METHODS OF CATALOGING POTTERY IN INNER LONDON: AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

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In 1576 John Stow acquired one or two vessels from the Roman cemetery at Spitalfields and described these curiosities for future generations.[1] He thereby became the first in an evolving tradition of collection and publication now over 400 years old. With this long period of evolution in mind it is evident that an understanding of the development of pottery studies is not only of intrinsic interest and of use in the interpretation of old collections, records and publications, but is of fundamental importance to an understanding of current practice.

The collections and catalogues of London's pottery are now enormous in scope and size and well over 200 notes and articles have been published.[2] It is therefore impossible to do more than to provide an outline of the main problems, trends and discoveries. The subject matter has been difficult to arrange because the threads of development are so closely interwoven and although the paper is divided into a number of topics whose development is followed more or less chronologically, information relevant to these topics has been omitted to avoid repetition if it appears elsewhere in the paper.

In the absence of a more broadly based history on this subject it is often hard to assess the importance of local developments or how closely London has reflected national and international trends. It is, however, perfectly clear that what has gone on in London ought properly to be considered in a much wider framework. To do this systematically would be an enormous task beyond the writer's resources and this paper is offered in the hope that it will encourage others to take an interest in the subject.

Collections

The initial spur to the collection of London antiquities began with the rebuilding of the city after the great fire of 1666.[3] This brought a large number of relics to light at a time when interest in antiquarian learning was on the increase and so gave rise to a long local tradition of collecting in which whole pots and samian (especially if stamped or decorated) were particularly sought. As collecting spread in popularity, particularly in the mid-19th century, it became usual to reward workmen for handing over their finds. Unfortunately this gave rise to a black market with the result that collectors were forced to big against each other and the provenance of pots was put in doubt when they changed hands prior to collection. There are even instances of saleable whole pots being destroyed to keep market prices high.[4] This mode of collection lasted until the post-war period[5] when the introduction of larger mechanical excavators reduced the chance of saving objects from destruction. In the latter phase, however, the private collectors were replaced by dealers working for the Guildhall and London Museums who were known to be bidding against each other for the same finds.[6]

Pre-eminent among the early collectors is the figure of John Conyers, an apothecary active in the late 17th century, whose greatest contribution lies in the discovery of Roman pottery kilns under St. Paul's cathedral.[7] When Conyers died his collection was obtained by Dr. John Woodward whose museum is reported to have contained a "vast variety" of pots and included some samian moulds from the St. Paul's site.[8] These would be of very considerable importance if they had not been auctioned along with the rest of the collection in a 33 day long sale after Woodward's death. The only record of the museum is to be found in an "extremely slight and unsatisfactory"[9] sale catalogue written in Latin, and it is an apt reflection of the times that the first published catalogue of a London collection should have been formed in this way. The museum's fate was by no means untypical and recurrences were inevitable in the total absence of any permanent institution to which pottery and other finds could be sent. Although Sir Hans Sloane's collection of Roman pots remained intact when his collection was bought for the nation in 1753, the British Museum, as it became, was generally unwilling to accept this sort of material until the 1850s when under a great deal of outside pressure they purchased the Museum of London Antiquities of Charles Roach Smith at the bargain price of £2,000[10] and so saved it from what Roach Smith called "the grave of science—a public auction".[11] The problem did not even stop there and it is interesting to note that one of the original aims of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, formed in 1855, was the creation of a museum.[12] Eventually the collection begun by the Guildhall Library in the 1830s grew so large that the City Corporation was forced to face its responsibilities, and when the Guildhall Library was rebuilt (it re-opened in 1872) an exhibition room for a museum was provided in its basement.

In the mid-19th century the problem of preserving antiquities for study was merely a matter of persuading central government and local councils of their duties towards antiquarian learning, but in the 18th century the problem was compounded because the antiquarians were deeply divided over what they should be studying.[13] The rift was most apparent amongst members of the Society of Antiquaries who were undecided as to whether they should study the past to cultivate the curious and beautiful or to wrest historical facts from material evidence. The first volume of Archaeologia, published in 1770, reflects both schools of thought and one Fellow at least (Horace Walpole) was horrified by the "cartload of bricks and rubbish and Roman ruins they have piled together".[14] His belief that this sort of archaeology would bring the science into disrepute seemed to be confirmed in 1772 when a West End play portrayed a Nabob visiting the Society of Antiquaries preceded by four black porters bearing a variety of old junk, beetles and "petrifactions", including a green chamber pot described as a sarcophagus or Roman urn dug up from the "Temple of Concord".[15] It must be said, however, that to judge from the number of green glazed Roman pots which occur in early publications, the playwright's jibe was not without foundation.[16]

The Nabob's purpose in attending the Society of Antiquaries was of course to exhibit his treasures. The short talks which members gave about their specimens formed a key part of the meetings and fulfilled an important role in the dissemination of information at a time when there were few museums or publications. The practice was adopted by the local societies in the 19th century. Records of these viewings came to be published in their proceedings and received the wrath of Haverfield in 1911, who complained that the published notes recorded the exhibitors more than the exhibits,[17] but they must at least have encouraged a continued interest in collecting.

As far as London's archaeology is concerned, the mid-19th century is dominated by the figure of Charles Roach Smith, a pharmacist who devoted his best years with great personal

sacrifice to the establishment of the Museum of London Antiquities. This eventually consisted of about 5,000 pieces and included "one of the largest and most representative collections of Roman pottery in Europe from any one site, at least as regards the terra-sigillata wares".[18] Unlike some of the earlier antiquaries he considered that "works of clay are among the most important",[19] and studied them as broad dating evidence, evidence of occupation and activity and, for the first time, as evidence for trade.[20] He was also the first to make a policy of collecting medieval pottery although in contrast with Roman pottery, he found it "comparatively rare and completely void of beauty, taste or sightliness,"[21] a view which seems to have been almost universal until 1940,[22] and is probably responsible for the lack of collecting lamented by Hobson in 1902.[23]

By the early years of the 20th century, Pitt Rivers' stratigraphic method of excavation was beginning to spread and pottery seen on site was cited as dating evidence,[24] although layer groups do not seem to have been collected and systematically analysed in London until 1915.[25] Before the Second World War there were practically no controlled excavations and collecting was extremely haphazard. Although the approach was increasingly stratigraphic, the pottery still consisted mostly of groups collected from workmen or poked from sections to provide dating evidence during observations on building sites. Little, if any, of this material has survived due to inadequate storage facilities (leaking rooves and other forms of water damage were responsible for destroying many of the paper bags and cardboard boxes in which it was stored) and to the disruptions of the last war.[26]

Between 1940 and 1945 large tracts of the Cities of London and Southwark were laid waste by enemy action and archaeologists, quick to realise that a unique opportunity was presented, responded by organising a series of small but systematic excavations. In the City of London these were led by Professor Grimes who aimed to make at least one cutting on each site available and produced a wealth of information now published in summary form.[27] Kathleen Kenyon carried out a similar programme in Southwark.[28] These excavations provide the first stratigraphic sequences of pottery groups to have survived, as far as one can tell, relatively intact. The practice of recording whether or not any pottery was discarded only became necessary with the application of statistical methods which, although used in the early 1960s, were not introduced to Inner London until the end of that decade.[29]

In the 1970s large scale excavations in central London have become possible through the establishment of Archaeological Units for Southwark, the City of London and six Inner-London boroughs. These are producing long stratigraphic sequences of pottery which, especially in the case of the Museum of London's Department of Urban Archaeology (hereafter referred to as the D. U. A.) are often in a remarkably good state of preservation due to waterlogged conditions of burial. The quality of the research and publications has also much improved with the introduction of full-time professional pottery specialists. The large amount of incoming material has forced the D. U. A. to establish a comprehensive representative collection of pottery fabrics and both the D. U. A. and the Southwark Unit are building up small collections of pottery thin-sections.

Mention must also be made of the increasing number of kiln-site discoveries which have been made in recent years, beginning with the Roman sites at Brockley Hill identified shortly after the Second World War. Roman kilns have also been discovered at Highgate Wood and in the City of London.[30] Medieval kilns have been identified in Surrey and Hert-

fordshire and post-medieval industries have been investigated at Southwark, Lambeth, Vauxhall, Fulham and Woolwich.[31]

The Development of Terminology

The development of a specialised terminology has obviously been of crucial importance to the study of pottery and therefore needs careful consideration. The topic will be examined under the five headings of Fabric Description, Common Names, Form Names, Illustrative Techniques and the Use of Parallels. The discussion is illustrated by Table 1, which consists of a series of catalogue descriptions in chronological order, and Fig. 1 which presents a series of pot drawings.

Fabric Description

17th and 18th century fabric descriptions are more or less confined to the colour and occasionally the coarseness of the "clay", "earth" or "ware". There was no advance until 1848 when Tite[32] adopted a classification system devised by Brongniart, the French pottery historian, which took account of the type of clay, firing temperature, hardness and surface treatment.[33] His general approach was adopted in this country by de le Beche and Reeks of the Museum of Practical Geology whose work on glazes is particularly important,[34] although after Tite, Brongniart's classification had little influence on archaeologists. It was, for example, entirely ignored by Roach Smith,[35] probably because his main aim was not to classify pottery on objective criteria, but to refer different varieties "to the localities in which they were largely ... fabricated."[36]

The first real incentive to pay more attention to fabrics and to describe them more fully came in London with the discovery of the Brockley Hill kiln-site in 1947 (although museum catalogues occasionally mention inclusions prior to this date). The new kiln finds re-exposed the possibility of dating pottery by relating it to a kiln-source on the basis of its fabric[37] and as a result there was an attempt to give more detailed descriptions in the site reports (see for example Table 1, No. vi).

