

# Forming identities, transcending boundaries

## The trade and consumption of bearded face jugs in the North Sea region, 1200–1350

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*This paper explores the role of bearded face jugs in constructing identities in later medieval England, specifically in relation to urbanism, commercialism and masculinity. The main focus is on the face jugs produced by the ceramic industry at Grimston, Norfolk. An examination of the regional distribution of these vessels provides insights into the role of face jugs in constructing identities across a wide geographical and social spectrum. Nodal points in the trade and consumption of these vessels are identified at commercially important waterside settlements at King's Lynn and Norwich. It is argued that face jugs were active in constructing bonds of common interest and identity amongst the mercantile and artisan populations of these settlements. It is further suggested that the symbolic properties of these vessels, which drew upon the virile associations of beards, links these vessels to the construction of new forms of masculinity developing in 13th-century towns and ports.*

### Introduction

This paper examines the role of bearded face jugs in forming masculine identities in medieval (13th–14th century) Norfolk. It follows on from Chris Cumberpatch's (2006) examination of these vessels in the context of social and moral attitudes towards facial hair in the later medieval period. Cumberpatch identified a link between beards and sexual potency, and speculated that face jugs may have been specifically made for occasions where virility and fertility were emphasised, such as weddings. However, as he observes, moving beyond speculations on the social role of face jugs is difficult, given the dispersed nature of the relevant data, much of which is unpublished and uncatalogued.

The present paper develops a methodology for examining the distribution of face jugs, with the purpose of identifying the extent to which different social groups made use of these vessels. Norfolk was selected as a case study, as this region contains one of the most prolific producers of this vessel-type in the country, centred at the hamlet of Pot Row in Grimston (Leah 1994). It was reasoned that, since the ceramic industry at Grimston was the main supplier of glazed pottery to the entire region, differences in the consumption of face jugs produced in this ware were more likely to result from consumer choices than from geographical factors alone (see, for example, McCarthy and Brooks 1988 on the geographical

distribution of ceramic industries producing face jugs, and their markets). Data from a wide range of medieval pottery reports was collated to provide insights into the social distribution of face jugs, and to examine the proportional significance of these vessels within wider pottery consumption practices. Most of the data came from reports compiled by the Norfolk Archaeology Unit (NAU). These include published excavations in the report series *East Anglian Archaeology* and the journal *Norfolk Archaeology*, together with grey literature reports accessed via the Norfolk Historic Environment Service and through digital archives such as the Archaeology Data Service (ADS). This latter resource was used to locate reports from other units working in East Anglia, to ensure that a reasonable sample of the medieval pottery recorded in the region had been gathered. A review of these collective resources produced a sample of some 190 sites from which patterns in face jug consumption could be examined. A methodology for examining proportional variations in the consumption of these vessels within and between site-types is developed below.

It will be shown that, whilst Grimston-type face jugs were fairly widespread throughout Norfolk, these vessels appear to have appealed primarily to the urban mercantile and artisan populations of King's Lynn. It is further demonstrated that King's Lynn was involved in the wider national and international trade in these vessels, linking the commercial populations of this port to those of other prosperous ports such as

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**Figure 1.** Map of Norfolk showing main place names mentioned in the text. Derivative work containing Ordnance Survey data. (Image: © Crown copyright and database right [up-scaled and image traced; place names added by the author]).

Scarborough (North Yorkshire) and Bergen (Norway) and beyond. This study is supported by earlier analyses of face jug distributions in the North Sea region, which exhibit strong associations with coastal regions compared to inland settlements (Laing and Robertson 1969–70; Dunning 1968). The results of this case study are followed by an analysis of the symbolic properties of bearded face jugs, with references to depictions of bearded men in other aspects of medieval visual and literary culture. It is argued that these vessels brought the virile associations of beards into spaces where drinking took place, where they played a role in masculinising the social aspects of drinking. It is further suggested that drawing upon universal symbols of male maturity and virility was particularly important in spaces where new forms of masculinity were competing with traditional understandings of what it meant to be a man in medieval society.

### The emergence of face jugs in the ceramic industry

Face jugs emerged in England during the early 13th century, at a time when the ceramic industry was undergoing considerable transformations. This period witnessed the introduction of a wider range of vessel-forms than had been present in the preceding period,

including aquamaniles and a greater variety of jug-forms (Jennings 1992; McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 68–80, 220–368). These vessels were used by all levels of the social hierarchy, and are thought to have been relatively cheap and accessible. Jugs in particular become much more common in medieval (12th–14th century) assemblages compared to the early medieval (10th–12th century) periods, suggesting a greater formality in everyday dining and drinking practices, with a greater emphasis on service and display. Many of these vessels are covered in a green glaze, giving them a glossy appearance that has prompted their interpretation as ‘tableware’ or ‘fineware’, whilst unglazed vessels with thick, coarse, bodies are typically interpreted as cooking or storage vessels, although this does not preclude some cross-over in function (Jervis 2011; McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 102–18; Moorhouse 1978).

