

**Medieval Ceramics**  
**Papers**



# The medieval pottery assemblages from Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire

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*The report is an attempt to draw conclusions from over 40 years of research on the medieval pottery from Wharram Percy. It charts the period from the 5th to the 17th centuries; 1200 years during which time the sources of pottery used by the inhabitants of the village changed, as did their social and economic network of contacts. Less than half of the pottery comes from stratified contexts, but its distribution across the site nonetheless gives invaluable insights into the excavations and helps to place it within its regional and national context. The report is the culmination of an ambitious project conceived of by Anna Slowikowski, who had worked on the material for many years, but who was prevented from completing the work due to illness. The meticulous detail of her archive will, however, provide future students with an invaluable resource, and it is hoped that this report will serve not only as an overview of the conclusions which can be drawn from Anna's scholarly work, but as a memorial to her commitment and contribution to the Wharram Percy project.*

## Introduction

When Anna entered her final period of illness, in 2011, she had been working on what would have been one of her most important, and no doubt most satisfying contributions to ceramic studies: an overview of the medieval pottery from Wharram Percy in North Yorkshire.

Anna's involvement in the Wharram Research Project began in 1987, when she agreed to take over from Jean le Patourel as the Project's medieval pottery specialist. Her experience of Yorkshire's regional pottery traditions, accumulated during her time in West Yorkshire when working on assemblages such as that from Kirkstall Abbey, made her an obvious choice. Despite her then recent move to Bedford, she saw the attraction of working on such a high-profile project; but it was also clear that she found the prospect a daunting one.

In the first place, she would initially have to establish a close working relationship with Jean Le Patourel, whose rather severe and uncompromising reputation was well-known. As it transpired, Anna found Jean both helpful and supportive and this made

the transition much smoother than it might otherwise have been.

Secondly, the Wharram Research Project had by then already lasted over three decades, and much of the medieval pottery recovered during that time had been analysed and reported according to the methodologies favoured in the 1950s and 1960s. The identification of types and forms had changed considerably since that time; and the earlier practice, at Wharram and at many contemporary excavations, of discarding undecorated body sherds, leaving a residue of rims, handles, bases and decorated sherds, made it impossible to rework fully the ceramics recovered from two of the main 'peasant farmstead' excavations (Areas 6 and 10; see Le Patourel 1979, 74–5).

Anna contributed medieval pottery reports to eight volumes in the Wharram series (*Wharram VI – XIII*), the most significant being her discussion of the Anglo-Saxon pottery from a series of Middle Saxon occupation areas published in *Wharram VII and Wharram VIII* (Slowikowski 1992, 27–38; 2000, 60–98). Besides writing up previously unstudied assemblages from the excavation sites published in

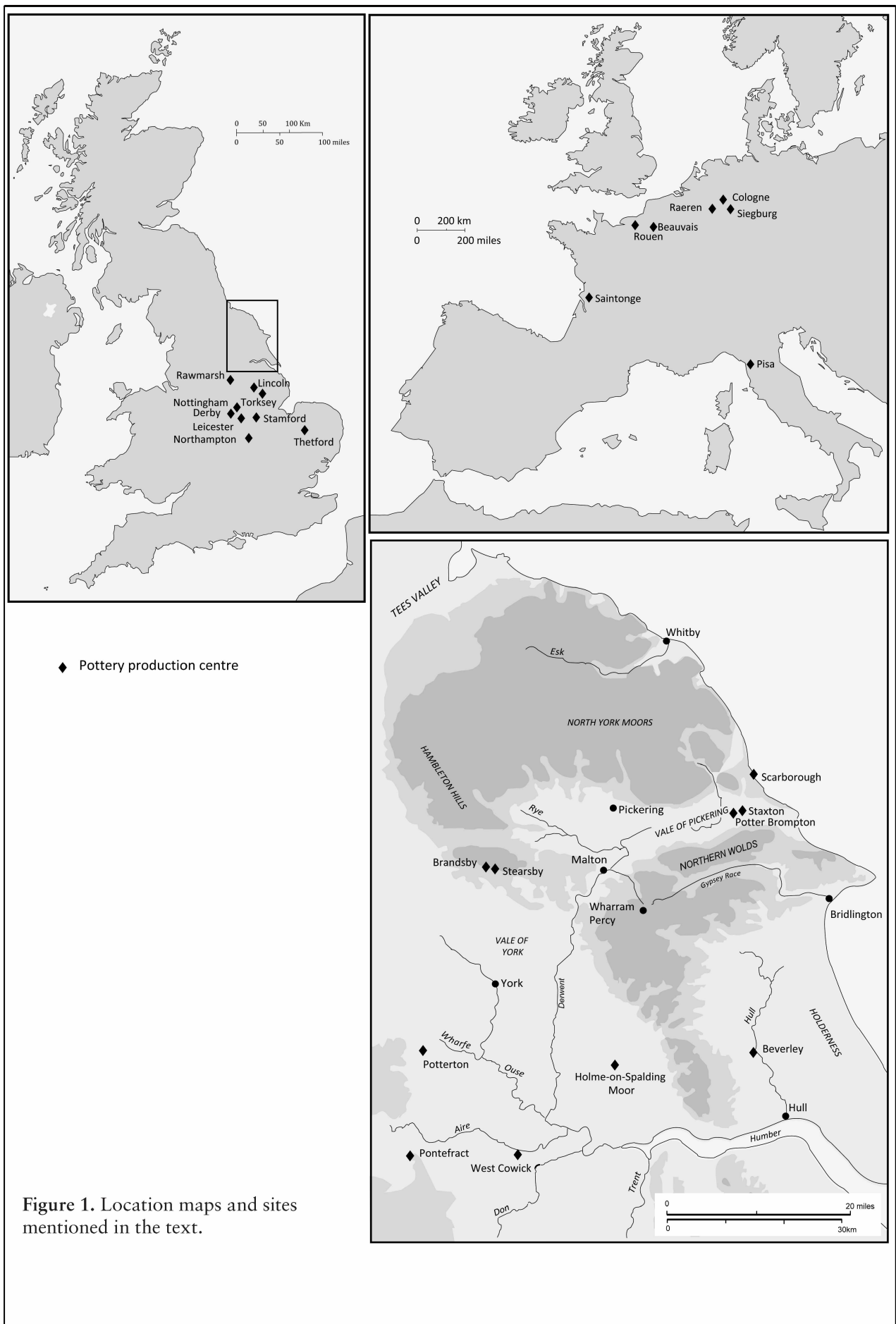
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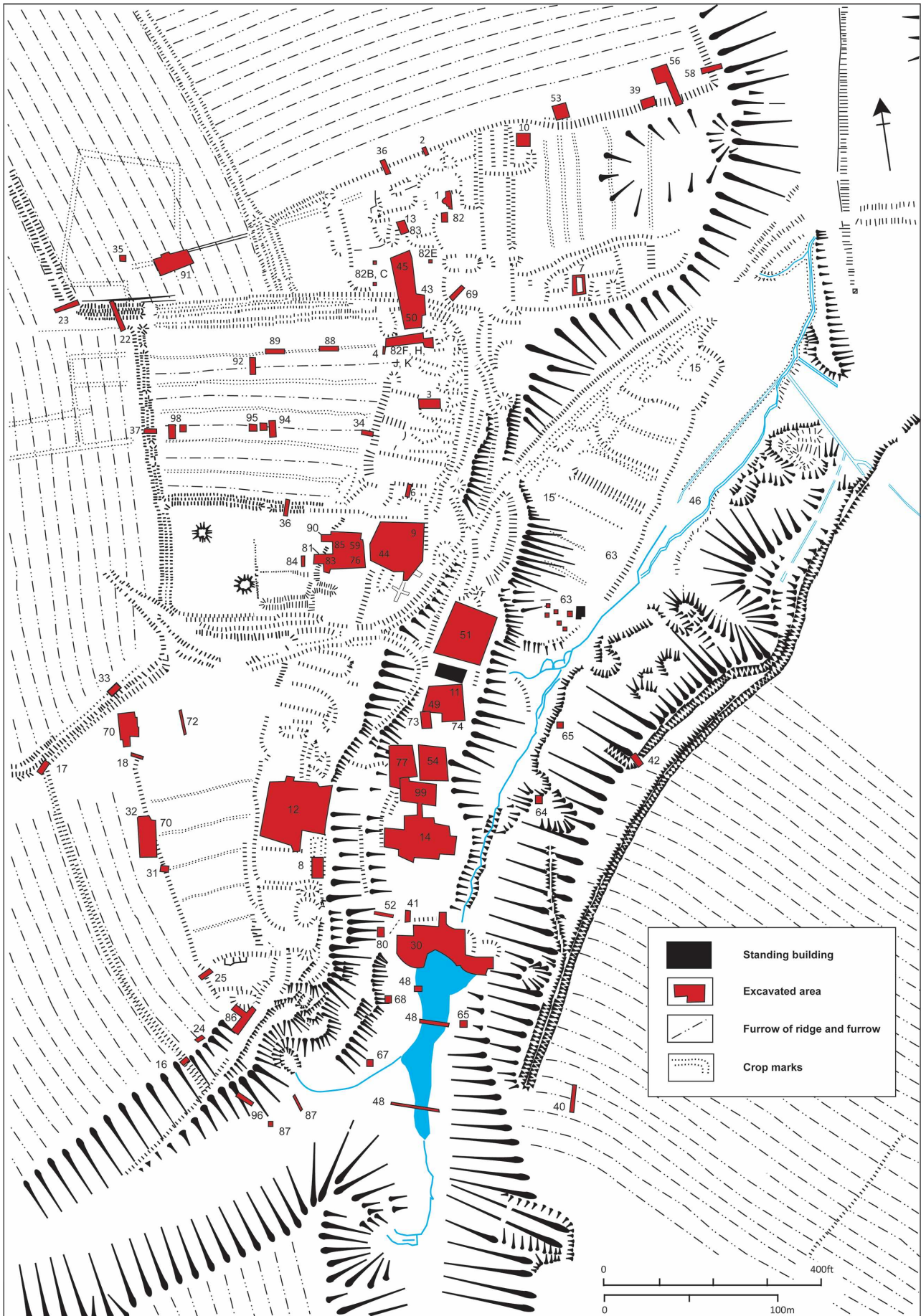


