

1994) 33-54 and see Howard, M 1983, *The Renaissance at Sutton Place*, 23-32.

⁷ A short biography of William Weston is to be found by G. J. O'Malley in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004.

⁸ For early and substantial discussion and illustration of the work at Layer Marney, see R. Blomefield, *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800*, (London: 1897); and J. A. Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, (London: 1901). There is no full, modern survey of this building.

⁹ On the East Anglia terracotta tombs, see A. P. Baggs, 'Sixteenth-century terracotta tombs in East Anglia', *Archaeological Journal*, **125**, (1968), 295-301 and further on the tombs and the use of terracotta generally, see Anthony Blunt, 'L'influence Française sur l'architecture et la sculpture décorative en Angleterre pendant la première moitié du XVI^eme siècle', *Revue de l'Art*, **4**, (1969), 17-29. The tombs have most recently been described in John Blatchly's 'The Terracotta Trail' at pages 124-25, in John Blatchly and Judith Middleton-Stewart, J. 2002, 'Sir Philip Bothe of Shrubland: The Last of a Distinguished Line Builds in Commemoration', in C. Harper-Bill, C. Rawcliffe and R. G. Wilson, *East Anglia's History. Studies in honour of Norman Scarfe* (Woodbridge: 2002), 123-48.

¹⁰ One of the greatest problems with studying architectural terracotta is the paucity of the documentary record; there are no extant building accounts for any structure upon which architectural terracotta was installed, nor is there any documentation that records the production or marketing of architectural terracotta. As an industry, the manufacture and use of terracotta is solely known from the material itself and the buildings on which it was installed.

¹¹ The bulk of architectural terracotta from archaeological excavations at Hampton Court palace emerged from the excavation of the privy garden. The fifty-eight pieces of terracotta from this excavation were published in a two-page section of the interim report, for which see Simon Thurley, *The King's Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace 1689-1995*, (London: 1995), 112-114. This material is discussed further in Morris 2000, *op cit*. I am given to understand that there are presently no plans to publish this material fully.

¹² The work of both Maiano and Treviso are discussed in Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (London and Yale: 1993). Wolsey use of terracotta is discussed in some detail in Philip Lindley, 'Playing check-mate with royal majesty? Wolsey's patronage of Italian Renaissance sculpture', in S. J. Gunn and P. Lindley, *Cardinal Wolsey. Church, State and Art*. (Cambridge: 1991), 261-85. It is ironic to note that Lindley noted then that no detailed analysis of Maiano's terracotta medallions had been undertaken, which remains the case to this day.

¹³ On the Renaissance frieze at St Cross see, Angela Smith and Nicholas Riall, 'Early Tudor Canopywork at the Hospital of St Cross, Winchester', *Antiquaries Journal*, **82**, (2002), 125-56; on the Renaissance frieze created for Prior Silkstede see,

Nicholas Riall, 'Thomas Silkstede's Renaissance-Styled Canopied Woodwork in the South Transept of Winchester Cathedral', *Proc Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Soc*, **58**, (2003), 209-25.

¹⁴ Smith and Riall, *op cit*, and Riall PhD dissertation, University of Wales Swansea, in preparation.

¹⁵ Blatchly 2002, 124-25.

Jenny Stopford, Medieval Floor Tiles of Northern England

Oxbow Books, 2005. xvii + 393pp, c200 figs. ISBN 1842171429. Price: £40.00. Hardback

The subtitle of this seminal work is *Pattern and Purpose: production between the 13th and 16th centuries*. Ms Stopford provides a comprehensive record and analysis of the provenanced floor tiles, divided into workshop groups, from the Humber and Ribble to the Scottish border. The author is to be congratulated on her achievement, as is English Heritage for supporting a project of such scope.

The story begins with the plain mosaic pavements for which the region is well-known. These are strongly associated with reformed, and particularly Cistercian, abbeys. At Meaux and Rievaulx the tiles were clearly manufactured at nearby granges, and the inference that these tiles were made under the direction of craftsmen moving from site to site, beginning with Byland in the 1220s, is convincing. Like earlier *opus sectile* and *cosmati* work, some of the patterns appear to have had symbolic meaning as a representation of the cosmos, and there is a tantalising hint, in the form of loose letter tiles, that they may have included inscriptions making the link explicit. The technical and artistic skills to produce this material clearly came from continental Europe, and included, seemingly from the outset, the technical ability to make inlaid tiles. Their use grew in the later 13th century, as the range of customers expanded.