From 1971 the Southwark Unit began to publish long catalogues of pottery and a need for a wider range of terms and for more standardisation became apparent. By 1972,[38] in addition to the more usual observation on hardness, general colour and surface treatment, they were describing the fracture, texture, presence (or absence) of grits and grains visible with the naked eye, and the colour as seen in the fracture where this was different from the rest of the body (see e.g. Table 1, No. vii). There was a note-worthy attempt to define this terminology in a list of conventions detailed by Evans in 1974[39] which has since been used by a number of writers outside the Southwark Unit. More recent developments have resulted from the application of low-power microscopic examination and petrological terminology following the work of David Peacock.[40] The D. U. A. has adapted Peacock's guide to visible inclusions, and, using 20x microscopes, is making the identity of fabric a basic unit of classification. The possible use of computer cataloguing at some stage in the future has changed the emphasis in our catalogues from "conventions" to "keywords".[41] We have, therefore, come some way towards a common language whereby independent workers will be able to describe their pottery fabrics in terms that can be widely recognised, enabling them, for example, to determine the kiln source of a sherd from a published description (see e.g. Table 1, No. viii).

Common Names

These are defined as names applied to vessels with outstandingly similar characteristics thought to indicate that the vessels were produced within the same geographical and chronological limits. Care should be taken with some terms which started their life as Common Names but are now really technological labels; for example, "Delft" has now been applied to all tin-glazed pottery.

The first Common Name in general use was samian which had been introduced by 1832.[42] It was, however, Charles Roach Smith who became the first actively to invent them. He did this as a result of his study of the kilns at Upchurch, Holt and Fordingbridge which resulted in his observation that "the ware manufactured at each of these localities presents many peculiarities showing that local circumstances, then as now, influenced the general character of the fictile productions of different places".[43] Unfortunately his descriptive language was not sufficiently advanced to allow him to describe this "general character" in enough detail and his term "Upchurch Ware" for example, came to be applied indiscriminately to anything from poppy-head beakers to native copies of samian decorated forms[44] (see e.g. Table 1, No. iv). Nevertheless, the number of Common Names continued to grow and by 1908 it was possible for the British Museum to group vessels according to "ware" names in its catalogue of Roman pottery.[45]

A common mistake of early 20th century writers was that they often only described the colour and appearance of vessels for which "ware" names were not available, with the result that their objectivity in reporting was reduced and the validity and meaning of some of the Common Names is no longer apparent. Another error lay in the tendency to link pottery fabrics too closely with a single kiln source. Conversely the term "fabric" was often used as an equivalent to the Common Name, to describe the character of a whole industry.[46] This loose definition of the term began to be altered by the early Brockley Hill excavations when it became apparent that vessels were being produced in a number of distinct fabrics and that some of these were subject to change during the life of the production centre, and so could be used for dating.[47]

Prior to c. 1959, post-Roman pottery was usually categorised according to form, date and technological group (i.e. stoneware, "Delft", Slipware, etc.). However, with the work of Dunning and Hurst in the late 50s the whole emphasis in the study of this pottery changed and became centred on the Common Name;[48] a change which coincided and was probably linked with an interest in the statistical analysis of pottery[49] and resulted in a rapid multiplication of the number of Common Names in use. This happened because in order to carry out a quantified analysis, every sherd must be categorised according to the same criteria. As the basic unit was now the Common Name, this implied the generation of new Common Names for material which could not necessarily be related to a particular centre of production and for which a regional distribution could only be assumed pending further excavations.

Several problems have arisen through the multiplication of Common Names. Firstly, without an adequate descriptive language it has been very difficult, if not impossible, to define a Common Name sufficiently well to enable sherds to be categorised without a) one to one comparison with an established example (which is difficult in the absence of anything other than an embryonic National type-series) or b) consulting the originator of the term in person. This second option has worked well, up to a point, through the good offices of a small number of senior archaeologists who, due to the nature of their official duties, have been able to spend some of their time travelling around the country identifying new

discoveries. Unfortunately, one or two of these well-known figures have died in recent months taking a wealth of learning and experience with them. Reliance on the subjective opinions of an ogligarchy of recognised pottery specialists has also had the tendency to turn pottery studies into a closed shop and has discouraged a continuing debate as to how pottery with no known kiln source should be categorised. It is reasonable to accept an opinion that a particular sherd comes from a group of kilns at, for example, Hatfield, but a specialist ought to consider the evidence in depth if he is told that his pottery is "Hatfield Type" ware, particularly if it is known to have been made at Welwyn. An alternative categorisation might be more appropriate, particularly as more material comes to light.

The second main problem with Common Names concerns the level at which they operate. In other words, in categorising sherds of unknown kiln source how many categories should be made, which minor differences should be ignored and which are liable to be diagnostic? In 1975 Thorn chose a simple solution when reporting on the late medieval pottery from the Customs House Site.[50] This he divided into four categories based on colour, each of which were equated with a geographical region, e.g. White Ware (from Surrey) and Grey Ware (from Surrey and Hertfordshire). This is of course a true guide at a rule of thumb level, but although the illustrations are valuable future workers will find the catalogues of less use now that it has been demonstrated that Surrey and Hertfordshire grey wares are readily distinguishable with the aid of a hand lens.[51]

The D. U. A. 's solution lies in its Pottery Fabric Type-Series in which the fabrics are classified at two distinct levels: "Common Name", and "Fabric Type", each Common Name being composed of several Fabric Types. These are determined by subdividing pottery at about the most refined level at which standardisation between independent workers can be achieved using the limited tools available. As it happens, this coincides with the optical limits for immediate examination; some sort of section must be prepared if the pot is to be viewed at higher magnifications. Every Fabric Type is defined using a limited number of key-words and an example of each type is readily available for inspection in a series of shallow-drawered cabinets. The exact position of each type sherd in these cabinets is determined by a descriptive alphabetical code, so that to find a parallel for a "new" sherd, all one has to do is to work out its code and to look in the appropriate cabinet and drawer.[52]

This method has three advantages: a) it enables parallels to be found much more easily since it is possible to look for an <u>exact</u> match for a "new" sherd (where sherds typical of each Common Name have been stored together it is easy to miss parallels since the range of variation within each Common Name can be quite wide). b) As more information becomes available it can be incorporated into the records without having to re-examine the pottery. For example: it is likely that some varieties of pottery thought to be from a single source, will turn out to have come from two, necessitating a change in their Common Name. At London, provided that the differences between the fabrics from these sources are readily observable, they will have been catalogued separately at the Fabric Type level, keeping the number of changes to a minimum. c) Human error occasionally results in a fabric being classified under the wrong Common Name; but again, when such a mistake is detected, it is relatively easy to correct the records. Despite these advantages the D. U. A. 's system can only provide a fully satisfactory long-term solution if all pottery reports include descriptions using a widely accepted terminology to allow comparison between reports, and if these are backed up by Type Series which can be correlated one with another.

One final point which must be made concerning Common Names is that although medieval pottery specialists have tended to use them as the basic divisions in their pottery reports for as long as twenty years, the same does not apply to Romanists, particularly in their treatment of coarse pottery. Here the tradition has developed along different lines due no doubt to the much wider range of forms and technologies and, in London at least, the volume of material. This has led to the use of form class and form type rather than fabric type for dating purposes, although recently this trend has been reversed. One interesting result of marrying this tradition with statistical methods may be seen in a report by Evans of 1974[53] in which the catalogue is followed by an analysis of the pottery by colour, temper, hardness and decoration. This is valuable as an objective account of the overall characteristics of the assemblage, but it entirely ignores questions about the industries which produced the vessels. The writer sees no justification for treating Roman material in a fundamentally different manner from medieval pottery and the D. U. A. uses exactly the same methods for pottery of all periods.

Form Names

Four types have been used:

1) Names from present-day vocabulary which are either terms used for modern vessels of similar shape e.g. mug, colander, etc., or

2) descriptive names e.g. bar-lip pottery or

3) names describing the supposed use of the pot e.g. cooking pot and drug jar.

4) Names thought to have been used for the vessels in antiquity, derived from manuscript sources e.g. Ollula and Tyg.

Most of the early antiquaries seem to have used terms applied to vessels in their everyday experience (see Table 1, No. ii), although the term "urn" was applied to more or less everything which did not have a constricted neck. Some cautiously described their finds as "pottery vessels" adding lengthy descriptions and interpretations.[54]

Names from Latin literature were applied to Roman vessels by Woodward as early as the beginning of the 18th century,[55] although his use of them appears to be exceptional. It was generally not until the middle third of the 19th century that archaeologists made the first serious attempts to interpret Roman and Classical remains in the light of surviving literary evidence.[56] The term amphora came into general use from 1832[57] and the list was extended by Tite in 1848, who, to make quite sure his readers understand him, often gives an alternative term (see e.g. Table 1, No. iii). Since this time, form names have both increased in number and become more uniform through the principal publications, although there have been attempts at standardisation and definition.[58] Nonetheless it is probably only through the use of illustrations that chaos has been avoided. A more detailed analysis of the expansion of Form Names would go far beyond the scope of this paper.

Illustrations

The earliest surviving illustrations are found in Conyers' Manuscript of 1677[59] and consist of simple small-scale sketches drawn in perspective as if viewed slightly from above to show both their profile and circular form (see e.g. Fig. 1a). This remained the most common viewpoint until the beginning of the 20th century.

The earliest published illustrations of pottery from London date from 1787[60] and appear to be engraved from pen and ink sketches. The results are easily recognisable although different scales are used on the same plates and none is stated, the sizes of the vessels being given in the catalogued description. Despite the work of Pitt Rivers, this remained the normal way of conveying the dimensions of a vessel until scaled drawings became the usual from about 1906 onwards.