Figure 2. Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire, archaeological trenches.



*Wharram VII–XIII*, she also reviewed what remained from the earlier excavations to gain a comprehensive understanding of the medieval ceramics from the one hundred sites (some large, many small) excavated across the village area.

The direction taken by the editor [SW] when formulating the focus and structure of the final volume (*Wharram XIII*) was undoubtedly a disappointment to her. Attempting to tell the story of Wharram from later prehistoric times to the 16th century, it brought together the work of many authors, including key contributions from Anna herself. However, it gave her no opportunity to publish a comprehensive discussion of the Wharram pottery in a separate chapter, as she would have been able to do in a more conventional excavation report.

Recognising the potential loss of high-level discussion of one of the largest rural medieval and later pottery assemblages in the region (it amounted to over 85,000 sherds even after the earlier disposals), the editor commissioned her to write an overview of the village-wide assemblage for publication in a journal such as *Medieval Ceramics*.

In preparation for this, Anna quantified the entire medieval pottery assemblage and arranged it according to chronological ‘groups’ of types, starting in the Late Saxon period and ending at the medieval/post-medieval transition. She then translated the phasing of each individual site into village-wide ‘master phases’, allowing her to identify relative proportions of different pottery types in each master phase. She formulated a series of questions that she wished to answer on the basis of her groupings and phasing, but was unable to complete her commission. What follows is a record of what she was given the time to do, completed as far as possible by Ailsa Mainman, who the editor believes would surely have been Anna’s own choice to carry out this task. In order to distinguish each of the individual authors’ contributions in this article then their initials appear in parentheses at the end of the paragraph [AC/SW].

Without a doubt this would have been a different and more exhaustive report had Anna been in good health and able to complete it. It is still essentially Anna’s report and as far as possible effort has been made to use the sections she was able to complete. It has been a delicate task to preserve her analysis and interpretation while ensuring that the report is as full and useful as possible, and a fitting a tribute to her. While the first part of the work is almost entirely Anna’s, the later sections were unwritten. The latter have been put together as far as is possible from her notes and analysis, but they may encapsulate slightly different or additional views. Undoubtedly Anna would have been able to add a much more nuanced interpretation to these sections, but her lasting contribution will be the data now held by the Archaeology Data Service (doi:10.5284/1000415), available for study by future ceramicists and archaeologists [AM].

## Methodology

Since the 1980s the ceramics from each excavation area on the village site have been systematically recorded, quantified and entered into a database format. Prior to this the pottery, primarily from Areas 6 and 10, was recorded on index cards and quantified by sherd count only. To achieve a comprehensive synthesis of the pottery it was important that such data be included. The assemblage from Areas 6 and 10, however, was not retained *in toto* and it could therefore not be brought up to the same level of recording and quantification as the later ones. Nevertheless, the information from the index cards was included, resulting in as full a ceramic record as was deemed necessary for the purposes of overall quantification and site distribution. This means that the pottery record for these areas is by individual card number, grid, broad context description, fabric code (where identifiable) and sherd count. The card numbers allow the cards to be related to the database record.

A single coded type series, with accompanying reference collection, has been developed with the analysis of each new area. The most comprehensive description of the pottery types is in the South Manor volume, where the methodology is also laid out (Slowikowski 2000, 60ff). Subsequent to this volume, the description of each new pottery type was published at the point at which it was first encountered.

