Evidence for the Early 16th-century Surrey-Hampshire Border Ware Industry from the City of London

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SUMMARY

An early 16th-century phase of redware production in the pottery industry of the Surrey-Hampshire borders is proposed on the basis of the unique find of a considerable quantity of fine, glazed redware cups from a single site at Cripplegate in the City of London. Following petrological examination and comparison with the products of various contemporaneous ceramic industries supplying London, the term Early Red Border ware is proposed for this previously unrecognised fabric, a typology is presented and reasons are suggested for the deposition of a single type of pottery in such large numbers in one area of the City alone. An early 16th-century phase of fine whiteware production in the Border industry is also proposed as intermediate between the manufacture of 'Tudor Green' ware and the introduction of Border ware proper in the mid 16th century.

INTRODUCTION

Recent re-examination of the pottery recovered from sites excavated in London by W. F. Grimes after World War II, as a part of the Museum of London's Grimes London archive publication programme (funded by English Heritage), has brought to light a remarkable collection of sherds from more than 200 fine, glazed redware drinking vessels, in a fabric previously unrecognised in London and found at very few other sites outside the capital. For reasons given below, it is suggested that they were first made in the pottery industry of the Surrey-Hampshire borders during the early 16th century. This is one of the major chronological gaps in the typological sequence for which there is no direct kiln evidence, as highlighted by Felix Holling in his preliminary survey of the industry (Holling 1971, 69-70). The term 'Early Red Border ware' is proposed here to differentiate the fabric from the later redwares produced in the Border industry (Red Border ware).

THE SITE

All the finds come from a single site, excavated in 1946-7 at the junction of Fore Street and Wood Street, EC2, formerly known as Cripplegate Buildings (Museum of London site code WFG18; NGR TQ32408 81654; see Fig. 1). A section through the City Ditch yielded a considerable

quantity of pottery (5248 sherds from a minimum of 3485 vessels), from a sequence extending back to the 11th century. Throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period the ditch was used over much of its length as a communal dumping ground for domestic and other waste, and needed regularly to be 'cleansed', as attested by Stow in his 1598 Survey of London (Kingsford 1971, 19-20). This is reflected on the site in a pattern of repeated deposition and recutting as the ditch was periodically cleared out, until it was finally infilled by the second quarter of the 17th century (Pearce in prep a). The bulk of the pottery recovered is postmedieval (3984 sherds from a minimum of 2621 vessels, or 75% of all pottery); of this, the majority dates between c. 1480 and c. 1630, presenting a valuable sequence with several features of particular interest (Pearce in prep b).

A selective finds collection policy operated during excavation, whereby samples were taken and their location plotted on the site sections. Each was given a separate 'Bag' number, some 'Bags' filling several boxes, depending on the size of the sample. Within samples, all pottery appears to have been collected, including small and abraded, unglazed sherds, as well as larger and more 'interesting' sherds. There are numerous samples of a reasonable size (i.e. more than 30 sherds, and in some cases several hundred sherds), and these do not appear to be obviously

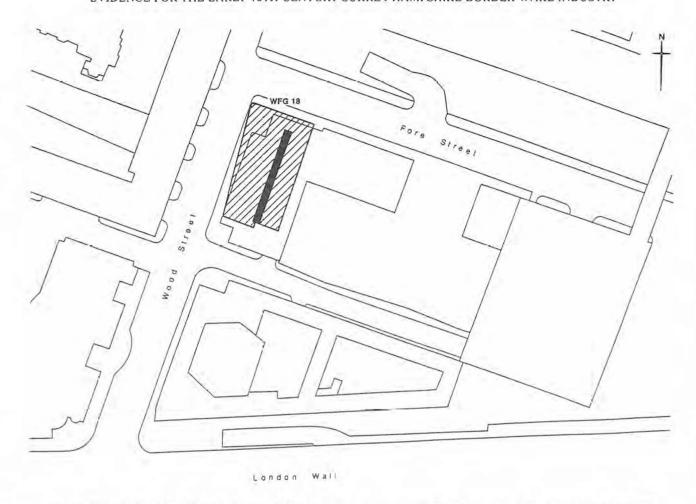


Fig. 1. Part of the City of London showing the location (hached area) of the former Cripplegate Buildings (WFG18). The infilled area shows the location of W. F. Grimes' excavation.

contaminated. Therefore, although there are undoubted limitations, the larger, more closely datable groups provide a clear sequence for the 16th and early 17th centuries, which corresponds well with evidence from other contemporaneous City Ditch sites, such as Boston House, 90–94 Broad Street (site code BRO90; Pearce 1994).

A key point in this sequence is marked by the introduction of white Surrey-Hampshire Border wares (Pearce 1992), and Frechen stonewares, both of which are first found in London in contexts dating to c. 1550. Border wares rapidly became one of the most common kinds of pottery used in the capital, and their presence or absence from large groups of pottery provides a valuable (though not infallible) indicator of an early or late 16th-century date. On this basis, the pottery from Cripplegate Buildings was sorted into broad chronological groups, dating to c. 1480-1550, 1550-1600 and 1580-1630, although many small Bags cannot be dated more closely than c. 1480-1600 or c. 1550-1700. This sequence forms the underpinning for the chronology

of the pottery considered in this paper.

All pottery from the site was recorded on the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS) computerised database, employing standard quantification by sherd count (SC) and Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV). The latter statistic is obtained by grouping together and counting as one all sherds demonstrably from the same vessel, and includes a high proportion of joining sherds; the overall figures have been adjusted to allow for crossjoins between contexts. All figures given here are derived from these data.

THE POTTERY

A total of 272 sherds (208 MNV) of fine glazed redware was recovered from the site. All are drinking vessels, and share features in common which identify them as the products of a single industry—similarities in fabric, glaze, form and details of manufacture. Vessels varied in completeness; very few complete vessel profiles could be reconstructed

since the cups are generally thin-walled, with a tendency to break into small sherds which are difficult to associate with individual vessels, although many complete bases and handles survive. A programme of thin section analysis was carried out to determine whether the vessels formed a coherent fabric group or groups, and to compare samples with those fabrics found previously in London which most closely resemble them. For this purpose, five sherds from redware cups from Cripplegate Buildings, including examples with clear and green glaze, and one brown-glazed sample from a vessel found in Guildford, which is comparable in fabric and form (see p. 54), were thin-sectioned and compared under a petrological microscope with six sherds of Red Border ware from late 16th- to 17thcentury contexts in London, and three sherds of Dutch red earthenware of similar date, from excavated contexts in London, Antwerp and Amsterdam (see Appendix 1). The results confirm that the Cripplegate redware cups form a coherent group, and that they compare more closely with the Red Border ware samples than with the Dutch pottery, although variations were noted within the Red Border ware sherds examined. This in itself does not prove that the drinking vessels were made in the Surrey-Hampshire Border industry, since no other potential sources of similar pottery likely, or even unlikely, to have been used in London could be identified or sampled for comparison. Those which appeared superficially to be more promising, were eventually discounted for various reasons (see below, pp. 50-51). However, taken together with other evidence presented in this paper, the petrological analysis favours the Surrey-Hampshire Border industry as the most likely source of the redware cups from Cripplegate Buildings. Therefore, the term Early Red Border ware is proposed to distinguish them from the later, better-known products of the industry.