Glazed jugs were decorated with a variety of simple patterns and motifs, including applied strips, pellets and scales, and incised, stamped and impressed decoration. These techniques were used to create shapes such as shields, horseshoes and flowers, as well as more complex anthropomorphic and zoomorphic shapes. This last category of decoration is quite rare and is restricted to a few specific form types, including bearded face jugs (Fig. 2), knight jugs (Fig. 3), and aquamaniles in the form of rams and knights-on-



**Figure 2.** Grimston-type face jug from Bergen. (Image: Author).



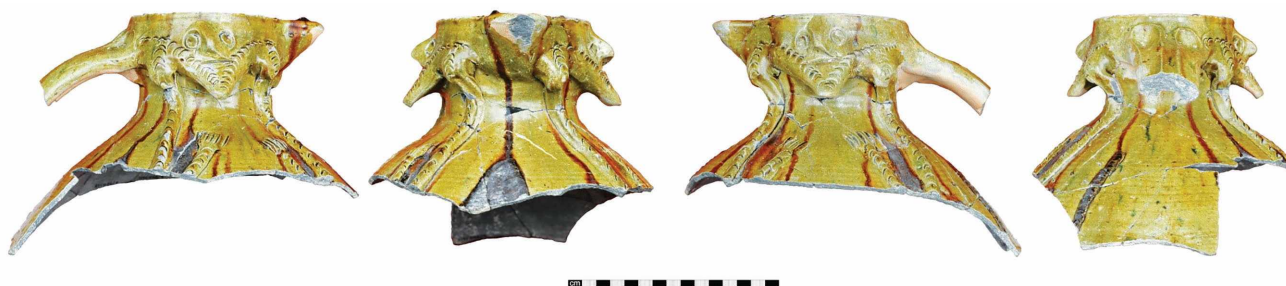
**Figure 3.** Scarborough ware knight jug from Scarborough Castle. (Image: Author).

horseback. Face jugs are by far the most common type of anthropomorphic vessel, particularly in the north-east regions of the country (Green 2015). The characteristics of these jugs vary between localities; however, they typically depict a bearded face applied to the front or side of the rim, sometimes with hands and arms holding the face, beard or stomach (Figs. 2–3). Whilst such vessels were produced all over England, most ceramic industries did not produce them on a regular basis, perhaps due to the greater investment in time and labour involved in their manufacture. Face jugs were particularly popular in Norfolk, the East Midlands and Yorkshire, from whence they were exported to countries such as Scotland, Norway and Sweden (Laing and Robertson 1969–70; Dunning 1968). For the purposes of this paper, the focus will be on the face jugs produced at Grimston, which was one of the most prolific producers of this vessel type in the country.

### The trade in Grimston ware face jugs in the North Sea region

Grimston was the main supplier of glazed ware to most of Norfolk throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, making this industry one of the few in the country to have thoroughly dominated a regional market. Jennings (1981, 50) has suggested that there may have been other industries in the region producing Grimston-type ware, although these production centres have yet to be located. Since it is not often possible to distinguish between Grimston and Grimston-type products, the entire group is classified as Grimston-type Glazed ware, thus avoiding the potential misattribution of certain products to the Grimston industry (Jennings 1981, 50).

In addition to its regional output, Grimston was the main supplier of glazed pottery to Bergen on the west coast of Norway (Blackmore and Vince 1994, 13, 33–4; Jennings and Rogerson 1994, 116–17; Clarke 1973; Herteig 1959, 182–3) and also reached Trondheim (Reed 1990). Whilst many English wares were traded overseas during the 13th and 14th centuries, the dominance of an English ceramic industry over a foreign market appears to have been unique to the situation between Grimston and Bergen, partly due to the fact that there was no native production in Norway until the 17th century. This arrangement came to an end during the first half of the 14th century, by which time Bergen had become part of the Hanseatic League, effectively ending its economic contacts with King's Lynn, through which Grimston-type Glazed ware was exported (Owen 1984; Clarke 1973). The later 14th century coincides with the cessation in the production of face jugs at Grimston and by many other industries, corresponding with a phase of pottery production characterised by an overall decline in applied decoration (Young and Vince 2005, 180–1; Leah 1994; Mellor 1994, 138–40). The ceramic



**Figure 4.** Alternate views of a Grimston ware face jug. (Image: © Suffolk County Council).

assemblages discussed in this paper are, therefore, confined to the highly decorated phase of ceramic production, spanning the 13th to late 14th centuries.

Grimston-type face jugs are characterised by a face placed on either side of the rim, with pointed beards projecting outwards from the chin, and arms moulded onto the body of the vessel (Fig. 4) Body decoration varies from all-over scales to vertical strips applied in a contrasting brown glaze. As will be demonstrated below, the regional distribution of Grimston-type face jugs follows a more selective pattern compared to other types of vessels produced in local glazed wares, linking these vessels first and foremost to commercially important waterside settlements.

### **A methodology for examining the regional distribution of face jugs**

This case study aims to establish the markets for bearded face jugs in Norfolk, and to identify patterns in the consumption of these vessels across a range of site-types within the region. Achieving these aims requires an understanding of the proportional significance of face jugs within household assemblages. However, since pottery is rarely recorded in lists of household objects (see La Patourel 1968; Jervis 2014, 40–50), we are almost entirely dependent on the archaeological record to elucidate the amount and range of ceramic vessels present in these households. In the vast majority of cases, archaeological excavations produce only a fraction of the pottery in use in a given household. It is, therefore, necessary to relate this archaeological record to the contemporary household ceramic inventory, specifically to that fraction of it consisting of face jugs. Two different methods of analysis are utilised, which in the ideal case are proportional to this fraction (for some unknown constant of proportionality).

The first, and most direct, method is to measure the number of face jug sherds per household. However, this measure is susceptible to differences in the survival ratio of objects, which are affected by medieval depositional practices, the nature of later site activity, and by the circumstances of archaeological recovery (the location of a trench, for example, might hit, or miss, the pits where most of the household waste was deposited).