Kempe's article of 1832[61] was supported by illustrations of a much higher standard. Some of the plates include scales for the first time in London, although they are, unfortunately, incorrect. The report is probably the first to provide a pot-section (see Fig. 1b) and to list potters' marks, which are even illustrated to allow for comparison of dies. Some splendid illustrations for popular consumption were produced in 1841,[62] although for the majority of Victorian reports and articles illustrations were rare.

Charles Roach Smith's attitude to illustration was different from those who had gone before him as his concern was to demonstrate the form rather than the overall appearance of the vessel and his drawings were greatly simplified as a result.[63] He introduced the idea of showing vessels in profile without perspective (see Fig. 1c) and his illustrations of samian figure-types (see Fig. 1d) anticipate the style adopted by Oswald,[64] which has not been developed significantly since.

The first great advance in visual representation after Roach Smith came with the introduction of photography, first used for London pottery in 1902.[65] As with early illustrators, most photographers of pottery have not included scales, preferring to rely on details of the principal dimensions given in the text to convey the size. The probable reason for this is that a scale photographed with an object tends to look obtrusive. The D. U. A. has recently found an acceptable solution in drawing a small scale on to the print before sending it to the blockmaker,[66] a method much used in the natural sciences.

In 1908 the British Museum[67] copied a technique used four years earlier in France[68] for conveying the appearance of samian before colour photography, when they published black and white photographs of samian in brown-red ink. Photographs were used to show pottery in situ in 1948[69] and in the same year were used to great effect in Rackham's well-known book.[70] With the growing public interest in the aesthetic qualities of medieval pottery that this book helped to arouse, both the London and Guildhall Museums sold commercially produced colour slides of their more attractive and curious pieces from the early 1960s.[71]

Generally speaking London pottery specialists, like most of their British colleagues, have made remarkably little use of photography in comparison with continental archaeologists.[72] The expense of publishing photographs is undoubtedly one reason for this, although the lamentable shortage of professional archaeological photographers and unimaginative over-adherence to the conventions are probably equally responsible.

The biggest revolution in pottery drawing came at about the turn of the century with the development of the modern conventions (i. e. the use of a reconstructed profile, divided along the centre line, with the section and inside shown in one half and the outside in the other). These conventions were probably invented by Dragendorff, who used them to illustrate his samian form series in 1895,[73] which was brought to the attention of British archaeologists in 1908 when Walters reproduced the illustrations in full in the British Museum's "Catalogue of Roman Pottery"[74] (see Fig. 1f). Their adoption in this country was preceded by a more technical approach to illustration apparent in the increasing use of refined diagrammatic profiles following the ideas of Roach Smith. Also of considerable interest in this respect are some illustrations of 1906,[75] which use diagrammatic

blacked-in sections, omitting a centre line or details of the outside (see Fig. 1e). These are also remarkable in that they are printed at one-quarter linear scale, possibly the first occasion that this scale was used for pottery; it was applied to the Continental conventions by Bushe Fox in 1912.[76] The conventions were finally established in this country through the influential first Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries although it was some years before the side on which the section should appear was standardized. They were first used in London by Thomas May in 1915[77] and it is interesting to note that the centre and base lines are expanded beyond the limits of the profile as if he was worried that his readers might not realise that these were technical drawings (see Fig. 1h).

Another idea introduced by Bushe Fox[78] was the use of rim sections on their own. The advantages of this method of representation are that it saves time and space, but it has two disadvantages. Firstly it does not show the vessel's diameter (a problem which Fox attempted to overcome by relating a number of profiles to a completed form,[79] see Fig. 1g), and secondly, does not allow the external or internal texture to be shown. This has become an increasing concern over the last two decades and is probably the reason why the system is now rarely used.

The trend towards showing inclusions and constructional features has resulted in a variety of treatments using the conventions as a framework. Laws has used stippling,[80] Haslam has used line shading to emphasise the 3-D qualities,[81] and the D. U. A. shows wipe marks and large inclusions,[82] (see Fig. 1i). At the same time there has been occasional use of simpler drawings to show idealised shapes arising from attempts to group pots into form typologies which require that small variations in shape are ignored.[83]

There have also been resurrections of earlier conventions for special purposes. For example Thorn has used one-eighth scale profile drawings of whole pots to illustrate the origin of small rim and body fragments which would otherwise be very difficult for the reader to interpret,[84] and the D. U. A. has also been experimenting with the idea of producing naturalistic reconstruction drawings of incomplete pots following 19th century practices and the Southampton report.[85]

Parallels and Typologies

The practice of quoting parallels for pottery forms extends back to the mid-18th century (see e.g. Table 1, No. ii) although the reasons for so doing are not entirely clear and may simply reflect a desire to show that pots were typical of their suggested period. Samian stamps were described as potters' stamps by John Battely in the first half of the 18th century,[86] and in 1750 Christopher Wren probably became the first in this country to publish the meaning of the abbreviations M., F. and OF which confirm this interpretation.[87] By 1832, Kempe was publishing comprehensive lists and illustrations of dies[88] in order to show how widely the works of individual potters had spread; a task which was continued by Charles Roach Smith. Smith's greatest contribution lies, however, in his embryonic samian form and figure type-series[89]—the first of its kind. He was also able to show that London samian stamps have continental parallels and that samian vessels from Britain and abroad often seem to have been formed in the same mould, from which he concluded that they must come from the same source, probably continental and most likely from France.[90]

Smith was unable to date most of his medieval pottery within that period although he dated one vessel by its association with coins,[91] and several others from the form of the shields and helmets with which they were decorated.[92] The first really valuable work on

Fig. 1. Illustrations of pots found in London, reproduced as originally published to show the development of conventions in pottery illustration.

a) "2 pint lipp waterpott" by John Conyers. Second half of 17th century. No scale (from British Museum: Sloane Ms. 958, Fol. 105, as published by C. Roach Smith in Collectanea Antiqua 6 (1868) Pl. XXXVIII, No. 6).

b) "Mortarium" by A. J. Kempe and J. Basire 1832. Scale as indicated (from A. J. Kempe, "An Account of Various Roman Antiquities Discovered on the Site of the Church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, and in Eastcheap, in Forming the Northern Approaches of the New London Bridge," Archaeologia 24 (1832, 190-202) Pl. XLIV, Nos. 2 and 3).

c) "Basin-shaped vessel" of "red-glazed pottery," by C. Roach Smith. 1854. No scale (from C. Roach Smith, Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities (London, 1854) 26, No. 104).

d) "Fragments" of "red glazed pottery" by C. Roach Smith. 1854. No scale (loc. cit. 40, No. 199).

e) "Delft Plate" by P. Norman and F. W. Reader. 1906. Scale: 1/4 (from P. Norman and F. W. Reader, "Recent Discoveries in Connexion with Roman London," Archaeologia 60 (1906, 169-250) 243, Fig. 28e).

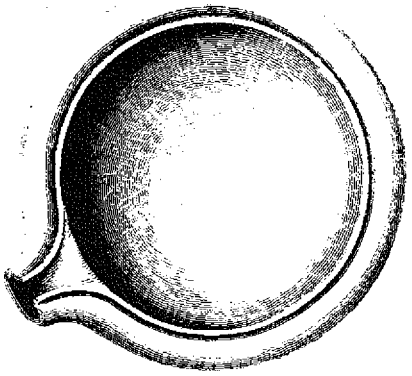
f) Samian "bowl" of Form 37 by Dragendorff. 1895. Scale: No scale (from H. Dragendorff, "Terra Sigillata. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der greichischen und römischen Keramik," Bonner Jahrbucher 95 (1895, 18-155) Taf. 11, No. 37; reporudced in H. Walters, Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum (London, 1908) Pl. XLII, No. 37.

g) "Mortaria" by T. May with J. P. Bushe-Fox. 1913. Scale 1/4 (from J. P. Bushe-Fox, Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter Shropshire, in 1912, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London I (Oxford, 1913) Fig. 19, Nos. 34, 38 and 42).

h) "Jug" by T. May. Scale 1/4 (from F. Lambert, "Recent Discoveries in London," Archaeologia 66 (1915, 225-274) 251, Fig. 16. No. 56).

i) "Lid in Post-Medieval Red Ware" by J. Perry. 1979. Scale 1/4 (from A. Thompson et al. Excavations at Aldgate, City of London, 1974 (forthcoming)).

Fig. 2 Diagram showing the system of classification used for pottery at the Guildhall Museum in the 1960s. The words in boxes indicate the criteria used to divide the filing cards at each level of the hierarchy. Where the hierarchic order differs for materials already subdivided, the higher-level divisions are re-stated in brackets.