Fabric

The fabric was examined initially under x20 magnification, using a binocular microscope. Glaze and fabric colours were recorded in accordance with the Munsell colour chart (Munsell 1969). Type sherds are housed in the Museum of London Specialist Services (MoLSS; formerly part of MOLAS) Fabric Reference Collection.

Inclusions: abundant, ill-sorted, medium and fine, colourless, white and grey, sub-rounded quartz sand inclusions <0.1 mm, with sparse to moderate rose-coloured quartz sand; occasional to moderate, fine and very fine, red and occasional black iron-rich inclusions, with occasional large inclusions <3.0 mm; and moderate to abundant very fine mica. There are also occasional large, well-rounded,

naturally occurring, iron-rich red clay pellets. Many sherds show occasional buff or off-white streaks in the fabric, suggesting the mixing of white- and red-firing clays, as found in late 16th- to 17th-century Red Border ware (Pearce 1992, 6).

Texture and colour: the fabric has a smooth to slightly rough feel and an irregular fracture. The bulk of the vessels recovered show a marked similarity in colour, which is generally an even, pale orange-pink throughout (Munsell 5YR 7/8-6/8), with little variation within individual sherds, except at the margins, which may be pale buff (10YR 7/4-7/6). Surfaces may be slightly darker orange-red (5YR 6/8-5/8). A small number of overfired examples are darker red in colour throughout (5YR 5/6-5/8) and may have a dark grey core where the clay is thicker (7.5YR N3-N4).

Glaze: three main glaze colours are represented. The most common is a clear lead glaze which appears a characteristic, uniform honey or pale caramel colour over the red fabric (5YR 5/6-5/8 to 7.5YR 5/8; 82% SC/85% MNV of all pottery). It is typically thick and glossy, with a tendency to crazing. The addition of copper gives an olive green glaze (2.5Y 5/4-4/4), or occasionally a darker green (5Y 3/ 2-2.5/2); this is the second most common glaze colour (10% SC/MNV). A distinctive feature of this particular glaze is a mottled effect produced by paler circular blotches in the green colour, resembling the skin of plaice or sole. Finally there is a darker brown glaze which tends to be thinner than the more usual clear lead glaze (7.5YR 4/4-3/4). In some cases, the glaze colour becomes darker over a more highly fired body; in others the glaze appears to be intentionally iron- or manganese-stained, but without the distinctive mottling typical of later 17th-century brown-glazed Border ware (ibid., 5).

The three different glaze colours have been differentiated in the MoLAS fabric codes and computerised record. The clear-glazed fabric is simply denoted ERBOR and the green- and brownglazed variants identified by the addition of the suffixes -G and -B respectively.

Forms

Two main forms of cup are found on the site, together with smaller numbers of other drinking vessels. The relative proportions are listed in Table 1; in interpreting this Table, the variations in completeness of the vessels need to be borne in mind. Large numbers of small, non-diagnostic sherds could not be assigned to any one of these forms with confidence, although no other forms appear to be represented. These have, therefore, been recorded simply as 'other'.

Table 1. The relative proportions of Early Red Border ware forms from Cripplegate Buildings in numbers of sherds (SC) and Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV).

Forms (all cups) SC		%SC	MNV	%MNV
Corrugated	113	42	76	37
Rounded	74	27	50	24
Fluted	10	4	9	4
Ribbed	4	1	2	1
Other	71	26	71	34
Total	272	100	208	100
2010.				



Fig. 2. Early Red Border ware corrugated cup. Rim diameter 110mm.

1) Corrugated cup (Fig. 2; Fig. 3, Nos. 1-13).

This is by far the most common form (see Table 1), and is typically clear-glazed. There are also green-and brown-glazed examples. The vessel walls are slightly flared from the base, and evenly corrugated below a short neck. The corrugations are quite pronounced, and would have been produced with a rib or trimming tool while the vessel was still on the wheel. As a result, some have an almost angular or

facetted appearance, although they are generally more rounded. The junction of the neck with the body is almost invariably marked by a slight cordon, formed by a pointed tool while the cup was turning, and the neck is generally slightly flared, although it may vary in depth. Rims are simple and unthickened with a pointed edge. Bases are flat or slightly indented, and thickened around the circumference. A characteristic of all Early Red Border ware cup bases is a narrow, uneven rim of clay just underneath the base, around the circumference, probably left behind as the cup was lifted from the wheel-head, flattened slightly during drying and not subsequently trimmed away (Fig. 4; see also Fig. 3, No. 18). In all forms, the underside of the base tends to remain remarkably free of accidental spots and splashes of glaze from other vessels in the same firing. There is also little sign of obvious or heavy trimming underneath the base, or of the telltale marks left by removal from the wheel with a wire, although faint traces remain in some cases (Fig. 4). In general, the bases of all forms are relatively smooth and unmarked.

No complete vessels were recovered, although sufficient large sherds and partial profiles remain to allow the form to be reconstructed (Fig. 3, No. 1). Although relative proportions cannot be calculated for this reason, there is evidence that cups with a single handle (Fig. 3, Nos. 1, 3, 6), two opposed or three handles were all made (Fig. 3, Nos. 7 and 11 respectively). An example with three staggered handles, springing alternately from the upper and lower body, was found at St John's Clerkenwell, one of the very few recorded finds from London outside Cripplegate Buildings (site code COW89 G376; Blackmore in prep). Handles have an oval, triangular, plain or facetted rod, or sub-rectangular section and were applied over the cordon at the neck/body junction, and over one of the lower corrugations, just above the base, where the handle end was invariably neatly wiped to each side of the join (Fig. 3, No. 12). In common with all Early Red Border ware cups, these vessels are completely glazed inside and out, including under the handle, but not underneath the base. Rim diameters range from 100 to 190mm, although most are between 100mm and 140mm. Bases range from 70 to 90mm, with one particularly small example at 40mm. No complete heights or capacities could be measured, although one cup is reconstructed at 110mm in height (Bags 92/61/62/95; Fig. 3, No. 1).