However, where such differences are unrelated to the original use of the site they will not systematically bias average sherd counts in one site category relative to another. Whilst there are some differences in waste disposal practices between urban and rural sites (for example, in addition to waste being disposed of in pits and middens, waste was spread on to fields as manure in rural settings, and was frequently re-deposited for ground-levelling purposes in urban settings), we have to assume, unless the evidence suggests otherwise, that the excavated assemblage from either site-type is representative of the total pottery used at those sites, regardless of how it was deposited. As such, these samples can inform on differences in ceramic consumption between town and country, even if they are derived from different depositional contexts. It is also important to acknowledge that waste disposal methods vary from one site to another even within site categories. In Norwich, for example, it appears that rubbish was moved off-site with greater regularity in densely populated areas of the city compared to sparsely populated areas (Atkin and Evans 2002, 12). Again, whilst these differences may affect the sample size from one site to another, the proportional methods adopted by this study should overcome variations in sample size. This deduction also applies to differences in household size, which are likely to affect the amount of pottery recovered. Large properties such as castles, manors and monasteries, for example, typically consumed far more pottery compared to mercantile households, whilst the latter may have consumed more than peasant and labouring households.

A further consideration to be taken into account when measuring the ratio of face jug sherds per household concerns the number of contemporary households represented at a given site. Sometimes this number is clear from the structural remains and boundary features identified during excavation. In cases where domestic occupation is in evidence, but the extent of occupation is not clear, it can be assumed that at least one household was present on the site, and this is the figure supplied in the dataset. Where the activities of more than one household are suggested by the results of excavation, the minimum number of households represented is two (unless otherwise stated in the excavation report). As there is often no

way of arriving at a maximum number of households represented on a site, the minimum number is supplied in all cases where an estimation is needed.

One final consideration that emerges from this measure concerns the phasing of ceramic assemblages and the properties with which they are associated. With pottery assemblages, we are often dealing with date ranges spanning two centuries or more. Most of the pottery reports examined in this study divide the medieval pottery into three categories: early medieval (10th to early/mid 12th century); medieval (12th to late 14th centuries); and late medieval (late 14th and 15th centuries). These phases are roughly contemporary with changes in site usage, though multiple changes in site layout may occur within each phase (see, for example, the sites discussed in the Norwich Survey; Atkin and Evans 2002). Since face jugs belong to the medieval phase, only pottery from this phase is included in the dataset. Only when there is evidence to suggest that an earlier or later ware was in contemporary use with the medieval pottery are these included in the dataset. At Castle Rising Castle, for example, early medieval coarsewares continued in use throughout the 13th century, so this ware is included in the dataset for this particular site. Residual medieval wares from earlier or later site phases are included in the sherd counts for each site, as they are assumed to represent the activities of the medieval phase of occupation. When dealing with a date range spanning two centuries, it must be assumed that the pottery represents consumption practices over several generations. As it is rarely possible to divide ceramic assemblages into more discrete date ranges representative of a single generation, each site assemblage should be seen as representative of the range of consumer choices being made by the residents of a given household (or households) over multiple generations. Whilst this means that changes in the rate of face jug consumption cannot be examined from one generation to another, this does not prevent us from gaining insights into differential rates in the consumption of this vessel-type between site-types, as long as the date range under consideration is contemporary between sites (in this case, spanning the late 12th to late 14th centuries).

The second method adopted by this study measures the proportion of face jug sherds to the total sherd count in each ceramic assemblage. This measure effectively uses the survival/loss of other sherds as a control against the survival/loss of face jug sherds. Whilst sherds from face jugs are no more likely to survive or become lost than sherds from other vessels, there is an issue of identification which could lead to the under-representation of face jugs in pottery assemblages, as in the majority of cases, face jugs are identifiable only by body sherds decorated with parts of the hands and arms, or by sherds from the applied face. The rest of the face jug, parts of which are plain or decorated with other patterns, are not

readily identifiable in ceramic assemblages, unless joins can be found with the diagnostic sherds. This limitation is reduced in cases where sherds are sorted into individual vessels. However, since many ceramic assemblages are too fragmentary to arrive at direct vessel counts (Orton and Tyers 1990, 83), it is more than likely that an unknown portion of sherds attributed to plain or decorated jugs actually belonged to face jugs. This does not pose much of a problem for present purposes, since this factor applies across all sites and assemblages.

To combine these measures effectively, the dataset must be large enough to ensure that the over-representation of face jug sherds in one sample is countered by under-representation in another. This case study includes medieval pottery assemblages from some 190 sites. The size of these assemblages vary greatly between sites, ranging from several thousand sherds to a single fragment. This variability limits the extent to which face jug consumption can be directly compared between individual sites. In order to preserve a sufficiently large sample, therefore, it is necessary to divide the available data into categories. Norwich and King's Lynn are treated as separate categories, whilst the rural data is divided into villages and small towns; rural castles and moated sites; and rural monasteries. As shown in Table 1, the data from Norwich and King's Lynn is further subdivided into mercantile and artisan, other secular, and religious sites, allowing for comparisons in the rate of face jug consumption between these site-types to be made. Sites of unknown function were excluded from study, as there was no way of linking the pottery from this group to specific properties or property-types. For the same reason, ceramic assemblages from deposits likely to have been dumped from off-site were also excluded.

Whilst hundreds of unpublished excavation reports were examined for this case study, the incidence of missing or unavailable reports from physical and digital archives meant that a survey of all of the pottery reports relating to Norfolk excavations was not possible. As such, it is important that the methodology employed here allows for the unbiased exclusion or inclusion of additional sites. This requirement is all the more necessary given the increasing rapidity with which medieval pottery is recovered and recorded from excavations. As the measures employed in this study are ratios, they have some resistance to such unbiased inclusion or exclusion.