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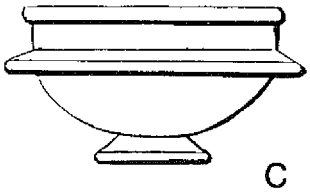

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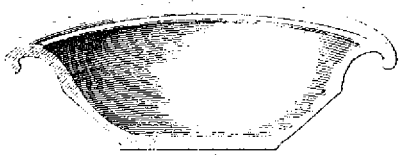

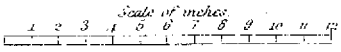

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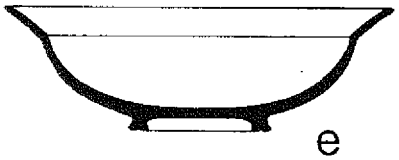

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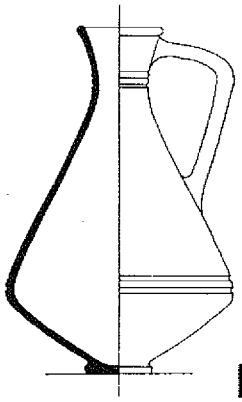

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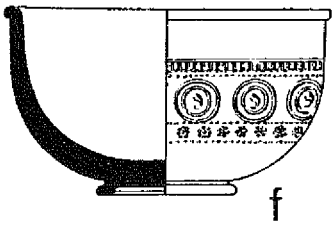

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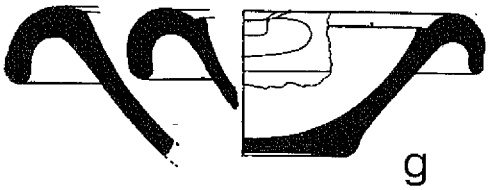

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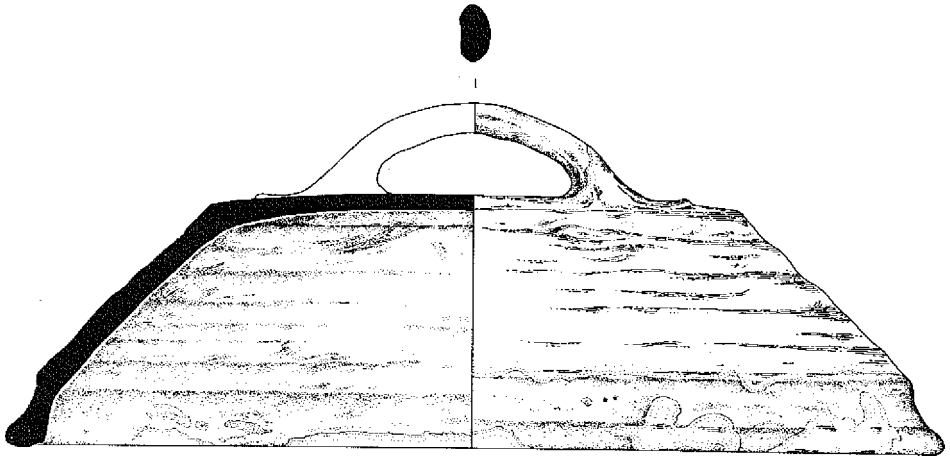


i

the dating of medieval pottery appears to have been by Jewitt who, in 1878, published a series of drawings of pots taken from manuscripts of known date.[93]

By 1904 the systematic labours of continental workers had produced a useable samian form series,[94] and a fairly comprehensive index of figure-types by Oswald was available by 1936.[95] The chronology which began to be established for samian showed for the first time the potential use of pottery for accurate dating and was applied to stratigraphic archaeology as this began to be introduced. Up to this time little attention had been paid to the possibility of establishing a chronology for Roman coarsewares, a situation which was amended by Bushe-Fox with his Corbridge[96] and Wroxeter[97] reports of 1912 and 1913 respectively, where they were dated by stratigraphic association with samian and coins. The new conventions of illustration which he used allowed forms to be compared much more readily and the newly published forms were soon being quoted as dating evidence for vessels of similar shape.[98]

The next decades were characterised by a variety of publications in which Roman coarsewares were used for dating as a rather inferior substitute for samian and their value outside these narrow confines was hardly considered. Indeed a considerable number of London pottery reports produced in the late 60s and 70s are titled "The Dating Evidence."[99]

Another lamentable feature of this use of Coarseware forms for dating is that it has been done with little regard for pottery fabrics. This contrasts markedly with samian studies where by tradition the fabric has always been taken into account. The theory seems to have been that if a published pot looked roughly the same as the one you wanted to date, it was likely to have been made at the same time,[100] and so could be used as dating evidence, irrespective of where in the country it had been produced.[101] You were, of course, excused the annoying precision of saying whether or not two pots were of exactly the same type or just happened to be of roughly the same shape by use of the abbreviation "Cf" (see e.g. Table 1, No. v). Another dangerous aspect of this practice of "random parallel quoting" was that you could never be quite sure how reliable the dating was for groups published elsewhere—with the inherent danger of creating circular arguments. Alison Laws has attempted to counteract this with a survey of published Roman pottery groups in the S. E. where the internal dating evidence is sufficient to justify comparison.[102]

As reports became more numerous and larger, previously encountered forms were sometimes ignored to avoid repetition,[103] and in reports which required a large number of drawings, it was obviously sensible to arrange pots by class and then according to some kind of logical order based on the details of their shape. As a result larger and larger typologies have appeared, culminating with the Southwark Unit's type series of 1st and 2nd century forms.[104]

The scientific dating of London's Saxon and Medieval pottery received little attention prior to the work of Dunning and Hurst. Unlike Roman pottery far more attention has been paid to its fabric although, in the absence of reliable coin evidence, its dating is still less accurate for much of the period.

Catalogues and Publications

These two topics are closely inter-related as some of the principal publications include museum catalogues and many of the original catalogues were made in preparations for research intended for publication. The pattern of development of the terminology and use of parallels, already described, applies equally to both, although the illustrations in unpublished records have usually taken the form of representational sketches.

A catalogue is merely a systematic, descriptive list and as such can fulfil many uses. Those who have catalogued London's antiquities have rarely stated their purpose and although the primary function of past catalogues may be deduced it is sometimes difficult to be certain about why they take the form that they do. It is clear, nevertheless, that the preservation of information in one form or another has always been one of their aims. This objective has often been extended through publication which for the last 100 years at least has been regarded as the best way to create a "lasting record"[105] although recently scholars have begun to look to museums and not to publications as the most suitable places to store certain types of information.[106]

The earliest pottery catalogue to survive is John Conyers' illustrated list of the pots he recovered from the Roman kiln-site under St. Paul's[107] (see e.g. Table 1, no. i). Conyers, as a collector, must have been painfully aware of the rapidity with which antiquities changed hands and doubtless wished to ensure that anyone who inherited his finds would be in no uncertainty as to which of his many pots came from this recognizably important site. The eventual fate of his collection has been mentioned already (see p.

The earliest London catalogue to survive with its collections is that of Sir Hans Sloane which dates to the mid-18th century and is in his own handwriting.[108] This is best described as an inventory with a numbering system. The descriptions are usually confined to one or two words although occasionally more information is given (see e.g. Table 1, No. ii), and the written descriptions are sometimes amplified by a small sketch.

When the Sloane collection became the basis of the British Museum, the practice of cataloguing new acquisitions was continued, although instead of numbering each acquisition the objects were listed in donation groups identified by the date of acquisition. This gave rise to the British Museum's dated acquisition system which runs to this day. As with the first catalogue of the Guildhall Library's collection,[109] the early B. M. registers seem basically to be a record of gifts.[110]

After 1837 the B. M. registers became more systematic and were divided into five columns headed "Date", " No.", "Description", "How Acquired" and "Remarks". This ensured that a minimum amount of useful information was entered and the Guildhall and London Museums adopted similar systems at about the time of the First World War.[111] The registers were further improved by an increasing use of sketches[112] which seem to have been used as a kind of aide mémoire to speed the curator's search for an appropriate entry or perhaps to relate objects to the catalogue in the event of losing a label.

The first London pottery reports appeared in 1787[113] and 1832.[114] They are both supported by superb engravings and have a surprisingly modern look. The emphasis here was on the dissemination of information and opinions about the finds for their intrinsic interest rather than the creation of a lasting record and it is interesting to read that the finds they describe were in the possession of a number of people who are carefully named, presumably in case anyone should be roused to visit them in order to examine the material.

The middle years of the 19th century were marked by the publication of two museum catalogues which it is interesting to compare. The earlier is Tite's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities Found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange."[115] This was intended to support a Guildhall Library exhibition in such a way that visitors might be led to "find some interest and gratification even in such mutilated remains,"[116] and the catalogue proper is prefaced by a summary of the available evidence on Roman London, a brief history of previous collections of London antiquaries and a description of the Royal Exchange excavations, albeit very unsatisfactory. In that this was produced in support of

a display, was aimed at primarily the general public and had strong emphasis on interpretation it may be said to foreshadow in spirit the London Museum catalogues of the inter-war period, although these are illustrated and Tite's is not.

Tite was a rival of Charles Roach Smith who, not to be out-done, produced his own museum catalogue in 1854.[117] It consists mostly of a consecutively numbered inventory of 1017 items with supporting illustrations and occasional comments, although there is generally less interpretation. This is because it was aimed at the scholar and was intended as a primary record of the collection, whose future was at risk. As such it may be regarded as a fore-runner of the British Museum's series of catalogues which began early in the 20th century, and of the Guildhall Museum catalogue of 1903.[118]

The Guildhall Library's collection had continued to expand from 1848 with significant additions from a number of excavations by J. E. Price.[119] In the absence of a full-time curator, library staff listed the accessions in a number of rather unsatisfactory inventories, one for each period and class of find, on loose foolscap paper, held with paperclips[120] (for an example of the catalogue entries see Table 1, No. iv). The printed catalogue of 1903 is divided in a similar manner. The system had two strong disadvantages. Firstly in the absence of a separate accession system (as used in the inter-war London Museum publications) specimens had to be referred to the catalogue entry by quoting the section number—an unduly complex procedure. Secondly, as each object was listed according to its period of origin, a mistake in dating could only be corrected by renumbering the object. The system had to be abandoned later in favour of a running sequence. The 1903 catalogue is useful for its extensive photographic record of museum objects although it is otherwise of little use for research; for example all the medieval pottery is dated to the century without one shred of hard evidence.

Although a number of excavation reports in the latter part of the 19th century included details of the pottery, this was usually in the form of an inventory of just the whole or nearly whole specimens, added as an appendix to the main report and in no way related to the structural evidence.[121] This pattern was gradually altered with the introduction of stratigraphic techniques and the recognition that certain types of pottery could be dated with a close accuracy.