The only instance of any form of decoration is a narrow band of faint wavy combing around the rim of a cup from Bag 73 (Fig. 3, No. 5). Another vessel of interest, with brown glaze, has a crude plug of clay through a hole or tear in the fabric, roughly smeared into the vessel walls with little attempt to disguise the mend (Bag 73; sherd-links with Bags

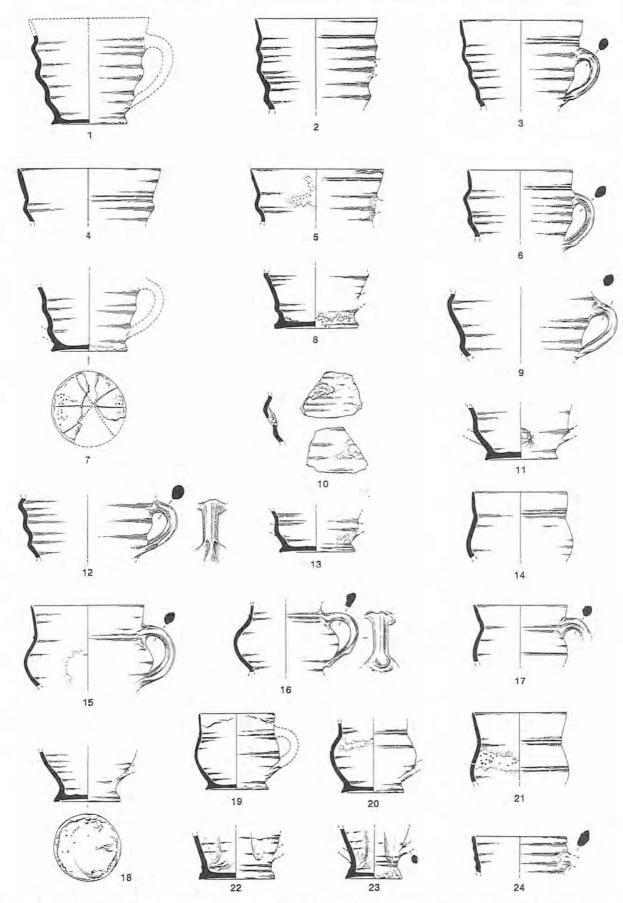


Fig. 3. Early Red Border ware: 1-13 corrugated cups; 14-21 rounded cups; 22-23 fluted cups; 24 cup with ribbed neck. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 4. Early Red Border ware cup bases showing the distinctive 'rim' around the circumference and traces of removal from the wheel. Diameter of base at right: 80 mm.

95/91/12; Fig. 3, No. 10). The cup was subsequently glazed and obviously considered marketable. There is also an example of a pre-firing mark incised into the unglazed base of a corrugated cup from Bag 256. It takes the form of an eight-pointed star formed of single thin lines, the arms extending right across the diameter of the base and intersecting at the centre (Fig. 3, No. 7). It may represent a maker's or batch mark, as occasionally found on other early postmedieval forms; for example, a cross incised

underneath the base of a Post-medieval black-glazed ware tyg from the same site (Bag 60).

2) Rounded cups (Fig. 3, Nos. 14-21; Fig. 5).

The second most common form recognised, these have a bulbous, rounded profile below a short, upright or slightly flared neck. They are generally relatively squat in shape and have a thickened foot. Rims and bases are closely comparable to the

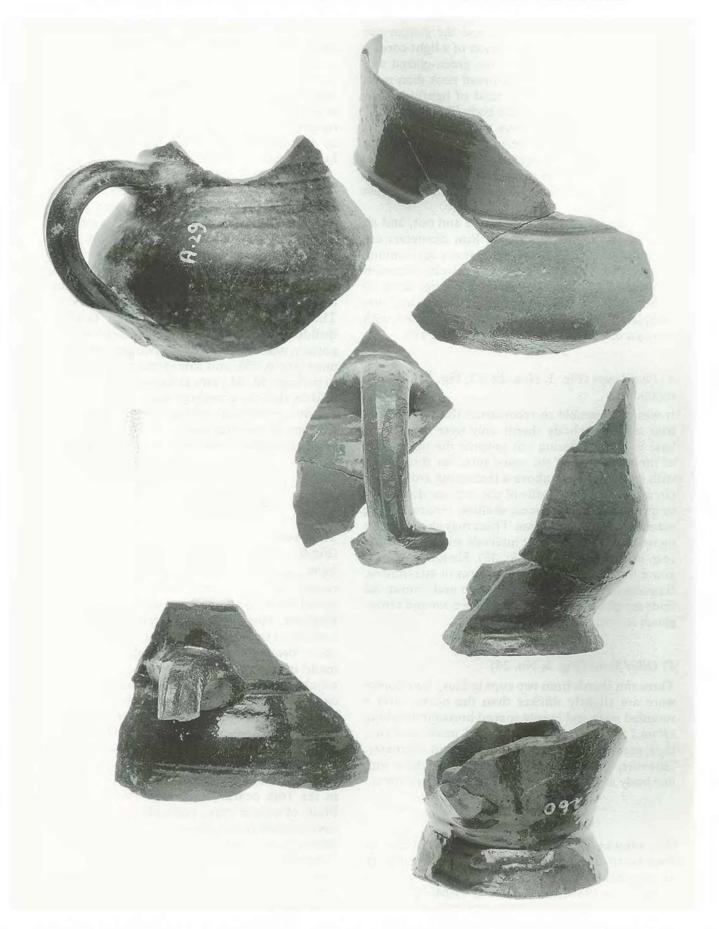


Fig. 5. Early Red Border ware rounded cups and fluted cup (bottom right). Height of cup centre right: 80 mm.

corrugated form (see above), and the similarities extend to the invariable provision of a light cordon at the neck/body junction. One green-glazed cup (Bag 238) has a rather more flared neck than most others of this form, and a band of lightly incised horizontal grooves around the body (Fig. 3, No. 21). Only one other cup shows this feature (Fig. 3, No. 17). As far as can be judged from surviving sherds, rounded cups regularly had only one handle, of the same form as on corrugated cups, and applied in the same manner, over the neck cordon and just above the base.

Rounded cups are glazed inside and out, and all three glaze colours are found. Rim diameters are generally smaller than on corrugated cups, ranging from 70 to 120mm, with the majority between 90mm and 100mm. Base diameters range from 60 to 80mm, with most measuring 70mm. Only one complete vessel profile could be reconstructed, with a height of 80mm (Bag 244; Fig. 3, No. 19).

3) Fluted cups (Fig. 3, Nos. 22–23; Fig. 5, bottom right).