The data underpinning the study are shown in Tables 2–8. Given that there are around 80 rural sites with sherd counts lower than 20, these are not listed in Table 6 (except for those which form part of a group of sites from a given parish, *e.g.* the assemblages from multiple sites at Aylsham and Thetford), although they are included in the analysis. Sites excluded from this Table are listed in Appendix 1.

It was necessary to focus on sherd counts (not the most reliable indicator of assemblage size due

to differing rates of breakage; Poulain 2013; Orton and Tyers 1990, 84, 86–7) for both measures, as vessel counts are not always available. In ideal circumstances, the estimated vessel equivalent (EVE) would be provided together with a maximum vessel count, which would allow for a reasonable estimation of the number of vessels represented by an assemblage of sherds. However, since this information is not always supplied, it is necessary to perform both methods of analysis based on sherd count only. As rates of breakage vary from one assemblage (and one ware type) to another (Orton and Tyers 1990, 87), these variations are not systematic between the site-types examined in this case study, thus reducing the possibility of biased outcomes.

Whilst most of the reports included in this study provide a sherd count, publications such as some of those resulting from the Norwich Survey (Atkin and Evans 2002; Atkin *et al.* 1985) and *Excavations in King's Lynn* (Clarke and Carter 1977) include only a sample of the pottery recovered per site. These samples are included in the analysis of the proportion of face jugs per household, but are excluded from the second measure, which requires a full sherd count.

## Results

The results of this case study are discussed by category. A summary of the proportions of face jugs per household and total sherd count is provided in Table 1 (actual totals are shown in Tables 2–8). For the first measure, the total face jug sherds from a given category are divided by the number of households in

**Table 1.** Summary of face jug proportions per household and per total sherd count from all categories.

Site Categories	Per Household	Per Total Sherd Count (%)
Norwich	0.95	0.3
<i>Merchant and Artisan</i>	1.55	0.26
<i>Other secular</i>	0.1	0.29
<i>Religious</i>	1	0.95
King's Lynn	2.64	2.9
<i>Merchant and Artisan</i>	5	3.1
<i>Other secular</i>	0	0
<i>Religious</i>	0	0
Rural	0.28	0.12
<i>Villages and small towns</i>	0.14	0.08
<i>Castles and moated sites</i>	0.56	0.08
<i>Religious</i>	3.4	0.35

that same category. The figures for the second measure are shown as percentages (face jug sherds divided by total sherd count, multiplied by 100).

**Table 2.** Medieval pottery assemblages from King's Lynn.

Site name	Source	Est. no. of households	Site-type	Sherd Count	Glazed Sherds	GRIM Sherds	Face jug Sherds
Baker Lane	Clarke and Carter 1977	2	Mercantile	964	598	367	28
All Saints St	Trimble 2004a	1	Leather working	87	68	16	2
Friars St	Anderson 2005a	1	Iron working	34	25	20	4
Blubberhouse Creek	Boyle and Green 2011	1	Iron working	10	7	7	0
<b>Totals (merchant/artisan)</b>		<b>5</b>		<b>1095</b>	<b>698</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>34</b>
W Lynn, 103 St Peter's Rd	Trimble 2003a	1	Salt production	13	0	0	0
W Lynn, 108 St Peter's Rd	Trimble 2003b	1	Salt production	3	0	0	0
Tower St/Clough Lane	Trimble 2004b	1	Domestic	3	3	3	0
West Winch Common	Talbot 2006a	1	Domestic	26	17	16	0
Former Pilot Cinema	Anderson 2014a	1	Domestic	20	17	11	0
Old Chapel, John Kennedy Rd	Percival 2010a	1	Domestic	1	1	1	0
<b>Totals (other secular sites)</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>66</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>0</b>
Greyfriars, Birch Tree Close	Anderson 2011a	1	Friary	3	3	3	0
Boal Quay to Wisbech Rd	Anderson 2012a	1	Friary	7	7	5	0
<b>Totals (religious sites)</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3.** Medieval pottery assemblages from King's Lynn with no available sherd or vessel counts.

Site name	Source	Est. no. of households	Site-type	Face jug Sherds
Sedgeford Lane	Clarke and Carter 1977	1	Mercantile	2
Junction off All Saints St	Clarke and Carter 1977	1	Metal working	5
M&S Ltd Surrey St	Clarke and Carter 1977	2	Metal working	4
<b>Totals (merchant/artisan)</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>11</b>

### King's Lynn

Rates of face jug consumption per household (2.64) and to that of other pottery types (2.90%) at King's Lynn were higher than those identified at Norwich and at rural sites (Tables 1–3). The current evidence suggests that it was only households of mercantile and artisan status that consumed these vessels (at a rate of 5.0 to household and 3.10% to total sherd count, compared to zero from sites of other status; Table 1). However, more data is needed from other secular and religious sites to sufficiently test this hypothesis. It is regrettable that many of the larger pottery assemblages recovered from King's Lynn are only partially published (Clarke and Carter 1977), limiting the extent to which the proportion of face jugs within site assemblages can be examined. Nevertheless, the overall results indicate that face jugs were more popular in King's Lynn than in any other part of the region, and that they were particularly associated with the mercantile and artisan communities.

### Norwich

Rates of face jug consumption by both measures were lower at Norwich compared to King's Lynn (0.95 per household and 0.30% to other pottery types; Tables 1, 4–5). The consumption of these vessels was also more varied between site-types. Rates of consumption per household were higher amongst the mercantile and artisan communities (1.55 compared to 0.10 for other secular sites and 1.0 for religious sites, Table 1). However, this pattern changes when one considers the ratio of face jugs to other types (0.26% for merchant/artisan; 0.29% for other secular; and 0.95% for religious, Table 1). It should be noted that face jugs from the 'other secular' category were restricted to the castle, and were absent from sites of labouring/industrial function. Whilst large scale excavations have been undertaken at Norwich Castle (Shepherd-Popescu 2009), most of the pottery was recovered from the castle fee (see the Golden Ball Street entry in Table 4) and so does not reflect the activities within the castle itself. More data would be preferable to test the popularity of face jugs among the secular elite.