The first changes in London came in 1912 when Lambert published a collection from the Christ's Hospital site which was given to the Guildhall Museum.[122] The site in question is just within the Roman City wall, and having dated the collection to c. 100 A.D., Lambert concluded that London must have reached its northern limit by this time which he took to imply that the wall had been erected earlier. This report came as an appendix to Norman and Reader's lengthy article about their excavation of the wall which can more or less be regarded as stratigraphic, although they apparently kept not one sherd of pottery. The use of datable pottery for answering questions about topographical development in preference to using it to date stratigraphy may seem curious to the modern reader, but it is evident that in London the potential use of dated finds for determining topographical development was already long established. As early as 1713, John Woodward had correctly deduced from his discovery of Roman burials in association with a coin of Antoninus Pius just within the boundary of the Roman city wall that, in view of the Roman practice of burying their dead outside their cities, the wall must have been constructed after the coin was deposited.[123] Again as early as 1841 a distribution map showing the find-spots of Roman pottery was used as evidence for the location of the Roman settlement.[124] The first accurate distribution maps were produced in 1915[125] and these were developed in the inter-war period.[126]

Museum catalogues of this era also reflect the concern to use pottery for elucidating topographical questions by the attention which they pay to certain categories of material and information. Of particular note in this respect is the Guildhall Museum's classified index of Roman pottery, introduced probably in the early 1920s, which made use of a specially printed filing card. The coarsewares were arranged in order of form name, the samian according to form number and the samian stamps in alphabetical order.[127]

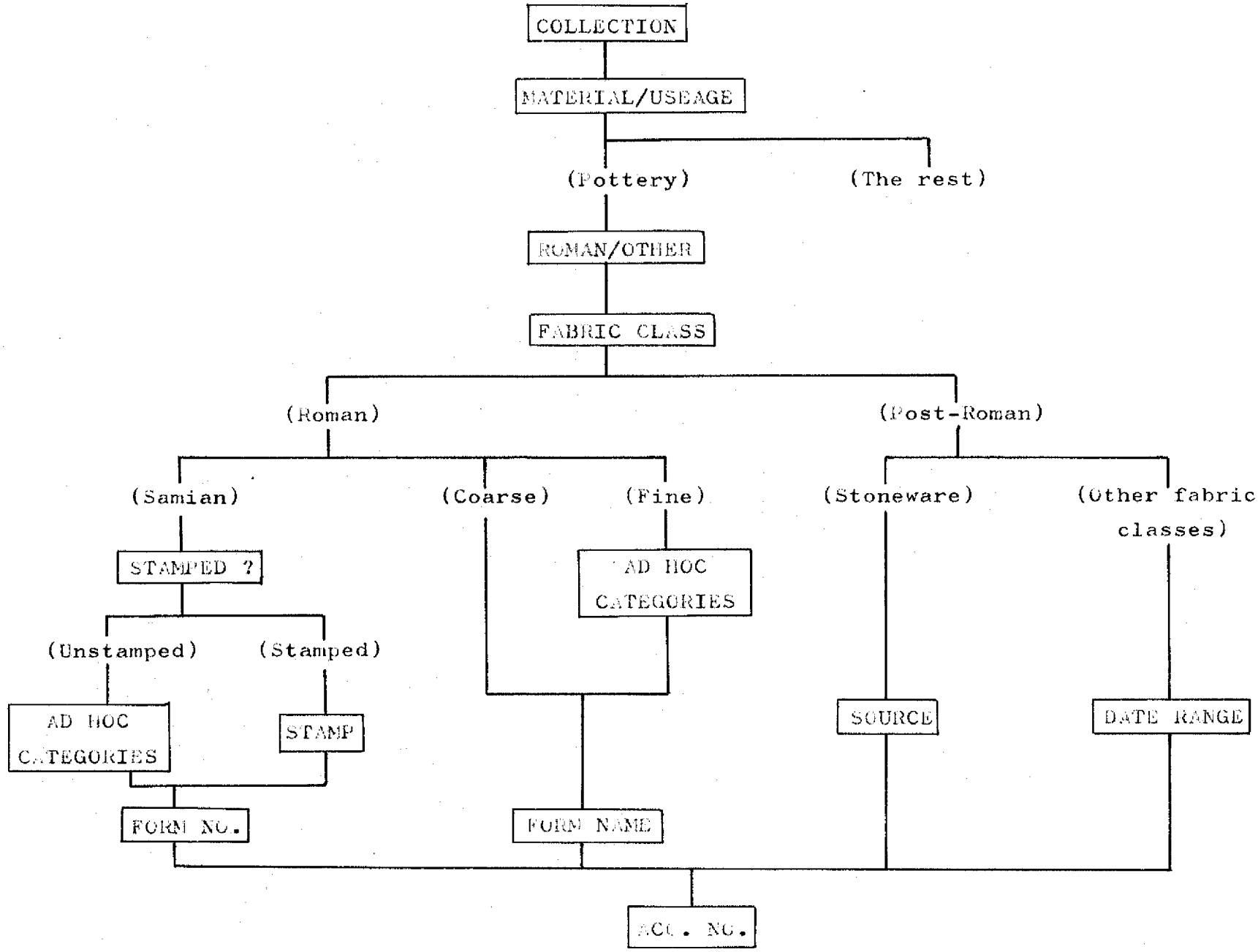
The use of card-indexing probably spread to museums from the libraries where they were introduced in the latter part of the 19th century. Their adoption was important because they allowed expanding collections to be indexed according to an intricate system of classification which would have previously been impossible. They also allowed mistakes to be rectified easily and facilitated cross-indexing. The British Museum's first use of card-filing was for cross-indexing in the form of its donor index and in the inter-war years it introduced a provenance card index for British objects by County name. This idea was applied at a more local level, using the nearest place-name, by both the London and the Guildhall Museums in the 1950s.

The first centralised classified museum index was introduced in the Guildhall Museum in the late 1940s[128] and a similar index was established at the London Museum after the last war.[129] The Guildhall's index consisted primarily of entries cut from the revised 1903 catalogue stuck onto cards of non-standard size (4" x 2"), arranged according to an ad hoc classification which was revised in the 1960s (see Fig. 2). A major shortcoming of this system was that the classification of an object could not be determined from what was written on the relevant card, so that if the card's position within the index was temporarily lost, it could not be replaced without re-examining the object. The London Museum used standard 6" x 4" cards with printed headings. As far as pottery was concerned, the classification systems used by both museums were similar in concept (although they differed in detail) and for research purposes both generally left a lot to be desired.

The inter-war period is notable for a series of London Museum Catalogues initiated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. These show a significant change of emphasis from the earlier published catalogues in that they do not always provide a complete inventory of the collections and tend to be synthetic in approach. One reason for this was that by now the collections were probably too large, although as far as pottery is concerned it was in addition normal practice to relate it to the site stratigraphy. This meant that a museum inventory could no longer be regarded as the basic documentary record of a pottery collection; a role which now passed to the excavation report. This trend was confirmed in the 1960s with the new approach to pottery studies[130] which involved an emphasis on quantification and on more analytical dating methods; for example by establishing a seriation and suggesting dates for the sequence as a separate measure.[131]

The London Museum's Medieval Catalogue of 1940[132] is remarkable for its novel awareness of the social implications of medieval pottery. The changing size and forms of vessels were seen as responses to altering requirements and economic pressures; decoration was described as peasant art; the influence of metal vessels and foreign imports on local products were high-lighted and mention was made of the position of medieval pottery in relation to other aspects of material culture. These ideas were developed a few years later by Rackham in his well-known book.[133]

It was also about this time, following the discovery of the Brockley Hill kilns, that the wider aspects of London's pottery industries began to be reconsidered in a more scholarly framework beginning with the evidence for the so-called "Aldgate Potter"[134] and the


COLLECTION
MATERIAL/USEAGE
(Pottery)
(The rest)
ROMAN/OTHER
FABRIC CLASS
(Roman)
(Post-Roman)
(Samian)
(Coarse)
(Fine)
(Stoneware)
(Other fabric classes)
STAMPED ?
AD HOC CATEGORIES
(Unstamped)
(Stamped)
AD HOC CATEGORIES
STAMP
SOURCE
DATE RANGE
FORM NO.
FORM NAME
ACC. NO.

Upchurch industry.[135] In the early 70s a series of kiln experiments were undertaken at Highgate Wood under the guidance of Harvey Sheldon[136] and an important series of post-medieval kilns were investigated including the first "Delfware" kilns to be excavated in Britain.[137] The interest in this aspect of pottery studies has now grown to such an extent that a London Kiln Study Group has been formed. The documentary evidence for London's pottery industries has also received a considerable amount of attention, notably by Rhoda Edwards whose systematic examination of evidence relating to industries of the early post-medieval period[138] must surely be a model of its kind.

The early post-war period also saw a change of emphasis in the unpublished museum records. It is surprising to learn that although layer-groups of pottery were collected in London from 1915, it was not until the early 1950s that any were accepted or catalogued by a London museum. This first happened at the Guildhall Museum whose staff became involved in recording work in builders' trenches[139] and subsequently started a new museum inventory, known as the Excavation Register. This was introduced because so many small observations were being recorded that the use of site codes was impractical. The system involved the use of a consecutive series of numbers which were used as identity numbers for features or layers in the site notebook. If finds were recovered, the relevant numbers were listed at a later stage in a bound museum register where the finds were catalogued along with a summary of their provenance in a neat and readily-digestible form. The system was remarkably successful not only in the way that it makes information useful for finds research readily available, but for the ease with which material may be found (the running series provides a natural order for storage) and it is still used (in a somewhat adapted form) by the D. U. A. The Guildhall Museum did not, unfortunately, have the resources to catalogue the pottery in these groups in anything other than the scantiest detail and the published accounts remain the only detailed catalogues available. There is, however, an index of sealed dated groups arranged by century, which was begun shortly after the system was set up.