## The pottery: quantities, types, chronologies and phasing

Excavations over 40 years produced a large quantity of medieval and later pottery, amounting to over 85,000 sherds. Of these, only 37.6% came from phased contexts. A total of 103 different fabric types were identified, ranging in date from the Anglo-Saxon period to the late medieval/post-medieval transition (broadly 5th to 17th centuries). They have been assigned to the following chronological groups:

- Group 2 – Anglo-Saxon
- Group 3 – Anglo-Scandinavian/Saxo-Norman
- Group 4 – Early medieval (1050–1250)
- Group 5 – High medieval (1250–1400)
- Group 6 – Late medieval (1350–1500)
- Group 7 – Late medieval/post-medieval transitional (1500–1750)

In the excavation report series, each individual site was published separately, with its own internal phasing. To examine the pottery from the whole of Wharram in a meaningful way it was necessary to define the over-arching chronology of the village. The master phases used in this report have been determined by correlating the published phases for each individual site into a single site-wide phasing (Table 1). Many of

**Table 1.** Total site assemblage by master phase.

Master Phase	Phase Description	Phase Date/comments	Vessels	Sherds	Weight (kg)
1	Prehistoric/ Roman	<i>Of which 47 sherds (299g) are Roman; others are intrusive Saxon and medieval</i>	343	428	2.503
2	Saxon	mid 5th-mid 9th century (450–850)	1365	2314	12.811
3	Saxo-Norman	mid 9th-12th century (850–1150)	1118	1425	8.598
4	Medieval	12th-15th century (1100–1500) <i>unspecified medieval</i>	2091	2439	15.878
4.1	Early Medieval	mid 12th-mid 13th century (1150–1250)	1855	2423	19.918
4.2	High Medieval	mid 13th-mid 14th century (1250–1350) <i>incl. contexts dated 12th-14th century</i>	1276	1539	13.131
4.3	Late Medieval	mid 14th-16th century (1350–1500)	9080	11848	97.182
5	Late Medieval-Post- medieval Transition	16th-mid 18th century (1500–1750)	3524	4118	31.600
6	Post-medieval	18th century and including general <i>unspecified post-med</i>	5121	6047	62.142
7	Modern	20th century	115	131	1.626
0	Unphased		2593	52913	20.349
		TOTAL	28,481	85,625	285.738

the contexts, and indeed whole sites, remain unphased, particularly the smaller peripheral trenches. The master phases are necessarily ‘fluid’ in that many of the site phases overlap and some could not be defined further than the general Phase 4 (medieval) [AS].

Table 1 provides a useful summary of quantities of pottery recovered from Wharram Percy over the years. What stands out starkly are the large amounts of material recovered from Phase 4.3 (Late Medieval, mid 14th to 16th century) to which must be added material from the general medieval catch-all Phase 4 and a proportion of the unphased material. This peak in the totals at a time when Wharram Percy was already shrinking requires some explanation. Analysis of the various types described below revealed that many of the medieval types peaked in Phase 4.3 by all three measures used (sherd count, weight and number of vessels), and in cases where the currency of these wares is known, this is unlikely to reflect reality. This peak is believed, therefore, to represent not contemporary usage but site formation processes or, in other words, many of these types were already entirely or substantially residual by this time. Anna recognised that residuality was a distorting factor on the site and this, coupled with the difficulties in establishing site-wide phases described above, has served to create false peaks. The value of the

analysis that Anna carried out is in seeing when the new types of pottery appeared on the site, even if their demise is masked by the reworking of deposits during later periods. She would have been gratified to know that, by and large, the data from Wharram which she so assiduously collected and studied reflects the understanding gleaned from other work on ceramics in the area, notably at York and Beverley. The challenges associated with understanding the big picture presented by her Ceramic Groups and with the more detailed discussion of individual wares are described below [AM].

### Group 2 ceramics (mid 5th to mid 9th)

Group 2 pottery has been fully discussed in *Wharram VII* and *Wharram VIII* (Slowikowski 1992, 27–39; 2000, 60–99), and is not considered further here. The fabric types have been fully described in the publications of the sites from which they came, and are summarised below (Table 2).

### Group 3 ceramics (850–1150)

Seven distinct pottery types were identified as being current during this period and these have been reported in previous Wharram publications under

**Table 2.** Pottery types of Group 2.

Fabric code	Common name/ description	Ceramic date (centuries)
A01A	organic	7th-8th (9th)
A01B	Organic (with quartz)	7th-8th (9th)
A01C	Organic (with mica)	7th-8th (9th)
A02A	Fine tempered	6th-8th
A02B	Fine tempered	6th-8th
A03	Charnwood-type	6th-8th
A04A	Sandstone (with calc.)	6th-8th
A04B	Sandstone	6th-8th
A05	Quartz	6th-8th
A05?	Quartz/calcite	6th-8th
A06A	Limestone	6th-8th
A06B	Oolitic	6th-8th
A08	Fine	6th-8th
A10	N French imports	7th-8th (9th)
A12	Ipswich	mid 8th-mid 9th
A11	Shelly	8th-9th
A	Unrecognised Saxon	6th-8th

Ceramic Group 3 (see Table 3 and Fig. 3). They are fully described in the publication of the South Manor (*Wharram VIII*: Slowikowski 2000). Pottery of this period makes up less than 1% of the total assemblage from the whole village and only 2.42% of the phased assemblage (by sherd count). Just over three quarters of it is residual in later contexts and only 13.15% was recovered from contexts phased to the late

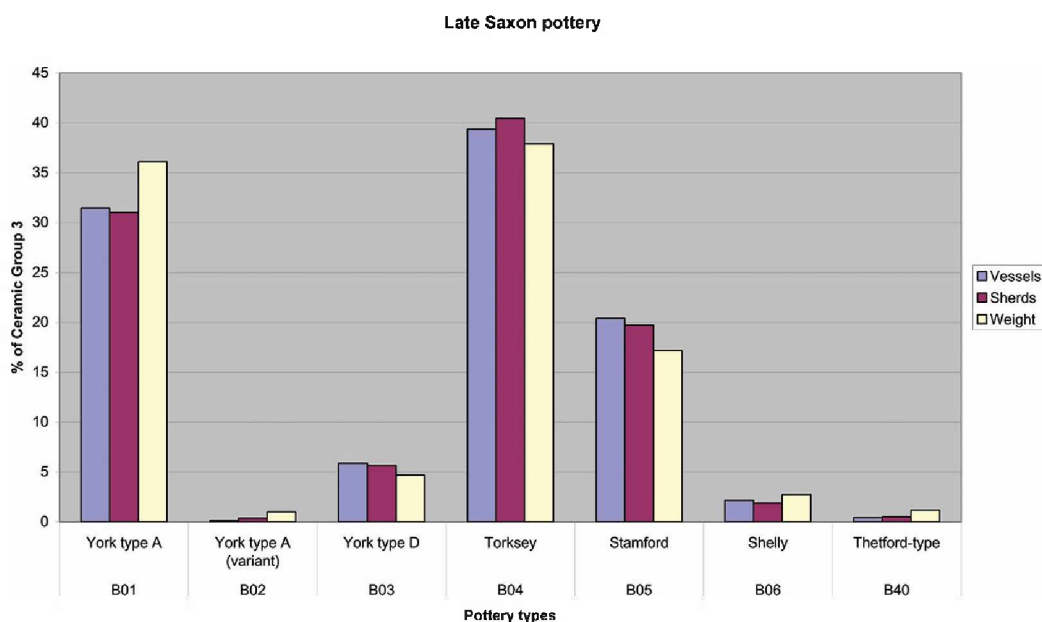
**Table 3.** Ceramic Group 3 pottery types quantified by vessel, sherd and weight (g) (see also Fig. 3 Bar chart).