**Table 4.** Medieval pottery assemblages from Norwich.

Site name	Source	Est. no. of households	Site-type	Sherd Count	Glazed Sherds	GRIM Sherds	Face jug Sherds
St Anne's Wharf	Goffin 2003	1	Mercantile	30	5	1	0
	Adams 2003	1	Mercantile	2	0	0	0
Read's Flour Mill, King St	Anderson 2012b	1	Mercantile	92	25	20	11
Dragon Hall, King Street	Anderson 2005b	2	Mercantile	2111	482	344	9
Bussey's Garage, Palace St	Anderson 2008a	1	Mercantile	1244	375	278	2
91-103 Ber St	Anderson 2008d	1	Mercantile	122	41	32	1
17-27 Fishergate	Adams 2005	1	Leather working	80	16	13	0
40 Fishergate	Adams 2004	1	Textile industry	165	22	12	0
Electricity works, Duke St	Anderson 2007a	1	Textile industry	178	60	52	2
Duke's Palace, Duke St	Jennings 1982a	1	Textile industry	260	152	143	0
St Martin-at-Palace-Plain	Ayers 1987	3	Textile industry	5850	1720	323	4
Castle Precinct	Lentowicz 2009	3	Butcher's house	1623	482	344	1
4-8 Ber Street	Thompson 2008	1	Metal working	349	89	46	1
<b>Totals (merchant/artisan)</b>		<b>18</b>		<b>12106</b>	<b>3469</b>	<b>1608</b>	<b>31</b>

Table 4. *Continued*

Site name	Source	Est. no. of households	Site-type	Sherd Count	Glazed Sherds	GRIM Sherds	Face jug Sherds
29-31 St Benedict's St	Jennings 1982b	2	Domestic	128	12	12	0
Cattlemarket St	Ames 2004	1	Grain processing	2	0	0	0
7 Oak Street	Anderson 1999	1	Domestic	34	11	9	0
193 Nelson Street	Anderson 2005c	1	Agricultural	10	1	1	0
Fishergate	Dallas 1994	1	Fishing, tanning	135	72	39	0
Bussey's Garage, Palace St	Goffin 2000	1	Fishing	107	26	21	0
Duke Street	Anderson 2008a	1	Domestic	7	3	3	0
Bridewell Museum	Anderson 2011b	1	Domestic	4	4	4	0
Bishopgate	Talbot 2007	1	Domestic?	1	0	0	0
98-100 Bull Close Rd	Anderson 2005d	1	Domestic?	41	30	16	0
Anglia Square	Percival & Westall 2007	1	Domestic	206			0
Castle Mound	Huddle 2009	1	Castle grounds	1	0	0	0
	Anderson 2005e	0		4	0	0	0
	Anderson 1998	0		13	4	4	2
Castle, NE Bailey	Ayers 1985	1	Castle grounds	2	0	0	0
<b>Totals (other secular sites)</b>		14		695	163	109	2
St Anne's Wharf	Anderson 2015a	1	Friary	596	215	99	5
St Benedict's Church	Jennings 1982c	1	Church	53	6	6	0
St Andrew's Hall	Anderson 2009a	1	Blackfriars	48	29	28	2
Norwich Cathedral	Anderson 2008c	1	Hostry	215	92	53	1
	Anderson 2013	0	Garden	14	6	5	0
	Morgan 2006	0	Cloister	1	0	0	0
Norwich School	Anderson 2007b	1	Bishop's Palace	4	4	4	1
St James' Church	Jennings 1982d	1	Church	1	0	0	0
East Garth Building	Anderson 2011c	1	Blackfriars	1	0	0	0
Elm Hill, Briton's arms	Irving 2014	1	Church graveyard	8	0	0	0
St Peter Southgate	Emery 2011	1	Church graveyard	7	0	0	0
<b>Totals (religious sites)</b>		9		948	352	195	9



**Table 5.** Medieval pottery assemblages from Norwich with no sherd or vessel counts.

Site name	Source	Est. no. of households	Site-type	Face jug Sherds
Bottling Plant, Westwick St	Jennings 2002a	4	Textile industry	11
Alms Lane	Jennings 1985a	3	Brewing, iron working	3
44-56 Botolph St	Evans 1985a	3	Iron working	0
49-63 Botolph St	Jennings 1985b	1	Iron working	0
<b>Totals (merchant/artisan)</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>14</b>
104-6 St Benedict's St	Evans 2002a	1	Domestic	0
73 St Benedict's St	Jennings 2002b	3	Domestic	0
31-51 Pottergate	Evans 1985b	1	Domestic	0
1-9 Bishopgate	Evans 2002b	2	Domestic	0
<b>Totals (other secular sites)</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>0</b>
Norwich School	Evans 2002c	1	Bishop's Palace	0
<b>Totals (religious sites)</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>

The relatively high proportion of face jugs from religious sites accords well with the rural data, which similarly suggests a liking for these vessels in monastic contexts (discussed further below). It is, however, important to take into account that the pottery assemblages from religious spaces in Norwich are, for the most part, too small to gain thorough insights into the full range of pottery used at these sites. Monastic households are far larger than mercantile and artisan properties, yet the assemblages from these sites ranged from 1–600 sherds, in contrast to the thousands of sherds recovered from sites pertaining to the latter category (Table 4). As such, caution must be exercised when comparing these groups, and when evaluating the proportional significance of face jugs in religious spaces.