It was not possible to reconstruct this form, since base and lower body sherds only were found. The base is narrow, flaring out towards the upper part of the body, and of the usual form for this fabric, with a slight cordon above a thickening around the circumference. The walls of the cup are distinctive in having regularly spaced, shallow, vertical fluting extending as far as the base. There may also be single incised horizontal lines at intervals around the body (e.g. in Bag 109; Fig. 3, No. 22). Handle scars just above the base show the usual form of attachment. Base diameters are between 60mm and 75mm. All finds are glazed overall, but only the clear and brown glazes are represented.

4) Other forms (Fig. 3, No. 24)

Three rim sherds from two cups in Early Red Border ware are slightly thicker than the norm, with a rounded edge and evenly spaced horizontal ribbing around the neck. Both are glazed inside and out; they measure 90 mm and 120 mm in diameter. However, it was not possible to associate these with any body sherds to determine their original form.

DATING

Fine redwares characterised as Early Red Border ware occur throughout the 16th-century sequence at Cripplegate Buildings, but a significant concentration of finds (95 sherds/13.9% or 77 MNV/15.2%) in medium- and large-sized groups dated to the first half of the 16th century, in which there is no Border ware or Frechen stoneware, strongly suggests that

they were introduced before c. 1550, when these other fabrics were first used in London (Pearce 1992, 91; Gaimster 1987, 346-7). After local redwares, Early Red Border ware is the second most common fabric in groups dated c. 1480-1550, which is made all the more striking by the very limited range of forms represented (all drinking vessels), and by the marked rarity of this fabric on other sites in London (see p. 55).

The fabric is still common in groups dated to c. 1550-1600 (53 sherds/8.9% or 55 MNV/9.7%); only local redwares and Border ware proper, as found at Farnborough Hill in kiln waste dated to c. 1550-80 (Holling 1977, 64), are more frequent. The largest number of sherds is found in groups dated to c. 1580-1630, although they constitute a smaller proportion of the total pottery recovered from this period (117 sherds/5% or 91 MNV/6.1%). The Early Red Border ware from Cripplegate Buildings was probably the product of a single pottery, working possibly for two generations at the most (see p. 55), and this restricts its manufacture to perhaps 40-50 years at the outside. If so, then it is likely that the drinking vessels were brought into London principally during the second and third quarters of the 16th century, which would account for their relative abundance in groups dated after c. 1550.

SOURCE AND INFLUENCES

The production of cups in southern England (Fig.6)

By the early 16th century, cups, rather than drinking vessels of jug form, were a relatively recent introduction to the ceramic industries of southern England. Few of the industries which supplied London at this date regularly produced cups or any other form of drinking vessel, although they were made in a number of potteries in the south-east which did not generally trade their wares in the capital. Various potential sources and parallels were investigated in an attempt to locate the origin of the London finds, and to search for parallels. Fine redware cups with clear and olive-green glaze, including a corrugated form, were found at the Temple Street kiln in Brill, Buckinghamshire, dating to the 16th century (Hurman 1988, 135, fig. 6). Finds of similar cups, probably produced at Brill, have also been made in the Oxford region (Maureen Mellor, pers. comm.). However, although they bear a superficial resemblance to the London finds, Brill post-medieval wares are otherwise virtually unknown in the capital, and the fabrics differ, both macroscopically and under microscopic examination (sample sherds provided by Barbara Hurman).

In Essex, smooth red earthenware cups were

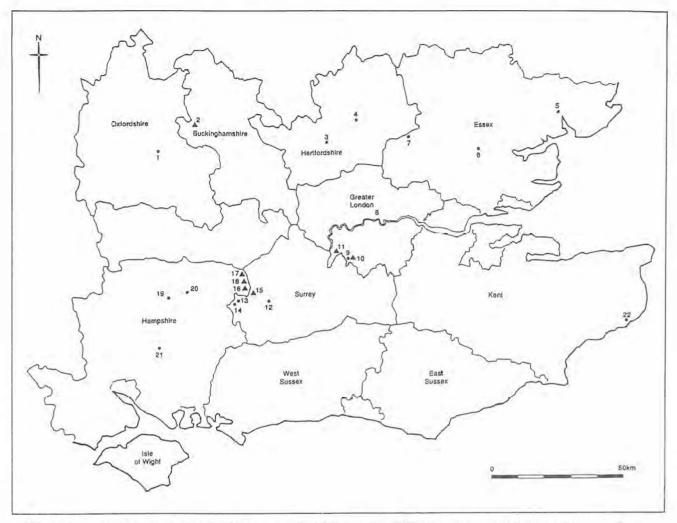


Fig. 6. South-east England showing places mentioned in the text. Kiln sites are marked with a triangle. For key see Appendix 2.

found in 16th-century and later contexts at Moulsham Street in Chelmsford (Fabric 40; Cunningham and Drury 1985, fig. 9, nos. 58-61), and may have been made at Stock (ibid., 2). These are, however, quite different in form from the London redware cups, as well as in fabric and glaze (Helen Walker pers. comm.). Moreover, there appears to have been very little trade between the pottery industries of Essex and the capital, from the late 15th century until the construction of the road linking Newmarket and London via Harlow and Epping in the early 17th century, opening the way for an influx of pottery made in this area (Cooper 1968, 25-6). Rounded and necked cups were also made in Colchester ware from c. 1450 to 1550 (Cotter forthcoming), although these again differ in fabric from the London examples.

Finds of redware corrugated and rounded cups with overall clear glaze, and identical in fabric and form to the London vessels, have recently been made in Hertfordshire, on sites in St Albans (the Black Lion Inn, Fishpool Street, excavated in 1994; Chequer Street; Abbey Primary School and Belmont Hill) and at Pope's Manor, Hatfield (Alison Turner-Rugg pers. comm.). The overall number of sherds is very small; the fabric is one which has not previously been recognised in the county and does not compare with the products of any known local potteries or ceramic traditions at this date. During the late medieval and early post-medieval periods, St Albans, as the major consumer centre in the county, shows a bias towards the London area and Surrey for its imported pottery, and finds of 'Tudor Green' and Early Border ware (see below, pp. 52–3) are known throughout the county.

Outside England, the closest parallels for the London redware cups, in terms of fabric and glaze, appear to lie in the Low Countries (Dutch red earthenware). However, the forms are not known in the Netherlands, and, under closer examination, the fabric does not appear to be of Dutch origin (Jan Baart pers. comm.; see also Appendix 1).