Dating evidence is elusive and often equivocal. A relatively 'long' chronology, c.1220-1270, is proposed for plain mosaic, with the decorated (*i.e.* inlaid) mosaic group, best known from the roundels at Jervaulx Abbey, following it around the end of the 13th century, on the evidence primarily of some designs on square quarries. But the parallels for the roundels, as Stopford indeed notes, are in France from the second quarter of the 13th century and, closer to hand, at Clarendon and Winchester in the 1240s (page 178). Given their mutually exclusive distribution (save for Thornton Abbey), a more likely scenario would see the inlaid mosaics originating by the middle of the 13th century, produced alongside the plain mosaic, but by different craftsmen drawing on different artistic sources. A direct link to a French source, probably in Normandy, is suggested both by the frequent inlaying of the background rather than the pattern in the roundels and some of the square quarries, and the fact that the resemblance to the Clarendon tiles is generic

rather than specific. A main production site near the Humber estuary, continuing to make square tiles into the 14th century, seems likely.

However, by c.1325 extensive floor tile production in the region had evidently ceased, about a century after it began. Thereafter, some decorated tiles reached the southern part of the region in the 14th century from Nottingham, their distribution clearly linked to water transport along the Trent, Humber and Ouse. There are a few other minor groups, most represented by a few tiles from a single site, some certainly imported to the region. To those identified, one might suggest that the distinctive style of Un/8 and, especially, Un/9, resembles that of tiles from the Utrecht region (Renaud 1959, 213), which certainly reached sites on the Essex coast. But in general taste moved during the 14th century to plain glazed tiles ultimately laid chequer fashion; their distribution has a strong east coast bias. In this respect the east coast of northern England fits into a wider pattern around the North Sea, and indeed Baltic, littoral. How many are Netherlandish imports and how many were made locally using similar techniques remains uncertain. This is one of many questions on which analysis by ICP or other techniques is capable of shedding light, and one can only echo the author's regret (page 7) that more funding for it was not available, given the value of the limited work reported here by Mike Hughes. The book implicitly sets out a tantalising research agenda (page 83).

The revival of decorated tile production in the southern part of the region in the late 15th to early 16th century echoes similar trends in western England and elsewhere. Some of these show the nail holes typical of imported plain tiles, which raises a question about the involvement of foreign craftsmen. But unlike the setting of Prior Hubby's arms portrayed in a prayer Book of 1516 (page 58), and in contrast to some material from southern England, none shows any sign of renaissance influence in their design.

The most striking aspect of the survey is the comparative rarity of sites with medieval floor tiles – 118 from the whole region, which is about the same as the number known to this reviewer in Essex alone. From the outset, the overwhelming majority were monastic, with only a few parish churches and secular sites, mostly in or near the large towns of York and Hull. The later 13th-century transition from production geared to the needs of a few major patrons to settled, entrepreneurial production lasting well into the 14th century, which is common to much of the southern half of England, seemingly began but was not sustained in the north.

Assuming that this picture is not the result of bias in survival or discovery, the fundamental difference between the study area and the counties to the immediate south, like Cheshire and Nottinghamshire, seems to be cultural. Floor tiles never really became part of the regional building repertoire, and to the limited extent that they did, the author

emphasises a predominant association with religious houses (page 70). A geographically determinist view would be that since stone suitable for paving tends to be readily available in the north, there was no general need for tiles; but that is to ignore the very different visual qualities of the two materials. There may be an indirect link, in that many medieval commercial tileries seem to have produced, quantitatively, a high proportion of roof to floor tiles: floor tiles are least common west of the Pennines, where fissile stone tends to be most readily available for roof covering.

To provide wider context for the use (or not) of floor tiles, it would be necessary to understand and map the parallel use of other durable materials on floors; and to understand whether floor tiles occur at sites as part of a wider assemblage of contemporary ceramic building materials, or alone. This is not a criticism of the already heroic scale of this study. Indeed, for the majority of sites in the gazetteer, it is highly unlikely that such questions could be reliably answered from surviving finds and archives, given antiquarian bias in reporting and retaining decorative tiles, and the substantial loss of material from excavations even during the past half century. Rather, it suggests a line of enquiry for future research.

Ms Stopford's view that 'published drawings, often made from a number of tiles', are not reliable for comparing designs, (page 4) seems overly pessimistic. With very worn tiles, or those where slip decoration has been smeared in manufacture, this will also be true of the tiles themselves. In fact the aim in a publication drawing should be to achieve as near a reversed image of the production stamp as possible, clarifying the detail from many examples, whilst taking care to ensure that all are indeed from the same stamp. Such drawings should indeed stand valid comparison with others produced in the same way, especially if all are published at the comparatively large scale of 1:3 adopted here.

Careful observation has added to our understanding of tile-making technology, including the marking out of linear mosaic designs with stretched twine (page 20). But it is very doubtful indeed that the clay was 'rolled out' rather than thrown into a form and struck level to provide the blank from which square quarries or mosaic shapes were cut (page 86). This was standard practice in producing all brick and tile. It rapidly produces a blank of standard thickness, with no inherent tendency to curl during firing.

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