It is noteworthy that face jugs appear to cluster at sites on or near the River Wensum (*e.g.* those from the friary at St Anne's Wharf; the mercantile properties at the sites of Dragon Hall, Palace Street and Read's Flour Mill; and the artisan properties at Duke Street, Westwick Street and St Martin-at-Palace Plain; Tables 4–5). The riverfront area served as a quay throughout the later medieval period, and was particularly associated with the prosperous textile industry (Adams 2008, 38). Given the relatively high proportions of face jugs in the assemblages from riverside contexts, it

seems likely that there was a preference for this vessel-type at commercially important sites, in contrast to the sparser distribution of these vessels further inland and in suburban areas.

### Rural sites

The rate of face jug consumption was, overall, lowest at sites in villages and small towns (0.14 to household and 0.08% to total sherd count; Tables 1, 6). Similar rates are observable at rural castles and moated sites (0.56 and 0.08%, Table 1), but are higher for rural monasteries (3.4 and 0.35%, Tables 1, 7–8), mainly due to the high proportion of face jugs in the assemblage from Castle Acre priory (0.61 of the sherd count for this property). As Dallas (2002, 45) observes, the consumption of pottery at this priory appears to have differed in several respects from that of other rural sites in the region, notably in the proportion of glazed jugs within the assemblage. Located on the River Nar, the priory had easy access to the outflow of highly decorated Grimston ware directed via the port of King's Lynn, located just 15 miles to the west of Castle Acre. That the consumption of glazed ware at this site should have more in common with a waterside settlement in King's Lynn than with rural households is not, therefore, entirely surprising.

**Table 6.** Medieval pottery assemblages from villages and small towns in Norfolk.

Parish	Site name	Source	Est. no. of households	Sherd Count	Glazed Sherds	GRIM Sherds	Face jug Sherds
Itteringham	Area A	Anderson 2012c	1	517	26	24	1
	Area C	Anderson 2012c	1	959	168	159	1
North Walsham	Lyngate Rd	Anderson 2012c	2	519	20	14	0
Bradfield	Southrepps Rd	Anderson 2012c	2	162	9	7	0
Foulsham	Green Lane	Anderson 2012c	2	640	49	49	0
Bintree	Billingford Rd	Anderson 2012c	1	642	157	156	0
Themelthorpe	Old Hall Farm	Anderson 2012c	1	868	74	74	3
Wood Dalling	Church Lane	Anderson 2012c	1	374	44	43	3
Thuxton	DMV	Butler & Jones 1989	3	7849	1959		0
Grenstein	DMV	Dallas 1980a	1	5864	2815	2780	6
Aylsham	8-12 Red Lion St	Goffin 2004a	2	1406	188	183	0
	Land off Cawston Rd	Anderson 2011d	1	9	2	0	0
	Bure Valley School	Percival 2010b	1	1	0	0	0
Clenchwarton	36 Smallholdings Rd	Thompson 2010	1	791	281	228	0
South Walsham	43 Panxworth Rd	Anderson 2010a	1	630	25	0	0
Terrington st Clement	Churchgate way	Anderson 2008e	1	74	59	36	0
North Wootton	Plot 1, Lodge Manor Rd	Anderson 2011e	1	62	24	20	0
Field Dalling	Holt Rd	Anderson 2011f	1	50	10	9	1
Sea Palling	Waxham Barn	Goffin 2004b	1	41	0	0	0
Great Cressingham	Priory Road	Anderson 2009b	1	41	40	40	0
Snettisham	Mill View Court, Station Rd	Blinkhorn 2005	1	41	15	15	0
	10-12 Common Rd	Boyle 2008	1	1	1	1	0
Great Melton	Park House	Anderson 2014b	1	39	3	3	0
Gayton	Wells Wondy Lane	Anderson 2011g	1	34	12	9	0
Kimberley	Station Rd	Anderson 2010b	1	29	4	4	0
Mattishall	Hillcrest Clippings Green	Anderson 2014c	1	29	10	3	0
Earsham	Land at King's Bridge	Anderson 2005f	1	20	0	0	0
Thetford	Tanner House	Goffin 2004c	1	1	0	0	0
	Ford Place Nursing Home	Goffin 2009	1	24	4	4	1
	Crown House, Croxton Rd	Goffin 2006	1	30	4	1	0
	Bus Interchange	Percival 2010c	1	1	0	0	0
	Land near 22 Raymond St	Thompson 2011	1	16	4	4	0
	Riverside	Fawcett 2012	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Totals (including data from Appendix 1)</b>			<b>122</b>	<b>22196</b>	<b>6107</b>	<b>3936</b>	<b>17</b>

**Table 7.** Medieval pottery assemblages from rural castles and moated sites in Norfolk.

Parish	Site name	Report	Est. no of households	Sherd Count	Glazed Sherds	GRIM Sherds	Face jug Sherds
Castle Rising	Castle grounds	Milligan 1997	1	6028	4471	3891	4
Wimbotsham	Moated site	Anderson 2003	1	228	122	93	1
Waxham	Moated site	Goffin 2005	1	22	0	0	0
Hempstead	Moated site	Rogerson & Adams 1978	1	15	5	5	0
Fincham	Fairswell Manor	Anderson 2006	1	11	4	4	0
Topcroft	Topcroft Hall	Talbot 2006b	1	3	0	0	0
Wereham	Manor house	Anderson 2007c	1	3	1	1	0
Swannington	Swannington Hall	Goffin 2004d	1	17	8	8	0
Itteringham	Area B, manor house	Anderson 2012c	1	166	3	3	0
<b>Totals</b>			<b>9</b>	<b>6493</b>	<b>4614</b>	<b>4005</b>	<b>5</b>