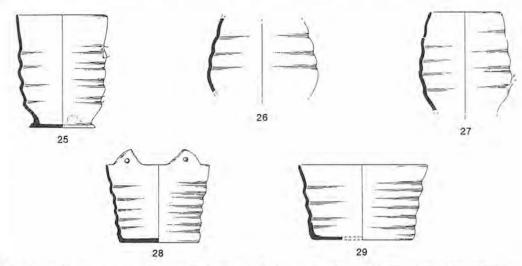


Fig. 7. 'Tudor Green' ware corrugated vessels from the late 15th-century kiln group at Farnborough Hill (after original drawings by Felix Holling). Scale 1:4.

The Surrey-Hampshire Border ware industry

The late medieval industry

By far the most convincing evidence for the source of the London finds comes from the potteries of the Surrey-Hampshire borders, around Farnham (see Fig. 6). This area had a long tradition of potting, using the white-firing clays of the Reading Beds, and was supplying London in quantity from at least the late 13th century. Between c. 1350 and c. 1500, when production ceased, Coarse Border ware was the most common pottery used in the capital (Pearce and Vince 1988, 84). During the 15th century, very fine whitewares, widely known as 'Tudor Green', were made alongside coarsewares as a specialised sideline at various Surrey whiteware kilns (ibid., 79). An important group of late 15th-century kiln material from Farnborough Hill consists of Coarse Border ware, as well as associated drinking vessels and other forms in fine whiteware, including drinking jugs, lobed, pedestal and corrugated cups (Fig. 7; Holling 1977). Lobed cups are the earliest widemouthed drinking vessels known in the London area; their introduction is now dated to the early 14th century by numerous finds in Kingston-type ware from the recently excavated kiln at Eden Street, Kingston upon Thames, given an archaeomagnetic date of 1300-25 (Stephenson and Miller 1996). Therefore, not only are there longstanding trade links between the Surrey whiteware potteries and the capital, but there is also a long tradition of drinking vessel manufacture. Both factors contribute significantly to the question of the origin of the London redware cups.

By the end of the 15th century, 'Tudor Green' drinking vessels were widely, if thinly, distributed across southern England and even further afield (Moorhouse 1979, 55–6), and must be seen as a key element in the transformation of the industry of the Surrey-Hampshire borders. This is undoubtedly the main native source of cups and drinking vessels used in London during the 16th century, as shown by the large number of drinking jugs found at the Inns of Court (Matthews and Green 1969), and in rather less abundance at other sites. The only other important sources of such forms at this date are Raeren stoneware and Cistercian ware.

Early Border ware

The earliest production of Border ware proper at Farnborough Hill is dated archaeomagnetically to c. 1550-80 (Holling 1977, 64). A wide range of forms was made in a relatively robust, adaptable and attractive fabric, which rapidly became one of the most common kinds of pottery used in London, the main market for the industry until the end of the 17th century (Pearce 1992, 102). However, there is as yet no direct kiln evidence for the early 16th century, although it seems very unlikely that there was any discontinuity in production, given the importance and scale of the industry in the late 15th and mid to late 16th centuries. This is further borne out by surface finds and scattered sherds at Farnborough Hill, suggesting that production was continuous here at least during this period (Holling 1971, 70).

Green-glazed fine whitewares are present in early 16th-century contexts throughout the London area, in a limited range of forms similar to and developed from those found at Farnborough Hill in the late

15th-century kiln waste. The fabric has a smooth feel, but is sturdier and more obviously quartztempered than 'Tudor Green'. Inclusions visible under ×20 magnification are abundant fine and very fine, sub-angular and rounded, colourless and grey quartz, and sparse, very fine, black and red ironrich compound, with occasional larger inclusions <0.2mm. Vessels are noticeably thicker-walled than the fragile 'Tudor Green', with its untempered fabric in which the inclusions are visible only with difficulty under low power magnification, but not to the naked eye (Pearce and Vince 1988, 10-11). It is proposed here that this fabric should be termed 'Early Border ware', to differentiate it from 'Tudor Green', and from Border ware proper with its coarser tempering (Pearce 1992, 5), and more robust fabric, adapted to a far wider range of forms and functions. Early Border ware is dated in London to c. 1480-1550, and the main forms are rounded drinking jugs and pedestal cups without lobes, as well as money-boxes, globular drinking jugs and mammiform costrels. All these forms are found at Cripplegate Buildings in groups dated to the first half of the 16th century, although rounded drinking jugs are the most common. Many vessels previously recorded as either 'Tudor Green' or Border ware, in London and elsewhere, may on further examination prove to have been made in this transitional fabric, which bridges the end of late medieval coarseware production and the start of fully developed Border ware at Farnborough Hill. An early 16th-century group from 137 High Street, Guildford included a mammiform costrel, skillet, money-box, bowl and dish in what is described as 'Surrey ware' (Fabric F2), a fine, smooth-surfaced, light-coloured fabric without visible tempering (Holling 1984, 295, fig. 2, nos. 16, 18, 19, 25 and 27). This may equate with Early Border ware from London, or represent a

more local distribution of pottery from a comparable phase of production in the Border industry.

This outline of the development of the Border ware industry serves to demonstrate the continuity of production in the Farnham area and to show how specialised production of drinking vessels provided a vital mainstay of the industry's output during a crucial period of its development, when it was no longer sustained by the manufacture of large cooking and storage vessels. In itself, this does not show that the London redware cups were made in the Border industry and the evidence linking the two will now be considered.

The production of drinking vessels

The fine redware fabric from Cripplegate has already been shown to have strong similarities with later Red Border ware, both by low power microscopic examination and by thin section analysis (see above). There are also striking similarities between two forms present in the late 15th-century kiln material from Farnborough Hill, and those found in London. Corrugated cups have a very distinctive shape, and are not widely known outside the Border industry: there are parallels in Cistercian ware (Brears 1971, 20-22, Type 13), and at Brill (see p. 50). Both corrugated beakers, without handles, and cups were found in the late 15thcentury fine whiteware fabric from Farnborough Hill where a 'fair number of sherds' of this type were recorded (unpublished notes by Felix Holling, now in Guildford Museum; see Fig. 7). These correspond with Brears' Types 5 and 6 (Brears 1971, 24-26), and some are very close in shape to the London examples (e.g. Fig. 7, No. 25). Other similar examples in fine whiteware or 'Tudor Green' have



Fig. 8. Early Red Border ware rounded cups from 120 High Street, Guildford. Height of cup on left: 90 mm.

been found at various sites, including Winchester (Cunliffe 1964, fig. 27, no. 8); the Old Market Hall in Farnham, where they are green-glazed inside and out (Rackham 1952, fig. 2, pl. VII); and at Overton, Hants., a group dated to the first half of the 16th century, in which corrugated cups are the most numerous type (Moorhouse 1971a, 182, fig. 63, nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 14). All these mirror the form of the London cups and are clearly an established part of the repertoire of potters working in the Farnham area during the late 15th to early 16th centuries. The use of corrugations continued into the second half of the 16th century at Farnborough Hill, but only on beakers or goblets, with green or clear (yellow) glaze (Pearce 1992, fig. 31, nos. 198-203; fig. 32, nos. 204-206). The only other examples of corrugated beakers known in the London area are in Post-medieval slipped redware (formerly Guy's Hospital ware; Pearce in prep b), and by the early 17th century they were no longer made in any industry supplying the capital.

