unentwickelten grossen Schritt zum 'Gesamtarchäologie' aufnötigt.

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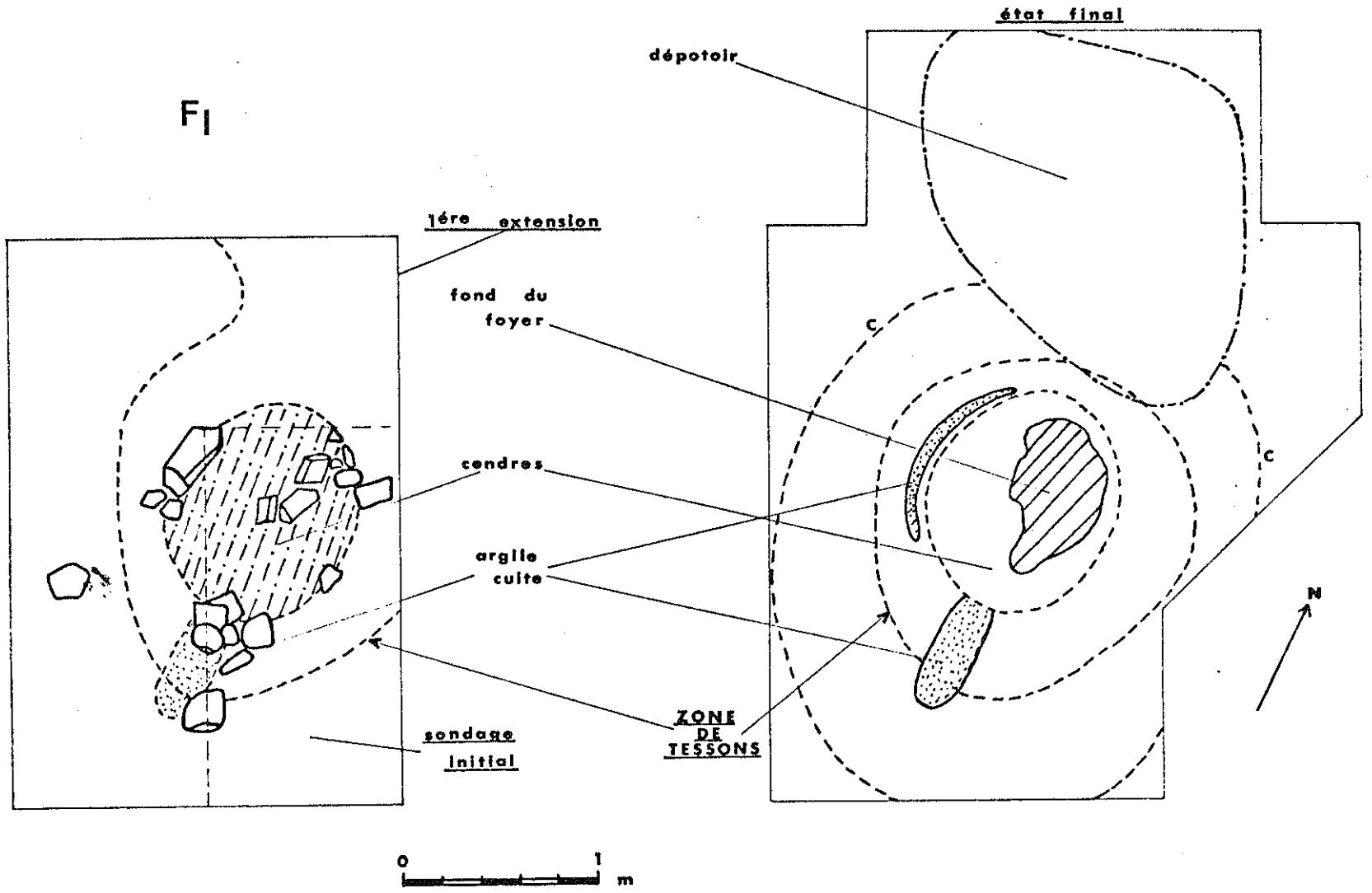

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