**Table 8.** Medieval pottery assemblages from rural monasteries in Norfolk.

Parish	Site name	Report	Est. no of households	Sherd Count	Glazed Sherds	GRIM Sherds	Face jug Sherds
Castle Acre	Cluniac Priory	Dallas 2002	1	2055	2024	1789	14
		Dallas 1980b	0	380	340	338	1
Binham	Binham Priory	Irving & Beeby 2015	1	42	20	16	0
		Anderson 2015b	0	2296	2042	1902	2
		Boyle 2009	0	24	16	16	0
Barton Bendish	The Rectory	Hall 2011	1	48	2	2	0
Langley with Hardley	Langley Abbey	Anderson 2010c	1	3	0	0	0
Caistor St Edmunds	The Old Rectory	Hobbs 2005	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>			<b>5</b>	<b>4849</b>	<b>4444</b>	<b>4063</b>	<b>17</b>

## Discussion

This study has shown that bearded face jugs were used at multiple site-types throughout Norfolk. Differences in the rate of consumption were, however, in evidence, suggesting that they were more popular amongst artisan and mercantile populations in King's Lynn and (to a lesser extent) in Norwich compared to other social groups. It is suggested that this preference relates to the construction of new forms of masculinity in urban centres, discussed in further detail below.

With the exception of the data from King's Lynn, the face jugs identified in this study were almost exclusively Grimston products. The widespread distribution of these vessels throughout the region suggests that the proportional differences in their consumption relate to social differences rather than simply to ease of access. Furthermore, there is no

reason *a priori* to suggest that the greater or lesser availability of face jugs from one settlement to another should lead to proportional differences in consumption, since consumers had many other types of decorated glazed jugs to choose from.

Of the 45 face jugs included in the dataset for King's Lynn, 18 were Scarborough Ware products (a further four were identified from an off-site dump at South Clough Lane, not included in the dataset; Clarke and Carter 1977, 169–71). Sherds from Scarborough Ware face jugs were identified at several other sites in the region, including two out of the four face jug sherds recovered from Castle Rising Castle; one each from the rural settlements at Itteringham and Coltishall; and another from an off-site dump at World's End Lane, Norwich (Evans 2002a, 37; not included in the dataset). The ceramic industry at Scarborough was one of the most successful manufacturers of glazed

ware in England, exporting its products to Scotland, Norway, Sweden and Bruges, as well as to settlements on the east and south coasts of England (Farmer 1979; Laing and Robertson 1969-70). King's Lynn is one of the few settlements in Norfolk to have consumed imported pottery from this industry on a regular basis, reflecting the port's engagement with other prosperous commercial centres on the eastern seaboard and the east coast fishing industry. The face jugs produced at Scarborough, which are of the long-bearded type, are distinctive enough in appearance from the Grimston-types to have been recognised by consumers as imports (most glazed pottery is so aesthetically similar that medieval consumers are unlikely to have known the origins of much of the pottery they purchased). As such, it can reasonably be suggested that these vessels acted as material indicators of commercial relations between these ports.

The link between face jugs and commercial bonds is strengthened when we turn to the consumption of glazed pottery at the port of Bergen, on the west coast of Norway. As mentioned above, vast quantities of Grimston-type Glazed ware were exported to Bergen via King's Lynn, supplemented by smaller amounts of Scarborough Ware and other (mostly unsourced) English wares, probably as a by-product of the trade in fish and wool. Many face jugs arrived in Bergen as part of these interactions, 65 of which were recently displayed in an exhibition at Bryggens Museum (September 2013 to November 2014). Since few of these vessels have been published (but see Herteig 1959 for some examples), it has not been possible to conduct a thorough assessment of the distribution of face jugs in Bergen at the present time. However, the assemblage of these vessels at Bryggens Museum is comparable both numerically and in terms of associated social demographic (most were recovered from excavations in the mercantile quarter of the town) with those from King's Lynn. Based on this evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that there was a shared preference for these vessel-types amongst the commercial populations of either port.

As Gaimster (2005; 2014) observes of pottery consumption within and between Hanseatic *kontors*, pottery played an important role in forging 'horizontal' social affiliations between common interest groups, particularly amongst commercial populations connected by significant water routes. It seems likely that the consumption of face jugs amongst the mercantile and artisan populations of Norwich and King's Lynn, together with their trading partners in Scarborough and Bergen, acted in a similar way. The close economic interactions that developed between King's Lynn and Bergen in particular would have facilitated a variety of social relationships, particularly in the households of merchants, which frequently played host to foreign traders. The remainder of this paper considers the role of face jugs in forming these relationships, with reference to the social meanings

that emerged from the decorative properties of these vessels.