Fabric code	Common name/ definition	Vessels	Sherds	Weight (g)
B01	York type A	219	247	1234
B02	York type A (variant)	2	3	34
B03	York type D	41	45	160
B04	Torksey	274	322	1269
B05	Stamford	142	157	587
B06	Shelly	15	15	94
B40	Thetford-type	3	4	40
	Total	696	793	3418

Saxon period. Nevertheless, this is still a significant assemblage offering, as it does, a rural perspective.

There is a limited range of pottery types during this period when compared to the preceding middle Saxon and the succeeding early medieval periods. The most common fabrics in the Saxo-Norman assemblage are York types (B01–3), Torksey (B04) or Thetford (B40) types and Stamford ware (B05).

Shelly (B06) wares make up a small proportion of the assemblage. Fifteen sherds of shelly ware were recorded and of these eight have identifiable sources. Five come from the Silver Street kilns in Lincoln (Lincoln Kiln-type Shelly ware LKT) and three are in Lincoln Kiln-type Shelly ware (LSH) (Young and Vince 2005, 47). Other unidentified shelly wares may also be Lincoln or Lincolnshire products. Wharram is very much on the periphery of the shelly ware distribution.



**Figure 3.** Bar chart of late Saxon pottery types as a percentage of Ceramic Group 3 (for data see Table 3).



With the exception of those wares paralleled in the assemblage from the city of York, most of the pottery appears to be reaching Wharram either from Lincolnshire or from more local (yet unknown) production sites [AS].

There is no evidence that York ware (B01) (previously known in York as York 'A' ware) was made in York (Mainman 1990, 409) and analysis of clays has suggested a source in West Yorkshire (Vince 2004) while a variant, York 'D' ware (B03) has closest parallels in Beverley where, at Lurk Lane, it was a more significant component of the assemblage than in York (Mainman 1990, 414–5; Watkins 1991, 74). In both cases these proposed provenances have yet to be confirmed, but observations confirm the idea that there was much overlap of style and form amongst potters across the region [AM].

While the York wares are essentially gritty and often slightly oxidised, Thetford-type (B40) and Torksey-type (B04) wares are typically reduced sandy wares. Four sherds of Thetford ware were found at Wharram, and might be genuinely from Thetford itself, although only one form, a small jar, can be firmly identified. Thetford and Thetford-type pottery occurred across most of eastern England in the 11th and 12th centuries (Vince 1991, 45) and, although similar in fabric and form, these wares were not identical and were made at several potteries (Knocker and Hughes 1950; Hurst 1958; Hurst 1976; Jennings 1983; Rogerson and Dallas 1984).

A similar situation pertains to the Torksey-type wares (B04). Early neutron activation work as far back as 1979 (*Wharram I*: Le Patourel 1979, 79) indicated that not all the so-called Torksey ware found at Wharram Percy was produced at Torksey in Lincolnshire where kilns have been excavated (Barley 1964, 1981) (see postscript). However, until kilns producing similar wares are found further north, Torksey remains the likely source of products which also dominated the ceramic market in York (Mainman 1990, 426–7), and to a lesser extent, in Beverley in the 10th century (Watkins 1991, 75–6) as well as minor sites in the region.

The two most common pottery types, the York types and the Torksey types, both have similar formal characteristics, comprising mainly jars/cooking pots, some with deep lid seatings. Torksey-type wares have a wider repertoire which includes bowls, some with inturned rims and rouletted decoration. Square-notch rouletting is also seen on early examples of Torksey-type ware and occasionally on York wares (Mainman 1990, 403, 414, 427–30).

Those sherds classified as Stamford wares (B05) include both glazed and unglazed examples, with unglazed lid-seated jars predominating. It is now clear that not all Stamford ware comes from Stamford; for example kilns producing virtually indistinguishable pottery were in production in Northampton, in the early to mid-10th century, although possibly only for

the immediate market (Williams 1974). The possibility of a northern source of Stamford ware has long been mooted (Swinnerton 1959, 81), although those found at Wharram were attributed to production in Stamford itself (Kilmurray in Le Patourel 1979, 81). The discovery of a kiln producing Stamford-type pottery in Pontefract, West Yorkshire (Roberts and Cumberpatch 2009), however, confirms this early hypothesis and it has been shown that the Pontefract kiln was producing both glazed and unglazed wares by the late 10th to early 11th centuries (Roberts and Cumberpatch 2009, 376). Although it cannot be certain that the Wharram Stamford-type wares were coming from here, it does suggest the possibility of the existence of yet more production sites in the region where the required white-firing clays were available.

Although the provenance of the pottery reaching Wharram remains uncertain what is clear is that during the Saxo-Norman period the village was part of the same general eastern England pottery tradition, an interpretation which in turn has implications for the relationship between rural and urban centres of population, and for the operation of economic networks linking them together.

The ratio of vessel: sherd: weight (Fig. 3) shows a fairly even distribution within each fabric, suggesting no great differentiation in vessel size and body thickness across the fabric types. Jars predominate; there are few bowls, three in total all in Torksey-type ware, a single bottle in glazed Stamford ware and eleven pitchers or jugs, in York A and D, and Stamford wares. Vessels are generally plain although a thin lemon-yellow or olive glaze is present on some of the Stamford wares, Kilmurray's Glaze type 1 (1980, 11). Some of the Stamford-type pottery from the Pontefract kilns is also glazed yellow or olive green, but further petrological and chemical analysis needs to be carried out before this pottery is fully characterised.

The York and Torksey wares were most probably used for food preparation, storage and cooking. This was also the case with the unglazed Stamford coarse wares. Fewer than 10% of the vessels are sooted externally suggesting that, if they were used for cooking, they were not used directly on or near the

**Table 4.** Pottery types of Group 3.

Fabric code	Description	Ceramic date
B01	York type A	mid 9th-mid 10th
B02	York type A (variant)	mid 9th-mid 10th
B03	York type D	mid 9th-mid 10th
B06	Shelly	late 9th-late 10th
B05	Stamford	9th-11th (12th)
B04	Torksey	10th-mid 11th
B40	Thetford-type	11th (12th)

cooking fires. Although most jars have everted rims with lid seatings, no ceramic lids were found.

These pottery traditions were long lived, and although the bulk of this group falls into Riddler's phase 6 (850–1000), there is some continuation into Riddler's phase 7 (1000–1100/1150: Riddler 2012, 196–203). No direct dating for Ceramic Group 3 comes from Wharram and much of the material is residual in later contexts. It broadly spans the mid-9th to 11th centuries, with the York wares ending in the mid-10th century, overlapping with the Lincoln shelly wares, and Stamford, Torksey and Thetford types which continue into the 11th century (Table 4). Torksey-type wares gradually replaced York wares in the course of the 10th century in York (Mainman 1990, 426–7) and there is a similar overlap in dates at Wharram as they seem to regularly occur together, a fact perhaps obscured by the high level of residuality. Some of the glazed Stamford wares might continue into the 12th century; the few occurrences of an olive glaze suggest a date in the second half of the 12th century at least for these vessels (Kilmurray 1980, 134), although the kiln at Pontefract was also producing olive green glazes at a somewhat earlier date. There are ten sherds at Wharram of the latest 12th to mid 13th-century Developed Stamford type (B32, see below).