During the last decade the practice of publishing comprehensive catalogues has become increasingly impractical in face of the huge quantities of pottery which are being produced by the current programme of excavations.[140] Following the recommendations of the Frere report,[141] the D. U. A. makes a clear distinction between sort of information contained in the published report and in the archival catalogues. Published reports contain an interpretative synthesis of the ceramic evidence and a guide to information contained at other "levels of publication" in the form of i) a description of the methods used to study the pottery ii) generalised descriptions of the Common Names used in the report with a history (or a reference back to a previously published history) of the use of each Common Name iii) specific descriptions of particularly interesting fabrics iv) pottery illustrations and tables relating them to the fabric descriptions v) a discussion of the dating and sources of the pottery and other points of interest.

Publications of this sort are naturally dependent upon the production of detailed catalogues which form part of the unpublished archive. Most of these catalogues are made on printed forms which have given rise to the use of coding, enabling the requisite information to be contained in a reasonably small space. The four basic catalogues used by the D. U. A. are:

i) A card index of pottery fabrics, in which each card defines an individual type using a series of carefully controlled keywords Each type is cross-referenced to the Common Name of which it forms a variety, the forms in which it occurs and the layers from which it has been recovered.

ii) A card index of Common Names, defined using the same keywords, with cross-references to the fabric types of which each is composed and to published examples and comments.

iii) A form type series consisting of a reference collection of pottery drawings, with a list of the contexts in which each form has been found, the fabric types in which it occurs and the types of decoration with which it is associated.

iv) A comprehensive catalogue of the pottery from each context on Pottery Summary Sheets. These list the fabrics which have been recovered and the forms in which they occur in such a way that the material may be quantified by four current methods: by weight, number of vessels represented, number of sherds and equivalent number of vessels.

Fuller descriptions of these catalogues and the ways in which they may be used for all kinds of research have recently been published. [142]

Future Considerations

On the brink of the "micro-chip revolution" it is almost a truism to comment that it will not be long before computers become everyday tools and that their introduction will radically alter the way in which records are stored and information is retrieved; card indexes and printed forms will give way to line print-outs, video screens, micro-fiche and outline plots. The ability to interpret the basic data will be likewise much improved as computers facilitate the application of more sophisticated statistical analyses. Advances are likely also in the field of illustration. In the past these have mostly come about as the result of developments in research procedures, the one being heavily dependent on the other. It follows that the new emphasis on classifying pottery fabrics by microscopic examination, ought to lead pottery specialists to examine the possibility of publishing photographs and illustrations of thin sections, magnified views of ordinary fractures and enlargements of surface textures and treatments. Some noteworthy attempts along these lines have indeed already been published. [143]

Of equally fundamental, if not greater, importance is the need to reconsider how pottery research in London and elsewhere ought to be organised, as this profoundly affects the results. In the case of London, six or seven DOE-sponsored archaeological organisations, to say nothing of amateur groups, are excavating and writing their pottery reports independently within a few miles of each other. [144] In the writer's view this arrangement must surely lead to an inefficient use of resources and erratic development and ought to lead to a consideration of whether or not ceramic research needs to be lifted out of the rescue excavation framework and to be organised independently, like environmental research. In view of the inter-dependence of everyone working in this field, due to the need for a common system of classification and the widespread distribution of many types of pottery, it is also suggested that local arrangements ought to be planned as part of a coherent national policy which ought to be: 1) regionally based, 2) centred on the archaeological archives, 3) supported by extensive fabric-type series cross-referenced to similar reference collections, 4) backed up by a co-ordinated programme of more scientifically based research. A great deal of this could be achieved within the present funds although it may be that the existing structures are too well established to alter.

Otherwise it is difficult to assess how methods of cataloging and other aspects of pottery studies are likely to change. One of the aims of this paper has been to demonstrate the force of tradition in our methodology and it is now left for the reader to decide

the extent to which tradition is providing a helpful framework of study and the degree to which it blinds students of pottery to profitable lines of investigation. There is, for example, a current emphasis on form and fabric over constructional evidence and indications of usage; finger impressions and food remains adhering to the inside have generally received little attention. The recently prepared guidelines by the Medieval Pottery Research Group and the Steering Committee on Roman Pottery[145] will hopefully do much to improve standards and to spread new methods but, even so, the full potential of many of their suggested areas of study is as yet unknown.

The genesis of professional rescue archaeology in the last decade means, as we have seen, that a high proportion of current work on pottery is financed from monies set aside for rescue archaeology. This had led some archaeologists to argue that excavated pottery should be stored for analysis at some stage in the future and indeed faced with the wholesale destruction of huge areas of inner London by redevelopment, any expenditure must be carefully justified. It is therefore vitally important that British ceramicists demonstrate now what can be done in order that a reasoned assessment of priorities can take place. If they fail to do so they will indeed have nothing to answer their colleagues in the field who—ever on the look-out for short cuts—decide it is unnecessary to go on meticulously collecting every fragment of pottery, or to counteract the attitudes of museum committees who—anxious to save space—resent the ever increasing areas devoted to the storage of Walpole's "cartloads of bricks and rubbish." Material whose potential for research is not proven is always at risk, and it would be so difficult to retrieve objects and data from the vast uncatalogued stores which would result if a preliminary analysis of the material were to be deferred, that scholars would undoubtedly turn their attention elsewhere, adding to the impression that the material is of little interest. "One may revive what perished," wrote Walpole, "but it will perish again if more life is not breathed into it than it enjoyed originally."[146]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank the following for help and advice given during the preparation of this paper: John Cherry of the British Museum, Frank Cottrill, and John Clark, Tony Dyson, Chris Green, Jean MacDonald, Peter Marsden and Clive Orton of The Museum of London. Thanks are also due to Trevor Hurst of the Museum of London for photographic work in the preparation of Fig. 1 and to Wendy Fakes and Pamela White for typing the manuscript.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Stow, A Survey of London 2nd Edit. (London, 1603) 170.
2. A catalogue has been prepared and may be consulted in the Museum of London Department of Urban Archaeology.
3. W. Tite, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities Found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange (London, 1848) xxxiii.
4. R. Merrifield, The Roman City of London (London, 1965) 9-10.
5. I. Nöel Hume, "Into the Jaws of Death ... Walked One," in J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark (eds.) Collectanea Londiniensia, London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 2 (1978, 7-22) 8 and 18.
6. R. Merrifield op. cit.
7. For details see P. V. R. Marsden, "The Roman pottery industry of London," Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 22, Pt 2 (1969, 39-44) 39-40.
8. Tite op. cit., pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.
9. Ibid.
10. See D. Kidd, "Charles Roach Smith and his Museum of London Antiquities," Brit. Mus. Yearbook 2 (1977) 105-135.
11. Charles Roach Smith's letter to Boucher de Perthes of March 13, 1856, published in part in D. Kidd op. cit. 130-131.
12. Trans. London. Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Old Series 1 (1860) 7.
13. For a fuller account see J. Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (Oxford, 1965) 148-169.
14. Ibid., 158.
15. It is possible that this is a reference to a temple supposed to have stood on the site of the church of St. Mary Woolnoth in Lombard Street, see Rev. J. Strype (Ed.) John Stow, Survey of London (London, 1720) Vol. ii, book vi, 24.
16. See for example Tite op. cit. p. 7, No. 18; A. J. Kempe, "An account of Various Roman Antiquities discovered on the site of the Church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane and Eastcheap in forming the Northern approaches of the new London Bridge," Archaeologia 24 (1832, 190-202) Pl. 44, nos. 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12; and Table 1, No. iii.
17. F. Haverfield, "Roman London," J. Roman Stud. 1 (1911, 141-172) 142.
18. H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum (London, 1908) x.
19. C. Roach Smith, Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities (London, 1854).
20. Ibid., 79.
21. Ibid., 113.
22. It is said to have the "charm of peasant art" by G. C. Dunning in P. Ward Perkins Medieval Catalogue, London Museum Catalogue 7 (1940) 212.

23. R. L. Hobson, "Medieval pottery found in England," Archaeol. J. 59 (1902, 1-16) 1. Despite his interest in the subject it is curious to note that Hobson was himself most disparaging about medieval pottery, claiming that medieval potters "deserved little or no encouragement" (R. L. Hobson, British Museum Catalogue of English Pottery (London, 1903) xv) and that pavement tiles are the only form of medieval pottery made in this country which can claim any artistic qualities (ibid. 1).

24. E.g. in P. Norman and F. W. Reader, "Further discoveries Relating to Roman London," Archaeologia 63 (1912, 257-344).

25. F. Lambert, "Recent Discoveries in London," Archaeologia 66 (1915) 223-274.

26. Information from P. V. R. Marsden and F. Cottrill.

27. W. F. Grimes, The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London (London, 1968).

28. See K. M. Kenyon, Excavations in Southwark, Res. Paper of the Surrey Archaeol. Soc. 5 (Guildford and London, 1959).

29. See A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon, "Post Excavation work on the Pottery from Highgate," London Archaeol. Vol. 1, No. 3 (1969) 60-65.

30. For a gazetteer of Roman Kilns in the London region see G. Marsh and P. Tyers, "The Roman Pottery from Southwark," in Southwark Excavations 1972-1974, London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. and Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Joint Publication 1 (1978) 533-582.

31. Details of most of these sites are to be found in the gazetteers in Medieval Archaeology (from 1957) and Post-Medieval Archaeology (from 1967).