Even more significant is the occurrence of several sherds from corrugated, rounded and other cups found in the well group dated to 1521 from Farnham Castle (Moorhouse 1971b). These include several examples in what is described as a fine, sandy, powdery brick red fabric (both dark and light red), with all-over khaki green, dark olive or dark green, or shiny deep orange glaze (ibid. 43-4; fig. 1, nos. 1-12). The Surrey-Hampshire border potteries were suggested as the likely source of these vessels, and the similarities in fabric, form and technology between known examples were seen as pointing to production by a single family or group of potters over a very limited period (ibid., 45). This makes an interesting comparison with the London redware cups, for which the same suggestion is made here (see below, p. 55).

Rounded cups too can be paralleled in early 16th-century whiteware, although not quite so closely. 'Tudor Green' and Early Border ware rounded drinking jugs are generally taller and differ in their relative proportions, with a deeper neck (for example, Pearce 1992, fig. 32, nos. 207-17). Globular drinking jugs are closer in shape (ibid., fig. 34, nos. 240-51; fig. 35, nos. 252-62), and generally have a cordon just below the rim, although the neck is typically both deeper and narrower than the London redwares. These forms closely parallel fine green-glazed drinking jugs made in Beauvais whiteware (Hurst 1970-1, figs. 1-23), which has led to the suggestion that the French industry may have directly influenced the introduction of these and other cup forms into the repertoire of the Farnham potteries during the 15th/16th centuries (Moorhouse 1979, 57; Barton 1992, 250), with further influences traceable in the form of

corrugated drinking vessels made in Beauvais and Rhenish stoneware (ibid.; Morrison 1970-1; cf. Hurst et al. 1986, fig. 48, nos. 145-6). Certainly the London redware rounded cups owe more to drinking jug shapes than to more open-mouthed cups, and there are sufficient similarities in shape to the late 15th- to early 16th-century Early Border ware vessels to suggest that the London redwares may represent a variation or stage in the evolution of the form. A much closer parallel is provided by two cups recently excavated in an early 16thcentury group from 120 High Street, Guildford (Guildford Museum, RB3932; Fig. 8). These are in a redware fabric which compares closely with the London pottery (see Appendix 1), and have a thin overall brown-khaki glaze with a mottled effect similar to that on many of the green-glazed London sherds. Although they come from a consumer site, rather than a kiln group, and cannot therefore be conclusively identified as originating in the Farnham potteries, they do at least show that fabrics and forms comparable with those found in London were being used in Surrey at a similar date. The form of the London redware cups perhaps best mirrors Brears' Type 9 (Brears 1971, 24, 26), as found at the Inns of Court (Matthews and Green 1969, fig. 2, no. 24), Nonsuch Palace (Biddle 1961, fig. 6, no. 4) and St George's Street, Winchester (Cunliffe 1964, fig. 27, no. 6). This form continued into the 17th century; examples in brown-glazed whiteware and in Red Border ware are known from London (Pearce 1992, fig. 35, nos. 263-7).

Taken together, the above evidence argues strongly in favour of the Farnham area of the Surrey-Hampshire borders as a source for the London redware cups. A further small, but by no means insignificant piece of evidence from Cripplegate Buildings is a single sherd from a corrugated cup identical in form to the redware vessels, but in a whiteware fabric which matches that of Early Border ware (Bag 98). The vessel walls are of a similar thickness to those of Early Red Border ware cups, rather than the much thinner and finer 'Tudor Green', and the cup is glazed inside and out with an olive-green glaze exhibiting the 'plaice-like' mottling typical of this glaze colour on sherds of green-glazed Early Red Border ware. This find shows that both red- and whitewares were being made in the same pottery, sharing both the corrugated form and a method of glazing which produced a distinctive effect on the finished vessel. It also shows that the potter(s) who made the redware cups had access to white-firing clay, and this at once restricts the number of areas in which both kinds of clay outcrop in close proximity. In the London region, the Surrey-Hampshire border potteries were the main industry to be in a position to exploit this situation, at a time when other whiteware producers

who regularly supplied the capital, for example at Kingston and Cheam, were moving towards the manufacture of redwares alone (Orton 1982, 82; Nelson 1981).

Early Red Border ware

All this evidence suggests that the redware cups from Cripplegate Buildings were made in the Surrey-Hampshire Border tradition during the first half of the 16th century and into the second half of the century. The name 'Early Red Border ware' is proposed to distinguish the fabric from later redwares made at Farnborough Hill and elsewhere in the region. The earliest occurrence in London of Red Border ware proper, in forms mirroring those of the main whiteware series, is dated on present evidence to c. 1580 (for example, at Boston House, Broad Street: Pearce 1994). This is the end of the main dated phase of production in the kilns excavated at Farnborough Hill (Holling 1977, 64). Red Border ware was never as common as the whiteware fabric in London, nor at any of the known kilns (Holling 1971, 63-4; Haslam 1975, 166-7), much of the output probably having a more local distribution, since London was already well supplied with redwares made nearer the capital.

The redware cups from Cripplegate Buildings offer the chief evidence for the existence of a suggested phase of redware production in the Farnham area predating the main kilns at Farnborough Hill. This is a phase not yet represented in any of the kiln material from the region. On the other hand, although there is no kiln evidence as yet for the continued production of whitewares c. 1480-1550, these appear to have been made throughout the 16th century. The London finds may represent an early, perhaps experimental use of the outcrops of red-firing London clay in the Farnham area, which later formed a regular, if limited, part of the output of the fully established Border ware industry of the late 16th to 17th centuries. This early phase concentrated on fine tablewares, whereas the later redwares were principally designed for general kitchen and household use, and by the mid 18th century, redwares were the only kind of pottery made in the industry. It is also probable that the various forms found in Early Red Border ware at Cripplegate Buildings were all the products of a single workshop, and may have been produced within the working lifetime of a single potter, or two generations at most. This suggestion is based on the close similarity in shape and detail within each form; the narrow range of vessel forms represented, two of which occur in significant quantities; the similarities of manufacture between forms, such as handle, rim and base forms, and

the ubiquitous neck cordon; the lack of variation in the fabric; and in the appearance and use of glaze.