#### Group 4 ceramics (1050–1250)

Evidence suggests that pottery manufacture in the Danelaw during the late Saxon period was largely an urban industry, with potting being carried out in towns such as Leicester, Nottingham, Derby and Lincoln, although not to date in York (Mainman

1990; Vince and Young 2009, 397). By the end of the 12th century, however, the organisation of the pottery industry had changed, with fewer urban production sites and a greater preponderance of rural industries. In Yorkshire the successors to the pottery types of Ceramic Group 3 are the early medieval wares of Ceramic Group 4 (Table 5) and in this period there is a much wider range of ceramics available to the people living at Wharram.

Pimply ware (B07) is similar in appearance to what is termed Gritty ware in York (Mainman 1990, 485; Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1178–84) and as Northern Gritty ware elsewhere. Potters used light-firing clays (colours ranging from white or off-white, pinkish or light brown), with enough quartz sand being added to give a gritty texture. It was a well-made, wheel-thrown product whose currency spans the 11th to the 13th century. Variants include a buff-orange or light brown fabric (B08) to which, although rarely, glaze is added to the surface (B10). Other evidence for experimentation with glazing is seen in a variety of fabrics with a splashed glazed (B27 and B28) as well as on Staxton ware (B13), discussed below [AS].

The term splashed glazed ware is used to describe wares which do not have a full suspension glaze but on which glaze has been splashed, possibly in powder form and usually on the upper body and shoulder, as a form of decoration. Both lead and copper were used for this purpose, with lead being more common. The different types of splashed wares noted, and the observed attempts to glaze Pimply wares and Staxton wares, provides evidence for an emergent and experimental phase in the industry. How far this was stimulated by the circulation of Stamford wares and

Table 5. Pottery types of Group 4.

Fabric code	Description	Ceramic date
B07	Pimply	12th-13th
B08	Pimply variant (equivalent to York G in Beverley)	12th-13th
B09	Glazed pimply	12th-13th
B12	Staxton	12th-14th (15th)
B14	Reduced chalky	(11th) early-mid 12th
B11	Pink gritty ('Scarborough Gritty')	late 11th-12th (13th)
B15	Scarborough Gritty (fine)	late 11th-12th (13th)
B16	Beverley 1 (splashed)	mid 12th-13th
B18	York glazed	late 12th-13th
B18U	Unglazed whiteware (source unknown)	12th-13th
B10	Splashed glazed	12th-13th
B27	Splashed glazed orange	12th-13th
B28	Splashed glazed chalky (Beverley 1 type)	12th-13th
B32	Developed Stamford	12th-mid 13th

other early glazed wares remains uncertain (Mainman 1990, 444–62) but it is clear that at Wharram Percy, as noted in York, splashed wares include vessels made from various light-firing clays, and are both reduced and oxidized (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1184–1196), although the best effects were achieved through the selection of the white-firing clays, and for a period these come to dominate. The term splashed wares becomes less helpful as the technique of glazing progresses towards full suspension glazes on what have been identified as splashed-glazed ware fabrics, and it is possible to see early variants of both Beverley and Scarborough products amongst this assemblage [AM].

By the 12th century, however, the dominant pottery in use at Wharram was Staxton ware (B12), presumably deriving from the production sites at Staxton and Potter Brompton, approximately 20 km away. Their products make up 90.23% of the early medieval assemblage by sherd count and 82.78% by weight. This pottery is unlike any of the preceding types of Ceramic Group 3: it is either wheel-thrown or hand-made and wheel-finished, plain and utilitarian in form. This change from wheel thrown to hand-made vessels did not happen everywhere nor did it happen at the same time. Wheel-thrown pottery continued to supply other parts of the region, notably York, and to be made across West Yorkshire. In London, Vince (1991, 43) has suggested that this change occurred sometime between 1000 and 1050 and could have been at least partially due to the increased demand for pottery at this time.

If the same happened at Wharram, then the cheap hand-made Staxton wares were the answer to this increased demand. Any attempts at producing glazed jugs, however, could not succeed against the strong competition of the finer and better made wares from the potteries serving York, including first the York Glazed ware industry and subsequently the Brandsby wares, or from those established in Scarborough, but the unglazed wares were clearly adequate for everyday use [AS].

Staxton ware has usually been dated from the later 12th to the mid 15th centuries (*e.g.* Le Patourel 1979, 84, note 220) and although analysis of the

data suggests possible continuity of use at Wharram Percy into the 14th or 15th centuries, it is rare to find it on sites after the early 13th century. Vince has suggested that as a major regional producer of pottery it is likely that Staxton/Potter Brompton operated only in that short period (Vince and Stearne 2006). Whether the Staxton ware recovered from Phase 4.3 is contemporary or residual must, for now, remain uncertain but the high proportion of residuality in this phase sounds a note of caution [AM].

Previous studies of Staxton ware have suggested a chronological progression in rim type from square to rectangular to triangular to lid-seated and Le Patourel (1979, 84) originally divided the rim types from Areas 6 and 10 at Wharram into three groups, suggesting that they progressed from simple to developed forms. An analysis of the rim types found at the South Manor, however, showed little or no difference, with all rim types being found together. It was decided therefore to analyse the total assemblage of Staxton rims from all sites at Wharram by phase to either confirm or deny the suggested chronological progression.

The rims were divided into four groups: square, rectangular, triangular and lid-seated. These were further sub-divided to include all the subtle differences between them, but these were too great for any meaningful analysis. Their record, however, remains in the archive and on the site pottery database.

Table 6 and Fig. 4 show the distribution of the four rim types across the phases. The general medieval Phase 4 has been omitted from the bar chart. A large number of identifiable rims survived in later phases as residual sherds and to a lesser degree, as intrusive sherds in earlier phases. The ‘fluid’ nature of the phases makes it possible that pottery from the end of Phase 3 and the beginning of Phase 5 may be residual or intrusive, although it is not possible to define these further.