32. Tite op. cit.

33. See M. A. Brongniart, Traité des Arts Céramiques, ou des Poteries, considérées dans leur histoire, leur practique et leur théorie (Paris, 1844). Alternatively: A. Brongniart and D. Riocruex, Description Methodique du Musée Céramique de la Manufacture Royale de Porcelaine de Sèvres (Paris, 1845).

34. Sir Henry de la Beche and T. Reeks, Museum of Practical Geology. Catalogue of Specimens Illustrative of the Composition and Manufacture of British Pottery and Porcelain From the Occupation of Britain by the Romans to the Present Time (London, 1855).

35. As might be expected he was perfectly familiar with this work, e.g. see Roach Smith op. cit. 113.

36. C. Roach Smith, Illustrations of Roman London (London, 1859) 79.

37. See H. E. O'Niel, "Roman Tile Kiln at Elstree, Hertfordshire", Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 10 (1951, 229-233) 232.

38. M. J. Hammerson "The Pottery" in H. Sheldon, "Excavations at Parnell Road and Appian Road, Old Ford, E. 3. February-April, 1971", Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 23 (1972, 101-147) 111-127.

39. In H. Sheldon, "Excavations at Toppings and Sun Wharves, Southwark, 1970-1972", Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 25 (1974, 1-116) 41-42.

40. D. P. S. Peacock, "Ceramics in Roman and Medieval Archaeology," in D. P. S. Peacock (Ed.), Pottery and Early Commerce (London, 1977), 21-33.

41. For details see M. Rhodes, "A Pottery Fabric Type-Series For London," Museums J. 76, No. 4 (March 1977) 150-152.

42. Kempe op. cit., 192.

43. Roach Smith (1854) op. cit., 21.

44. I. Nöel Hume, "Romano-British Potteries on the Upchurch Marshes," Archaeol. Cantiana 67 (1954, 72-90) 72.

45. Walters op. cit., where he seems to have followed the lead given by L. Jewitt in his Ceramic Art of Great Britain (London, 1878) Chapt. 11.

46. R. E. M. Wheeler, London in Roman Times, London Museum Catalogue 3 (London, 1930) 127.

47. P. G. Suggett, "Report on the Excavations at Brockley Hill, Middlesex, August and September, 1951," Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc 11 (1954, 173-188) 183 and 186.

48. See G. C. Dunning and J. G. Hurst in "Anglo-Saxon Pottery—a Symposium," Medieval Archaeol. 3 (1959) 1-78.

49. The first application of statistical analysis in the London area is to be seen in J. G. Hurst, "The Kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex," Medieval Archaeol. 5 (1961) 211-299.

50. In T. Tatton-Brown, "Excavations at the Custom House Site, City of London, 1973-Part 2," Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 26 (1975, 103-170) 118.

51. C. Orton in J. Schofield and L. Miller et al., "Excavations at New Fresh Wharf, City of London 1974-8" (forthcoming).

52. For a detailed description of the ways in which the Fabric Type Series may be used see C. R. Orton, Pottery Archive User's Handbook, Museum of London Department of Urban Archaeology Publication 1 (1978).

53. Sheldon (1974) op. cit., 60-63.

54. Archaeologia 8 (1787) 116-132.

55. J. Woodward, An Account of Some Roman Urns, and Other Antiquities, lately digg'd up near Bishops-Gate. With Brief Reflections upon the Antient and Present State of London. In a Letter to Sir Christopher Wren, Kt. Surveyor-General of Her Majesty's Works (London, 1713) 8.

56. The phase culminated in this country with the publication of W. Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (London, 1865).

57. Kempe op. cit., 199.

58. Notably in G. Webster, Romano-British Pottery. A Student's Guide, C. B. A. Research Report 6 (London, 1964).

59. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 958, fol. 105, first published by C. Roach Smith in Collectanea Antiqua 6 (1868) 185-189.

60. Note 54 supra.

61. Kempe op. cit.

62. In C. Knight London 1 (London, 1841) 145, 168, 281.

63. For his own comments see C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua 1 (1848) preface.

64. F. Oswald, Index of Figure Types on Terra Sigillata (Liverpool, 1936).

65. Hobson (1902) op. cit.

66. See D. Jones and M. Rhodes, Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings (Triangle) Lower Thames Street, London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 4 (1979) Pl. 1.

67. Walters, op. cit., Pls. 6-15, 20-32.

68. J. Déchelette, Les Vases Céramiques Ornés de la Gaul Romaine (Narbonaise, Aquitaine et Lyonaise) (Paris, 1904) Vol. 1, Pl. XIII-XIV; Vol. II, Pl. iv.

69. K. M. Richardson, "Report on the Excavations at Brockley Hill, Middlesex, August and September 1947", Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 10 (1948, 1-23) Pl. 1.

70. B. Rackham, Medieval English Pottery (London, 1948).

71. Pers. comm. P. V. R. Marsden.

72. P. Barker remarks on this in Techniques of Archaeological Excavation (London, 1977) 246.

73. H. Dragendorff, "Terra Sigillata. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen und römischen Keramik", Bonner Jahrbucher 96 (1895, 18-155) Taf. I-III. For a successful early application to coarsewares in Germany, see the work of Günther—a German architect: e.g. A. Günther, "Augusteisches Graberfeld bei Coblenz-Neuerdorf," Bonner Jahrbucher 107 (1901) 73-94.

74. Walters, op. cit., Pls. 41-44.

75. P. Norman and F. W. Reader, "Recent Discoveries in Connexion with Roman London. Appendix IV: Remarks on the objects found in the City Ditch adjoining All Hallows Church, 1906," Archaeologia 60 (1906) 242-248. The conventions used here were employed a few years previously in France although at a smaller scale: G. Bonsor, "Les Colonies Agricoles Pre-Romaines de la Vallée du Betis", Révue Archéologique 35 (1899) 232-325.

76. J. P. Bushe Fox, "The Pottery" in R. H. Forster and W. H. Knowles, "Corstopitum: Report of the Excavations in 1911", Archaeol. Aeliana 3rd Series 8 (1912, 137-263) 168-185.

77. Lambert op. cit.

78. The idea was used in London by P. G. Suggett in "Report on the Excavations at Brockley Hill, Middlesex, August and September 1951" Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 11 (1954) 173-188.

79. Bushe Fox op. cit.

80. A. Laws, "Excavations at Northumberland Wharf, Brentford", Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 27 (1976) 179-205.

81. In M. J. Hammerson, "Excavations on the Site of Arundel House in the Strand, W. C. 2, in 1972", Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 26 (1975, 209-251) 226.

82. E.g. : P. Marsden, T. Dyson and M. Rhodes, "Excavations on the Site of St. Mildred's Church, Bread Street, London, 1973-74," Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 26 (1975, 171-208) 202, Fig. 13.

83. E.g.: A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon, "Post Excavation Work on the Pottery From Highgate, "London Archaeol. 1 (1969) 60-65.

84. J. Thorn, "Medieval Pottery" in T. Tatton-Brown, op. cit., 118-151.

85. C. Platt and R. Coleman Smith, Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969 Vol. 2 (Leicester, 1975) Figs. 121-134.

86. J. Battely, Antiquitates Rutupinae (Oxford, 1745) 104-106 (published posthumously).

87. C. Wren, Parentalia; or Memoires of the Family of the Wrens (London, 1750) 267. It is, unfortunately, not clear who was responsible for this interpretation. It could be the writer himself, or his father (Sir Christopher Wren) or conceivably John Woodward, a friend of Sir Christopher's who was a London antiquary and a well-read Classical scholar (for evidence of his ability in this respect see Woodward, op. cit.).

88. Kempe op. cit., pp. 197 and 201-2.

89. Roach Smith (1854) op. cit., pp. 24-40; expanded in Roach Smith (1859) op. cit., p. 90ff.

90. C. Roach Smith, "Potters Marks Discovered in London," in Roach Smith (1848) op. cit. (pp. 148-166) 159.

91. Roach Smith (1854) op. cit., 114, No. 583.

92. Ibid., 115, Nos. 589-590.

93. Jewitt op. cit.

94. Déchelette op. cit.

95. Oswald op. cit.

96. Bushe Fox op. cit.

97. J. P. Bushe Fox, Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter, Shropshire, in 1912, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London 1 (Oxford, 1913).

98. Lambert op. cit., 244.

99. As seen for example in various volumes of the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society at this period.

100. E.g. in Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London Vol. III Roman London (London, 1928) 142, No. 4; 162, No. 45, which have been dated as 1st century on account of their bead rims. They are in fact late Roman (information from C. M. Green).

101. See Kenyon (op. cit., 46) who held that standard types of Roman Pottery are found all over Britain. Although true in broad terms this is dangerous when used as a basis for close dating.

102. Laws op. cit., 187.

103. First stated as a matter of policy by Suggett, op. cit., 182.

104. Marsh and Tyers op. cit.

105. The expression was used in 1869: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, A Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited at Ironmongers Hall (London, 1869) vi.

106. Following the recommendations of the Frere Committee. Ancient Monuments Board Committee for Rescue Archaeology, Principles of Publication in Rescue Archaeology (London, 1975).

107. Note 59 supra.

108. Held by the British Museum.

109. Guildhall Library, A Catalogue of the Library of the Corporation of the City of London (1840).

110. In the British Museum's register the donors' names are underlined and in the Guildhall Library catalogue (op. cit.) the donors' names are in bold capitals.

111. In the Guildhall Museum's catalogue, started in 1908, the "Remarks" column used in the B. M. Accession Register is replaced by two columns headed "References, etc." and (more important) "Place". The London Museum used a commercially-produced Museum Accession Register, also divided into columns (Libraco Series No. 12).