THE CONTEXT OF THE LONDON REDWARE CUPS

Apart from the remarkable concentration of cups dumped in the City Ditch at Cripplegate, Early Red Border ware is rare in London. Its recent identification may mean that sherds have been misattributed (for example, as Dutch red earthenware), and that it was both more common than present evidence suggests, and made in a wider range of forms. An important example of a corrugated cup with staggered handles was found at St John's, Clerkenwell in a context dated to c. 1550–1600 (Blackmore in prep). A single example was also found on site V at St Mary's Clerkenwell (ibid.), but other identified sherds are very thinly scattered across the City, and nothing can compare with the Cripplegate find for quantity. This atypical pattern of distribution lends further support to the suggestion that the cups were made at a single pottery over a relatively short period (see above). If so, it is possible that this pottery was principally supplying a single major outlet with very specific requirements, perhaps even that there was a contract with the pottery for the supply in bulk of certain kinds of specialised vessels. It is clear from documentary records that the various Inns of Court had an arrangement with the potters of the Farnham area from the late 15th century onwards, to provide them with large quantities of green-glazed whiteware drinking vessels, replacing wooden cups during the course of the 16th century (Matthews and Green 1969, 1-2).

It is hardly likely that a single household of average size, or even several households concentrated in one small area of the City would have need of such large quantities of drinking vessels. John Stow, in his Survey of London, records that there were various 'fair houses' in Aldermanbury, Milk Street, Addle Street and Silver Street within the walls, and Redcross Street, west of St Giles without Cripplegate (Kingsford 1971, 290-303). However, it is by no means certain that any of these would have had the facilities or need to accomodate large numbers of guests, or any other reason to purchase pottery in bulk. Bulk buying by a tavern is certainly conceivable, although the Cripplegate redware cups are of good quality, rather than durable, and probably not well suited for tavern usage, which would be much better served by Raeren stoneware at this date. Perhaps a more likely candidate in the early 16th century would be one of the numerous Livery Companies whose Halls were situated in this area of the City, for use at their feasts and messes.

These were almost always private courtyard houses bequeathed by a leading member of the craft, and had a large hall suitable for social and ceremonial gatherings (Schofield 1993, 115-16). The first hall, by St Swithin's Church, used by the Drapers' Company from 1405 until the mid 16th century, could hold 300 guests and hosted some very splendid entertainments (Ditchfield 1926, 103-4). These entertainments would certainly require tablewares, including ceramic vessels, in great quantities. Company plate would no doubt be much in evidence at important feasts, while earthenware drinking vessels would be more suitable for those of the fellowship dining in the main hall, rather than in the Parlour, which was reserved for the senior guild membership or Livery (Schofield 1993, 117-18). They would be cheaper than pewter to buy in bulk, and more attractive in appearance, as well as easier to clean than turned wooden vessels, hence the general move to replace treen with pottery during the 16th century (see above). Livery Halls which had been established close to the site by the early 16th century belonged to the following Companies: the Bowyers (established 1475), the Curriers (1516), the Brewers (1403), the Pinmakers (1480), and the Barber-Surgeons (Lobel 1989, 3, 67, 71, 83, map 3). Many of the less wealthy Companies still had no hall of their own by the early 16th century and were therefore obliged to rent suitable premises for their feasts and meetings. The Brewers' Hall was leased by the Company during the 15th century for the use of several other Companies (ibid., 67). The hall belonging to the Fraternity of St Giles, to the north of the site, outside the walls, was rented by the Butchers Company by 1544, if not earlier, then sold to the Bishop of Durham in 1567 (ibid., 87).

All the Livery Halls listed above are situated in the area bounded in the early 16th century by Gayspurslane in the east, Adelstrete and Silverstrete in the south, by the City walls and Mugwellstrete in the west, and by London Wall and the City Ditch to the north (ibid., map 3). It may be that a larger catchment area should be considered. However, the large quantities of metalworking ceramics recovered from the site were clearly generated locally, as attested by documentary sources which highlight Cripplegate Ward as a focus of metallurgy (Blackmore and Pearce in prep). It is, therefore, unlikely that broken crockery and other domestic rubbish would have been carried very far from their source for disposal, but would be taken to the nearest convenient dumping ground. Good quality, attractively finished drinking vessels were probably bought in bulk by one of the City Livery Companies from a pottery in the Farnham area during the 16th century, in much the same way as the Inns of Court regularly purchased whiteware drinking jugs from

the same area. In the light of these documented and putative contracts with potteries, it is noteworthy that the tradition of specialised drinking vessel manufacture continued in the Border region into the 17th century. Mugs formed an important part of the output of the pottery at Minley Road, Cove (Haslam 1975, 173-9), and it has been suggested, (Lewis 1991, 140), that such vessels are notably found on sites associated with royal progresses, or the gathering of large households, such as Basing House (Moorhouse 1970), Dover Castle (Mynard 1969), Farnham Castle (Moorhouse 1971b) and Nonsuch Palace (Biddle 1961). Lewis has also drawn attention to a reference in the parish register to one William Geale of Cove, the 'King's cupmaker', buried at Yateley in 1638, suggesting that he was at least associated with the manufacture of vessels supplied to great households in the medieval tradition, even if they were not actually for royal usage (Lewis 1991, 138). This long-standing specialisation in 'cup-making' provides a valuable context for the Cripplegate finds.

CONCLUSION

The discovery, amongst material excavated some 50 years ago, of more than 200 fine quality drinking vessels in a fabric and forms new to the London ceramic sequence, clearly demonstrates the ample rewards to be gained by continued work on the London archive. In spite of the limitations of the stratigraphic record, analysis of the material recovered by W. F. Grimes has made possible the identification of a likely phase of redware production in the early 16th-century pottery industry of the Surrey-Hampshire borders which was previously unrecognised. Although conclusive evidence is lacking, in the form of waster dumps or datable kilns, taken together the various threads of evidence considered here present a strong argument for the manufacture of a specialised range of vessels using the red-firing London clay outcropping in the Farnham area at an earlier date than was previously suspected.

Inevitably, the reasons why such large numbers of a particular kind of pottery were found in so limited a location must enter into the realm of surmise. However, reasonable suppositions may be made on the basis of existing evidence, suggesting that the cups may have been bought in bulk by one or more of the City Livery Companies for use at the feasts and messes held in their Company Halls. Ultimately, in the absence of documentary evidence, this cannot be proven, but it is offered as a reasonable explanation for the intriguing enigma presented by the pottery which was for so long hidden away in archive stores.