The key phases are Phases 4.1–4.3 with earlier occurrences being intrusive and the products being almost certainly residual by Phases 5 and 6 (post-medieval) if not, at least in part, by Phase 4.3. The large number of lid-seated forms in Phases 3 and 6 may be explained by the easy identification of these

**Table 6.** Staxton rim types by master phase expressed as a percentage of phase total (by vessel count).

Rim type	Master phase							
	2	3	4.1	4.2	4.3	4	5	6
Square	20.00	20.00	30.12	8.16	15.85	18.42	15.21	13.29
Rectangular	46.66	24.00	37.34	38.77	33.00	35.00	36.95	29.25
Triangular	20.00	28.00	25.30	26.53	19.74	27.19	28.26	9.57
Lid seated	13.33	54.80	7.22	26.53	31.39	19.29	21.01	47.87
Total rims	15	25	83	49	309	114	138	188

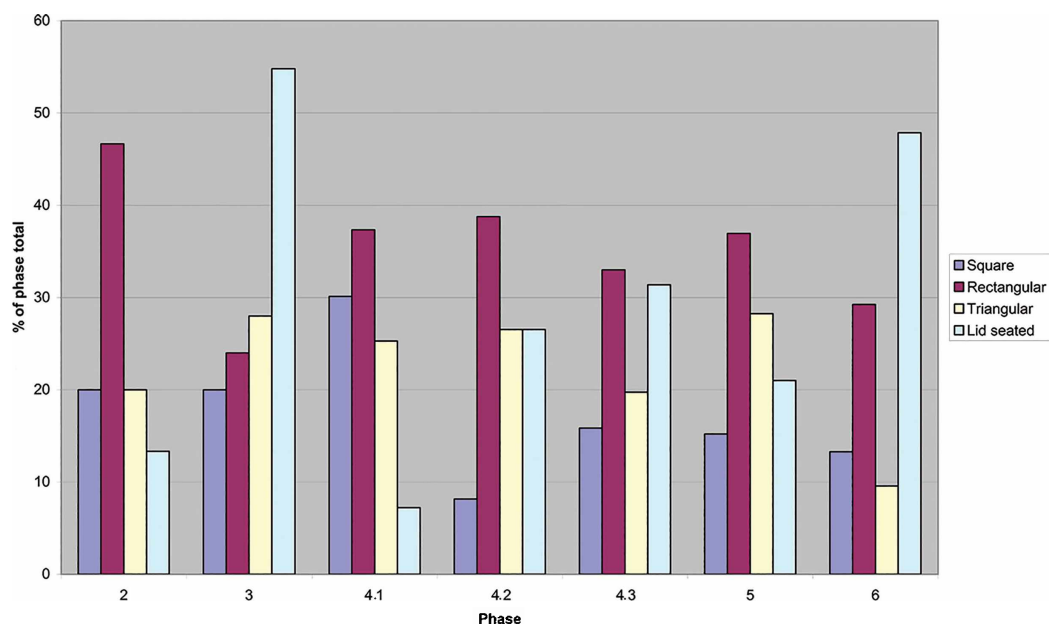


Figure 4. Bar chart of Staxton rim types by phase (for data see Table 6).

from the smallest fragment and therefore a bias in their totals.

Within the medieval phases, the lid-seated forms show the greatest range from a low percentage in the early medieval period to a peak in the late medieval period. The square rims show the reverse, peaking in the early medieval period with lower percentages in the high and late medieval periods. The rectangular and triangular rims show less differentiation between the phases, with slight peaks in the high medieval period.

Jugs are a minor component of the Staxton pottery assemblage and, like the jars and bowls in the same fabric, they are largely hand-made. An attempt has been made to glaze them externally, but the glazing is invariably poorly applied and poorly fired resulting in patchy coverage and uneven maturation. Colours are most often dark green or purple-brown and the vessels could not compete with the finer vessels from York, Brandsby or Scarborough. They occur most commonly in Phase 4.3, the late medieval period, and appear to have been produced over a relatively short period of time. By the 14th century, York Glazed ware had evolved into Brandsby-type ware (Mainman and Jenner 2013), Scarborough wares might no longer be in production and the so-called highly-decorated episode was over. New types such as Humber ware began to dominate the market.

The question remains whether the relatively simple, often hand-made, products of the Staxton industry continued to be made into the 15th century or whether their continued appearance in late medieval deposits is the result of residuality [AS].

York Glazed ware (B18), named for the place where it was first recognised and not for its production site, was almost certainly made in the villages to the north of the city where there are suitable white-firing clays (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1203–1224). As the

evidence from deeply-stratified sites in York confirms, this type of pottery circulated from the mid/late 12th to mid/late 13th century (*ibid* 1124) which is consistent with its rise in Phase 4.1 at Wharram Percy and, by the same token, confirms that by Phase 4.2 and 4.3 the wares are either residual or misidentified. Misidentification is all too easy as these wares evolve into the later Brandsby-type wares and the even later Hambleton-type wares. Current thinking is that that there was a long tradition of pottery production in the villages to the north of York and to the east of Wharram Percy, exploiting the same clay deposits with the result that products are similar over a long time period. It is often only possible to distinguish early from later products if sufficient of the vessel form and decoration survive, or by examining subtle differences in surface finish and glaze. These features, inevitably, are prey to damage caused by abrasion, a factor which needs to be considered in a context where deposits are frequently reworked or where sherds spent long periods in ploughsoil. Sherds which appear to be part of this whiteware tradition, but are unglazed and therefore difficult to ascribe with certainty, were classified together as B18U. Once again the networks of exchange are usefully illuminated by the distribution of these wares through the region.

Wares which are believed to be products of the innovative Scarborough ware potters (B11, B15 and see also B29) make an appearance in this Group although they do not form a coherent fabric group, and the range of grittiness observed might indicate a number of production sites, perhaps not all in Scarborough. The similarities of these wares to what is classified as fine buff wares (B29 see below) emphasises the difficulties in separating what are essentially very similar products leading to the conclusion that there were many small industries exploiting the same, or



similar resources drawing on the same repertoire of forms and style.

It is perhaps misleading to discuss together the disparate fabric groups known as Beverley wares (B14, B28 and B16), but all would seem to have their origins in East Yorkshire. B14 is a reduced unglazed chalky ware which, at Lurk Lane, Beverley, precedes the later Beverley types (Watkins 1991 79–80). These are classified as B28 and B16 at Wharram Percy and they equate to variants of what are referred to as Beverley 1 ware (Watkins 1991, 80–86). Wharram Percy lies just over 20 miles north-west of Beverley and clearly received a small proportion of its ceramics from that centre.

### Group 5 ceramics (1250–1400)

During the 13th century it is uncertain how many of these smaller industries survived, but what is clear is that some were more successful than others and that in the course of the succeeding centuries mainstream potteries emerge and extensive networks of distribution become established (Table 7).

Scarborough wares (B17; noted above as what might be early variants) become more recognisable although they still account for less than 2% (by sherd count) of contemporary wares during their period of currency. By Phase 4.3 it is likely that most are residual. B17v is classified as a variant of Scarborough ware found in late medieval contexts on the North Glebe which bears strong similarities to Scarborough ware, and to what was classified as a pinky-buff ware (B24). Wharram Percy lies some 30km south-west of Scarborough, more or less directly en route to York where the products of the Scarborough potters also account for only a very small percentage of the contemporary wares (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1226); and in Beverley too, the quantities are very small (Watkins 1991, 97–98).

East Pennine Gritty ware (B19) was always a small component of the assemblage, never more than its peak of 1.3% (of sherd count) in Phase 4.2.