112. In the British Museum sketches became common from 1852 and from the mid 1930s, due to the influence of Hawkes, virtually everything was sketched. This applies also to the Guildhall Museum Accession Register from c. 1963.

113. Note 54 supra.

114. Kempe op. cit.

115. Tite op. cit.

116. Ibid., xlv.

117. Roach Smith (1854) op. cit.

118. E. M. Borajo, Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum (London, 1903).

119. For a summary see Merrifield op. cit., 4-6.

120. It is now in the possession of the Museum of London.

121. E.g. J. E. Price, A Description of the Roman Tesselated Pavement found in Bucklersbury with Observations on Analogous Discoveries (London, 1870) 71-78.

122. F. Lambert, "Appendix IV. Notes on the Roman Pottery," in P. Norman and F. W. Reader, "Further Discoveries Relating to Roman London," Archaeologia 63 (1912, 257-344) 335-340).

123. Woodward op. cit., 26.

124. Craik in Knight op. cit., 157.

125. Lambert (1915) op. cit.

126. Notably by G. C. Dunning in "Two Fires of Roman London...", Antiq. J. 25 (1945) 48-77.

127. A similar sort of index (although not produced with topographical questions in mind) was prepared for post-medieval glass and ceramics by Martin Holmes at the London Museum in the 1930s.

128. This was begun by Adrian Oswald, much of whose work is immediately recognisable in the museum records by his use of green ink.

128. This was introduced by Prof. W. F. Grimes against a good deal of opposition from some of the Keepers who felt that he was trying to undermine their position. Prior to the evacuation of the collections during the last war, most of the London Museum's collections were on display and, as there were also some long-serving Keepers, there was less need of an index, but it was Grimes' belief that the records should be so good that they should not rely on individual memories.

130. Prof. Jope's role in the development of the new approach is highlighted by the Medieval Pottery Research Group in Medieval Pottery, Processing and Publication (forthcoming).

131. The trend is apparent in Hurst (1961) op. cit.

132. G. C. Dunning in op. cit.

133. Rackham op. cit.

134 G. Simpson, "The Aldgate Potter: a maker of Romano-British Samian Ware," J. Roman Stud. 42 (1952) 68-71.

135. Nöel Hume (1954) op. cit.

136. See London Archaeol. 2 (1972) 12-17 and (1973) 53-59.

137. B. Bloice and J. Thorn, "London Tin-Glazed Pottery," London Archaeol. 1 (1979) 57-59 and 84-89.

138. R. Edwards, London Potters circa 1570-1710, J. Ceramic Hist. 6.

139. Nöel Hume (1978) op. cit.

140. An interesting insight into the sort of tables that might have become common if the Frere Committee had not intervened may be seen in B. J. Bloice, "Norfolk House, Lambeth: Excavations at a Delftware kiln site," Post-Medieval Archaeol. 5 (1971, 99-159) Appendix III, 154-159.

141. Ancient Monuments Board Committee for Rescue Archaeology, op. cit.

142. C. R. Orton, "Studying the City's Pottery," London Archaeol. 3 (1977) 100-105; also: C. R. Orton, "Dealing with the Pottery from a 600 Acre Urban Site," Pottery and the Archaeologist (London Univ. Archaeol. Soc., forthcoming).

143. See e.g. P. Arthur and G. Marsh (eds.), Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain (Oxford, 1978) Figs. 1.1 and 5.3.

144. The Museum of London Department of Urban Archaeology; The Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavation Committee; The Inner London Archaeological

Unit; The Surrey Archaeological Society (excavating in Inner London, S. of the river); The Roman and Medieval London Excavation Council (post-excavation work only); The DoE Tower of London excavations—an ongoing series of excavations has run almost continually since 1974; other ad hoc DoE excavations (e.g. Woolwich Dockyard 1973).

145. a) Medieval Pottery Research Group op. cit.; b) The Steering Committee on Roman Pottery, Guidelines for the Publication of Roman Pottery (forthcoming).

146. Letter from A. Walpole to Rev. W. Cole, September 1778; see J. Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (Oxford, 1956) 155.

Table 1: Typical catalogue descriptions of pots discovered in London. (I) denotes that the description was originally supported by an illustration.

i) John Conyers. Second half of 17th century (I):
2 pint lipp waterpott (British Museum: Sloane Ms. 958, fol. 105. For related illustration see Fig. 1a).

ii) Sir Hans Sloane. First half of 18th century:
A gray earthen bottle taken up by Mr. Conyers in Goodmans Fields amongst urns annio 1680 when they were digging the new foundations. Prafericulum such as figured in Montfaucon tom. 2 Suppl. pl. XVI. pag. 16. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (British Museum: Sir Hans Sloane Ms. catalogue of Antiquities, No. 4).

iii) William Tite. 1848:
A deep Cup, or Narthecium, of a fine and full-coloured matted clay, covered with a thin yellow glaze in the inside, as having been intended to contain ointment or some unctuous preparation. It measures 3 inches in height by 4 inches across the top (W. Tite, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at The New Royal Exchange (London, 1848) 7, No. 19).

iv) Guildhall Museum. Late 19th century:
Urn of Upchurch ware, with bright metallic glaze, the blue-black colours of this, and numerous others of the same class of pottery, has been produced by baking in the smoke of vegetable substance. This specimen is a good illustration, it is ornamented with vertical lines of raised points or dots, extending from the mouth or rim, to the base of the vessel. H $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. D 5 inch. Queen Victoria Street 1872. Journ B. A. Assoc XXVIII. 394 (Museum of London: Ms. catalogue of the Guildhall Museum, Section V, "Black and Grey Pottery - Roman," No. 40).

v) A. G. K. Hayter, 1925 (I):
Mortaria. Buff rim with half spout and edge of stamp. Beading below bulbous flange; cf. Wroxeter Type 54, dated 80-120 A.D. (A. G. K. Hayter, "Pottery from Nicholas Lane, E. C.," Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. (New Series) 5 (1925, 183-188) 186, E2).

vi) P. G. Suggett. 1954 (I):
Belgic cordoned urns and storage jars .... of uniform fabric, having a smooth grey paste with few grits and a "soapy" surface ranging in colour from orange to dark brown and black. They exhibit a marked resemblance to the pottery (Group B) found at Belgic Verulamium, where they are dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D. These vessels are the ancestors of the wide-mouthed jars of Roman date (see 1947

Report, Nos. 68-82; 1950 Report, Nos. 18-20). For the series in general see Verulamium, Fig. 16, p. 153ff., and Ant. Journ., pp. 238-240 (P. G. Suggett, "Report on the Excavations at Brockley Hill, Middlesex, August and September, 1951, Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 11 (1953, 173-188) 182-3, B1-7).

vii) C. and J. Orton and P. Evans. 1974 (I):
Bowl. Everted and slightly expanded rim sherd in hard dark grey coarse-sandy fabric, shading to buff near the surfaces, which are also buff and have been smoothed. Turning marks on interior (Clive and Jean Orton and Pat Evans in H. Sheldon, "Excavation at Toppings and Sun Wharves, Southwark, 1970-72, Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 25 (1974, 1-116) 59, No. 23).

viii) C. Orton. 1979 (I):
Rim, base and body sherds of cooking pot with everted rim, expanded by thumbed impressions on top edge (cf. Nos. 89 and 91). Hard fabric with hackly fracture and rough feel. The main inclusions are abundant, medium to very coarse, colourless and greyish, sub-angular quartz; there are also sparse inclusions of black iron-ore and flint. The fabric is light grey (N7 to 8) with dark grey surfaces. Hand-built, with smoothed surfaces. The fabric is very similar to the Limpsfield ware (see e.g. No. 99), but the form is earlier than those found at Limpsfield; an 11th or 12th century date is likely (see discussion of pottery from Pit 18) (C. R. Orton in A. Boddington "Excavations at 48-50 Cannon Street, City of London, 1975, " Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. 30 (1979, 1-38) 30, No. 93)

L'auteur fait tout d'abord un relevé historique des différentes méthodes utilisées pour cataloguer, décrire, publier et conserver la poterie de Londres tout en tenant compte d'un certain nombre de themes reliés les unes aux autres. Il fait aussi une énumération détaillée de l'évolution des collections à fois publiques et privées, du développment d'une termonologie spécifique en ce qui concerne les terres, les formes et les styles et il s'est également penché sur la varieté des techniques utilisées dans la représentation graphique de ces céramiques. Il soulignera ensuite les facteurs qui, en matière de présentation du catalogue et de la publication des objets, ont conduit à la création du système utilisé actuellement par le Department of Urban Archaeology au Musée de Londres. En conclusion l'auteur suggère qu'on devrait faire une utilisation plus courante de la technologie micro-électronique et qu'on devrait adopter une politique nationale plus cohérente en ce qui concerne les archives de la céramique ainsi que tout ce qui s'y rapporte.

Die Geschichte des Sammelns, Katalogesierung, Beschreibung, Veröffentlichung, und Aufbewahrung der Keramik aus London, ist in der Form einiger untereinander zusammenhängenden Themen abgeschätz. Die Entwicklung von beide privaten und staatlichen Sammlungen, das Zunehmen von einer spezifischen Terminologie für Materialen, Formen, und Typen, und die Verschiedenheit der Methoden, die um die Keramik zu illustrieren, werden gründlich untersucht. Der Aufsatz schliest durch die Beschreibung der Elemente der Katalogesierung und der Veröffentlichung, die zu der Schöpfung des umfassenden Systems führten, das jetzt von der Abteilung der Stadt Archeologie am Museum of London gebraucht wird. Der Verfasser schliesst durch den Vorschlag dass man eine zusammenhängende nationale Politik für Keramik und verwandte Archiven entwickeln sollte.