APPENDIX 1

Thin section analysis of Early Red Border wares from Cripplegate Buildings

Roberta Tomber

This report concerns a group of cups, sometimes greenglazed, produced in Early Red Border ware. These vessels were identified macroscopically as forming a discrete and coherent group. The purpose here therefore is to characterise this fabric in thin section, and to compare it with two superficially similar fabrics, Red Border ware and Dutch Red earthenware.

Six sherds of Early Red Border ware were examined in thin section under the petrological microscope. They are homogeneous in appearance, all with a birefringent clay containing common to abundant mica, mostly muscovite but occasionally biotite. It is a fine-textured fabric comprising abundant, frequently angular inclusions of fine sand grade or smaller (<0.10 mm). Additional larger inclusions occur up to c. 0.55 mm, varying somewhat from sample to sample, but usually not exceeding 0.25 or 0.35 mm. Monocrystalline quartz is the most common inclusion in all size ranges, but occasional grains of polycrystalline quartz, chert/ flint, and feldspar also occur. Opaque inclusions, or sometimes ferruginous pellets, are frequently common, with rare examples measuring up to 3.0 mm in size. Other rare inclusions, not present in each sample, are clay pellets, glauconitic pellets and limestone.

Both Dutch Red earthenware and Red Border ware fabrics contain the same range of inclusions as Early Red Border ware, and few meaningful distinctions can be made between them. The three samples of Dutch Red earthenware are somewhat heterogeneous in texture, but do tend to be very micaceous, possibly with more biotite mica than for Early Red Border ware. Other distinguishing features are the common larger inclusions — frequently up to c. 0.20mm (most similar to Early Red Border ware 6) and, in the case of Dutch Red earthenware 2, fewer silt-sized inclusions. Two examples (1, 1459) contain rare siltstones. These features need to be assessed for a wider sample size before their potential significance can be determined.

A wide range of textural differences are identified amongst the Red Border ware, including fine sherds with only silt-grade material (42, 151), those similar in sorting to Early Red Border ware (3, 1208, 1470) and a slightly coarser one with regular inclusions up to 0.25mm (1468). Two samples (1208, 1470) contain siltstone, while limestone, possibly the result of post-depositional infilling, occurs in 1470.

Four samples also contain single fragments of amphibole. Of these, three were originally identified macroscopically as Dutch Red earthenware (1, 2, 1459), and one as Red Border ware (1468). When reviewed together macroscopically all four appeared similar and the possibility exists that 1468 (which was also similar in texture to the other Dutch Red earthenware) is Dutch Red earthenware. If so, the presence of amphibole — if found to recur in additional samples — may provide a means by which to distinguish imported from local red wares.

Sherds examined in thin section

Thin section number, Provenance/Fabric code (thin section numbers above 10 refer to existing slides in the MoLSS Fabric Reference Collection, rather than those made specifically for this study, which number 1-9)

Early Red Border ware

- 4. Guildford RB3932
- 5. WFG18 [242]
- 6. WFG18 [208]
- 7. WFG18 [239]
- 8. WFG18 [244]
- 9. WFG18 [60]

Red Border ware

- 3. AL74 [1156] Skw 1701
- 42. Skw 1681
- 151. Skw 1760
- 1208. Skw 3650
- 1468. Skw 1271
- 1470. Skw 1761

Dutch Red earthenware

- 1. Antwerp Skw 4068
- 2. Amsterdam 12 Skw 4076
- 1459. SKW 2112

APPENDIX 2

Gazetteer of places in south-east England mentioned in the text, illustrated in Fig. 6.

- 1. Oxford
- 2. Brill
- 3. St Albans
- 4. Hatfield
- 5. Colchester
- 6. Chelmsford
- 7. Harlow
- 8. London
- 9. Cheam
- 10. Nonsuch Palace
- 11. Kingston upon Thames
- 12. Guildford
- 13. Farnham
- 14. Farnham Castle
- 15. Ash
- 16. Farnborough Hill
- 17. Hawley
- 18. Cove
- 19. Overton
- 20. Basing House
- 21. Winchester
- 22. Dover Castle

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The photographs in Figs. 2, 4 and 5 were taken by Torla Evans of the Museum of London (copyright Museum of London). Fig. 8 is reproduced by kind permission of Guildford Museum. The cups illustrated in Fig. 7 are based on originals by Felix Holling, and all remaining illustrations are by the author.

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EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY 16TH-CENTURY SURREY-HAMPSHIRE BORDER WARE INDUSTRY

Resume

Dans l'industrie céramique des régions frontalières entre le Surrey et le Hampshire, une phase de production de "Redware" datant du début du XVIe siècle est proposée par suite de la découverte unique d'une quantité considérable de coupes vernissées. Celles-ci furent trouvées sur un unique site à Cripplegate dans la Cité de Londres. À la suite de leur examination et comparaison pétrologique avec les productions de quelques industries céramiques contemporaines qui approvisionnaient Londres, le terme "Early Red Border Ware" est propose pour cette ceramique nouvellement identifiée. Une typologie est présentée et des raisons sont suggérées pour expliquer le dépôt d'un seul type de poterie en si grande quantité dans un unique quartier de la Cité. Une phase de production de "whiteware" dans l'industrie de cette région frontalière, datant du début du XVIe siècle, est aussi proposée. Elle aurait été une phase intermédiaire entre la production de la céramique "Tudor Green" et l'introduction de la véritable ceramique dite "Border ware" au milieu du XVIe siècle.

Zusammenfassung

Auf Grund des einzigartigen Fundes einer beträchtlichen Anzahl feiner, glasierter Rotware Tassen von einer einzigen Ausgrabungsstätte, Cripplegate in der Londoner City, wird für das frühe 16 Jahrhundert eine extra Phase in der Rotware Herstellung auf der Grenze zwischen Surrey und Hampshire vorgeschlagen. Nach Gesteinsuntersuchungen und Vergleichen mit Erzeugnissen verschiedener zeitgenössischer Keramikindustrien, die London belieferten, wird für dieses bisher nicht erkannte Material die Bezeichnung "Early Red Border Ware" vorgeschlagen, ebenso wird eine Typologie vorgestellt und werden die Gründe untersucht, wie es zu einer so großen Ansammlung eines einzigen Typus' in einer bestimmten Gegend der City gekommen ist. Zusätzlich wird für das frühe 16te Jahrhundert eine extra Phase der Weißwaren Herstellung für die Border Produktion vorgeschlagen, und zwar als Übergangsphase zwischen der Herstellung von "Tudor Green" und der eigentlichen "Border Ware" Mitte des 16ten Jahrhunderts.