Brandsby wares (B20,) although occurring intrusively in earlier phases, increase in Phase 4.2 and are still current in the first half of Phase 4.3, after which they are likely to be residual. This pattern is entirely consistent with what is understood from recent research in York where Brandsby-type wares peak in the 14th century (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1230–1245). Again, as Phase 4.3 spans the period 1350–1500, it is likely that totals include a quantity of residual wares. Brandsby-type wares are believed to be the products of the same North Yorkshire villages referred to in connection with the York Glazed wares. While burgeoning urban centres such as York and, to a lesser extent, Beverley might have provided the principle markets for the products of these enterprising potters it is assemblages such as Wharram Percy which are invaluable for providing the rural perspective. The

**Table 7.** Pottery types of Group 5.

Fabric Code	Common name/ description	Ceramic date
B17	Scarborough	mid 13th-mid 14th
B17v	Scarborough variant	mid 13th-mid 14th (?15th)
B19	Gritty (E. Pennine)	13th-14th
B20	Brandsby-type	13th-14th
B21	Hard sandy	13th-14th
B22	Hard orange ware	(mid 13th) -14th
B22v	Chalky variant of B22	(mid 13th) -14th
B23	Yorkshire red ware	?13th
B24	Pinky-buff	13th-14th
B25	Unknown	?13th-?14th (?15th-?16th)
B26	Lightly gritted	13th-14th
B29	Fine buff (unknown)	(12th) 13th-14th
B30A	Fine micaceous	13th-14th
B30B	Fine micaceous	13th-14th
B30C	Fine micaceous	13th-14th
B31	Coarse micaceous	13th-14th
B36	Brill/Boarstall type	L13th-14th (15th)
B37	Unknown type	13th-14th
B34	Tees valley	mid 13th-14th
B35	Light red wares	13th-14th
B	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th
BA	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BB	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BC	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BD	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BE	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BH	Unrecognised medieval	L13th-14th (15th)
BI	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th or 15th-16th
BL	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BQ	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
BR	Unrecognised medieval	13th-14th?
B38	Rouen	mid 13th-mid 14th
B39	Flemish Highly Decorated	L13th-E14th
B33A	Saintonge green-glazed	L13th-14th
B33B	Saintonge unglazed	L13th-14th
B33C	Saintonge Polychrome	L13th-mid 14th



growing use of glazed pottery, which replaced the ubiquitous Staxton-type ware, might be due as much to the success of these north Yorkshire potters as to the growing affluence of the village, as Anna's notes had speculated. Brandsby-type wares were produced on a huge scale, replacing the gritty wares in York which had provided the common cooking utensils for over two centuries (*ibid*, 1178–1184) in much the same manner as they replaced the Staxton-type wares at Wharram Percy, until they too were ultimately replaced by the Humber wares.

Again, as might be expected there are variants (*e.g.* B21 Hard Sandy) which fall outside the main classification. In this case, the variant is distinguished by a 'streaky' appearance to the inner surface, a feature noted on examples in Hull (Watkins 1987, 109).

Oxidised wares which occur in 14th-century contexts include examples classified as Hard Orange ware (B22) and a chalky variant (B22v) which were originally thought to be Humber wares. Chronologically it is quite possible that these are indeed Humber wares, although they might be related to the Sandy Red wares which circulated in York in the 14th century (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1246–8) where a north-east or east Yorkshire origin has been postulated (*ibid*, 1248). The similarity of these Sandy Red wares to the Humber wares was also noted in York from an early stage (Holdsworth 1978, 13).

Yorkshire redwares (B23) is a catch-all category for unidentified fine red orange or pink fabrics, related to but not identical with the Beverley 1 wares. Taken together with the Pinky-buff (B24), Unknown (B25), Lightly Grittled (B26), Fine Buff (B29), and Light Red ware (B35) categories, all of which make up a very small percentage of the assemblage, the pattern suggests a network of small potteries producing broadly similar wares. Despite the success of the mainstream industries, these potteries apparently survived to supply both urban and rural settlements. Alternatively, of course, these might simply be variants from the main industries using different recipes or alternative sources of raw materials. Unless they can be distinguished on the basis of form, technique or style, which is difficult without a corpus of complete vessels, it is difficult to make progress in understanding unless production sites are located.

It is also salutary to note the level of overlap observed following analysis of similar oxidised wares of this period found in York which has led to the conclusion that there was 'a number of daughter industries spawned by the Beverley pottery industry' (Vince in Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1249). The existence of small rural industries probably accounts for the Fine Micaceous wares (B30A-C) and Coarse Micaceous wares (B31) where a light coloured fabric is characterised by the mica-rich clays or tempering agents. It is no surprise that these small groups also include Tees Valley wares (B34) whose

distribution overlaps with that of the north-east Yorkshire wares.

Sherds of what were identified as Brill or Boarstall wares from Buckinghamshire (B36: (McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 292 for references) were also attributed to this Ceramic Group.

Every excavation produces material which cannot be ascribed to any known type and these are listed under fabric codes B37, B, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BH, BI, BL, BQ, BR.

Imported wares belonging to this period are rare with sources in France and the Low Countries recorded. Rouen wares (B38) and Saintonge products, including green-glazed (B33A), unglazed pegau (B33B) and polychrome (B33C) wares account for a small percentage of the total assemblage, as do Flemish highly decorated wares (B39) (formerly known as Aardenburg wares) [AM].

### Group 6 ceramics (1350–1500)

The century and a half which spans the middle of the 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century sees the emergence of pottery with a more utilitarian appearance and, in many cases, a break with what had characterised the preceding two centuries (Table 8). This is often heralded by the emergence of the Humber wares as the dominant pottery type.

**Table 8.** Pottery types of Group 6.

Fabric Code	Common name/description	Ceramic date
C02	Humber	mid 14th-15th
C03	Chalky Humber	mid 14th-15th
C04	Humber ('Skipton-on-Swale')	L14th-15th
C12	Late Medieval Gritty Humber ware	mid 14th-15th
C11	Rawmarsh	mid 14th-15th (?16th)
C14	White-slipped	14th-15th?
C01	Hambleton	15th-16th
C01B	Late Medieval Transitional Reduced ware	15th-16th
C10	Green glazed	?15th
C21	Lustreware	14th-15th
C15	Low Countries Redware	14th-15th?
C16	Low Countries Greyware	L14th-15th?
C17	South Netherlands	15th-16th
C18	Mediterranean maiolica	15th-16th
C19	Pisan Archaic maiolica	15th-16th
C07A	Raeren	L15th-16th
C	Unrecognised late medieval	mid 14th-16th

A gradual increase in Humber ware was observed throughout the later medieval period (Phases 4.2–4.3). This continued into the post-medieval period, when it is certainly residual by Phase 6. The apparent drop in Phase 5 in vessel and sherd count but not in weight, suggests a greater use of heavier, thicker bodied and larger storage vessels than in previous phases [AS].

Humber wares (C02) at Wharram Percy follow the pattern seen in the region, where Humber wares, although present in small quantities from the late 13th century, come to dominate the market from the mid 14th century onwards. The village is some 40–50 km due north of the known production sites at West Cowick (Mayes 1964, Johnson 1999) and Holme-upon-Spalding Moor (Mayes and Hayfield 1980) suggesting that there was a highly developed network which supplied both urban and rural consumers, and is a testament to the success of the Humber ware potters.

Once again, there are variants which exist alongside the mainstream industries and these include Chalky Humber (C03) and a White-slipped variant (C14). The latter was recognised at Sandal Castle (Moorhouse 1983) and was also noted at Kirkstall Abbey guest house. The Red Sandy wares from York referred to above often have a white slip on what was otherwise a sandy oxidized fabric suggesting that this was a surface technique practised at a number of potteries in the region. Late Medieval Gritty Humber ware (C12) was distinctive enough to warrant a separate category. Sherds classified as ‘Skipton-on-Swale’ (C04) do not constitute a fabric type (the ware being always an oxidized Humber ware), but are small drinking jug forms. Similar forms, also in Humber ware, were made in Walmgate in York for which reason they are known there as Walmgate-type wares (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1258, fig.524) but there is no reason to believe that the city is the source of the Wharram examples. Small drinking jugs were within the known repertoire of the Humber ware potters and their distinctive shape, and often slightly lighter-coloured fabric, means that they are easily identified.

The occasional sherds of Rawmarsh wares (C11) indicate connections with the South Yorkshire region.

Hambleton-type wares (C01) belong to the late medieval period (Phase 4.3) and thereafter at least a proportion is likely to be residual. As described above they develop out of, and belong to, the same tradition as the earlier whiteware industries with copper-green glazes which were produced in the north Yorkshire villages. Hambleton-type forms are rather different from the earlier York Glazed ware forms with their emphasis on cisterns and tableware such as lobed bowls (Mainman and Jenner 2013, 1283–6), but again individual sherds are difficult to distinguish. It is striking that the rural assemblage so closely reflects the urban assemblage with the same wares, in similar proportions, serving both communities. A variant

noted at Wharram Percy (C01B) was originally recorded as C01 with ‘black surfaces’.

Jean le Patourel, in her early work on the site noted a type of Green-Glazed pottery (C10) which is usually oxidised with a greenish-brown glaze which she felt might represent a transitional ware belonging to the 15th century, on the cusp of the transition between what are referred to as medieval and post-medieval wares.

During this later medieval period imports are again rare but include very small quantities of Lustre ware (C21), Low Countries Red wares and Grey wares (C15 and C16), South Netherlands (C17) as well as Mediterranean maiolica (C18) and Pisan Archaic maiolica (C19). German stonewares, notably late 15th/16th-century Raeren (C07A) occur infrequently.

### Group 7 ceramics (1500–1750)

By the early 16th century the village of Wharram Percy was largely deserted but there is, nonetheless, a scatter of pottery which is either transitional or post-medieval in date (Table 9). This includes what is essentially a late form of Humber ware known as Purple-glazed Humber ware (C05) a hard-fired ware known as Late Medieval Vitrified ware (CJ), a few sherds of Tudor Green (C06), Cistercian (C08), Tin-glazed earthenware (C13) as well as imported German stonewares (C07 and C07B and C: Siegburg and Cologne) and Beauvais ware (C20). These sherds are presumably associated with the small number of (perhaps prosperous) farmhouses that were occupied until the conversion of the township to grass, in about 1527, and with the successor farmhouse that was re-established here before the end of the 16th century (Wrathmell 2012, 356–9) [AM].

**Table 9.** Pottery types of Group 7.

Fabric Code	Common name/description	Ceramic date
C05	Purple-glazed Humber	16th
CJ	Late Medieval vitrified	15th-16th?
C06	Tudor Green	L15th-16th
C07	Misc German stoneware	?15th-?17th
C09	(Usually unglazed) orange	15th-16th?
C08	Cistercian	(L15th) 16th
C13	Tin-glazed	
C07B	Siegburg	E16th
C07C	Cologne	
C20	Beauvais	16th

## Conclusion

This project undertaken by Anna was an ambitious but very laudable exercise. The comprehensive and wide-ranging study of Wharram Percy over many years has provided an invaluable resource for future scholarship and the ceramics are a very important part of this. Rural settlement in Yorkshire, and its interaction with the urban centres, is much better understood as a result of the Wharram Percy project and the ceramics, with their distinctive forms and fabrics, provide an unparalleled indicator of the networks of contact. It is tragic that Anna's work only got as far as crunching through the data which would have underpinned a well-informed and penetrating discussion resulting from her intimate knowledge of the site and its ceramic assemblage. This report, initiated by her with such enthusiasm and determination, and finished with admiration and respect by a colleague who had benefited on many occasions from discussions with her, will serve as an introduction to the data which she has made available for future study and will, I hope, serve as a fitting tribute to her contribution to the wider study of ceramics [AM].

## Postscript

Since this paper was written in 2013, analysis by Gareth Perry has demonstrated that Torksey-type wares in York are Torksey products (Perry 2016). The same is likely to be true of the Wharram Percy Torksey-type wares.

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## Résumé

L'objectif principal de ce rapport est de tirer des conclusions sur plus de 40 ans de recherches sur la poterie médiévale de Wharram Percy. Il retrace la période du 5<sup>ème</sup> au 17<sup>ème</sup> siècle: 1200 ans, une période durant laquelle les sources de la poterie utilisées par les habitants du village ont changé, ainsi que leurs réseaux sociaux et économiques de contacts. Moins de la moitié de la poterie vient de contextes stratifiés, mais sa distribution à travers le site donne néanmoins des indications précieuses sur les fouilles et permet de la placer dans son contexte régional et national. Le rapport est l'aboutissement d'un projet ambitieux, conçu par Anna Slowikowski, qui avait travaillé sur ce matériau pendant de nombreuses années, mais qui a été empêché de terminer son travail à cause de maladie. Toutefois, les détails méticuleux de son archive fourniront aux étudiants futurs une ressource inestimable, et il est à espérer que ce rapport servira non seulement comme une vue d'ensemble des conclusions qui peuvent être tirées des travaux érudits d'Anna, mais comme un mémorial à son engagement et sa contribution au projet de Wharram Percy.

## Zusammenfassung

Dieser Bericht setzt es sich zum Ziel, Schlussfolgerungen aus über 40 Jahren Forschung zur mittelalterlichen Keramik aus Wharram Percy zu ziehen. Er erfasst die Periode vom 5. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert. Im Laufe von 1200 Jahren veränderte sich die Herkunft der Keramik, die von den DorfbewohnerInnen benutzt wurde, wie auch deren soziales und wirtschaftliches Netzwerk. Dabei stammt weniger als die Hälfte der Keramik aus stratifizierten Kontexten. Nichtsdestotrotz erlaubt ihre Verbreitung quer über die Stätte unschätzbare Einblicke in die Ausgrabungen, und hilft dabei, die Keramik in ihren regionalen und nationalen Zusammenhang einzuordnen. Der Bericht ist die Kulmination eines ambitionierten Projekts, das von Anna Slowikowski konzipiert wurde. Nach jahrelanger Arbeit mit dem Material wurde Anna durch Krankheit vom Abschluss ihrer Forschung abgehalten. Ihr Archiv, das sich durch akribische Details auszeichnet, wird zukünftigen Studierenden als Quelle von unschätzbarem Wert dienen. Der vorliegende Beitrag soll nicht nur als Überblick über die Schlüsse, die aus Annas wissenschaftlicher Arbeit gezogen werden können, dienen, sondern auch als Denkschrift für ihren Einsatz und Beitrag zum Wharram-Percy-Projekt.