## The symbolism and social role of bearded face jugs

Beards, the most prominent feature on face jugs, occupied a socially and morally ambivalent position in medieval thought (Cumberpatch 2006; Bartlett 1994; Constable 1985). On the one hand, beards were a potent symbol of male maturity and virility, and the ability to grow a beard was an important physical proof of masculinity within the secular community (Constable 1985; Kinney 1994, 48; Bartlett 1994). However, due to their association with sexual maturity, beards could develop sinful connotations (Constable 1985, 67). For the celibate clergy, shaving the beard presented a viable method of avoiding the unclean thoughts brought about by the growth of facial hair. The smooth faces of clergymen set them apart visually from their secular counterparts, symbolising their departure from the normal route through which masculine status was achieved, which in the secular community was centred on producing children and providing for dependants (Gilchrist 2009; Cullum 1999; Swanson, 1999). This would appear to suggest that, by contrast, facial hair was the norm amongst secular men, although the ways in which it was treated may have varied according to age, status, and other aspects of identity. Art historian Michael Camille (1998) noted that aristocratic men are usually shown with clean-shaven faces or with short beards conforming to the shape of the face in manuscript illuminations, whilst peasants, labourers and servants tend to be depicted with long or bushy beards. Building on this evidence, Hadley (in prep.) argues that, whilst the ability to grow a beard was an important symbol of male virility and maturity, the choice to cut or shave the beard was more a matter of social standing and taste.

Virility was a central component of secular masculinity, yet men were expected to exercise control over their bodily impulses, and failure to do so could result in accusations of vice and effeminacy (Cullum 1999; Swanson 1999; McNamara 1994). In medieval marginal art, men who allow their baser urges to get the better of them are frequently depicted with long or bushy beards. The bearded Wild Man in particular acted as an allegory for the uncontrollable elements of male sexuality, embodying a nature that revelled in sensuous, animalistic behaviours that rendered him semi-human (Hardwick 2011, 136–8; Camille 1998; 1992; Bernheimer 1970). The bestial associations of beards are further demonstrated through depictions of men whose bodies are spliced with those of beasts, often engaging in lustful or violent behaviours (Camille 1998; 1992). As Cumberpatch (2006) has discussed, the link between bearded men and the lustful appetites of goats was frequently made by moralists and the

authors of bestiaries, many of whom drew upon the writings of Archbishop Isidore Seville (560–636), who wrote that ‘the male goat is a lascivious animal, and wanton, and always eager for sexual intercourse, whose eyes look sideways because of libidinousness’ (quoted in Karras 2003, 106). From at least the 13th century, devils and demons are frequently shown with the horns, hooves and beards of goats in medieval visual culture (Cumberpatch 2006). The link between beards and the sinful dimensions of virility were evidently being made in this repertoire of images and textual accounts. However, as Cumberpatch (2006) observes, the lustful associations of beards may have been viewed more positively by the lay community than by the celibate clergy.

Whilst it seems likely that face jugs had a context in ‘transgressive imagery’ aimed at undermining pious expectations of how men ought to behave, as Cumberpatch (2006) suggests, the occurrence of these vessels in monastic spaces (*e.g.* the monasteries at Norwich and Castle Acre) suggests that face jugs were, on occasion, absorbed into the symbolic language of religious masculinities. Hardwick (2011) argues that the appropriation of secular imagery in monastic spaces enabled ecclesiasts to assert authority over all subject matter, from the sacred to the profane. When used at the tables of clergymen, face jugs may have assumed a similarly subservient role, acting quite literally as servants filling the cups of their masters. This suggestion is reinforced by a slightly later element of tableware, the figural ‘salts’ listed in the wills and inventories of 15th-century elite households, which frequently took the form of bearded peasants and foreigners. Hadley (*in prep.*) argues that these vessels enabled English lords to ‘celebrate their power over those who shared aspects of their gender but not of their social or ethnic status’. It is possible that bearded face jugs appealed to clergymen for similar reasons, enabling them to exercise control over their secular counterparts, and perhaps over their own susceptibility to the sins represented by the bearded man.

Notably, face jugs brought the virile associations surrounding beards into spaces where drinking took place, and where the potential to sin was heightened by the possibility of intoxication. Whilst ale was consumed by all levels of the social hierarchy as a safer alternative to water, excessive consumption could lead to drunkenness, and to all of the vices connected to intoxication. Bennett (1996) argues that, even though women were integral to the production and distribution of ale, women who habitually drank to excess were viewed with contempt, whilst those who frequented drinking spaces were synonymous with prostitutes. One wonders how far women were really precluded from the convivial dimensions of alcohol consumption, given that the household formed the principal drinking space throughout much of the 13th and 14th centuries (Mellor 2005, 156–7; Bennett 1996). Nevertheless, social drinking does seem to have

had more of an association with male bonding than with female socialising, and it is noteworthy that the face jugs examined in this paper sometimes occurred in spaces where women would have been absent or in the minority, such as in monastic spaces, castles, manor houses and mercantile households. In cases where face jugs were used in the presence of women, decorating the household with symbols of male virility made powerful statements about men’s role as head of house, to which women and children assumed a subordinate and (at least as far as can be told from the decorated tableware) symbolically invisible role.

Drawing upon symbols of male virility was, however, equally, if not more, important in spaces where men drank together away from the company of women. Karras (2003) argues that homosocial drinking provided an important means through which masculinity could be proven to one’s peers, particularly amongst groups of men who had yet to prove their masculinity through more acceptable means, such as through marriage and providing for a family. Hadley (2008) has similarly observed that overt symbols of masculinity were typically drawn upon when this identity was under threat, such as during the Viking invasions, which saw a reversion to the symbol of the sword on funerary monuments in 10th-century Northern England. As Duby (1980a; 1980b) has discussed, the 13th century witnessed a reconfiguration of masculine identity at multiple levels of the social order. This was brought about by the growth of urban centres, which presented new opportunities for men to make their livelihoods outside of the former tripartite division of men into those who laboured, those who fought, and those who prayed. By the 13th century, there was a whole host of men who did not fit comfortably into these categories, including merchants, artisans, and other tradesmen whose professions depended on profit (Karras 1997; 2003; Duby 1980a; 1980b). To negotiate their positions successfully in the social order, the middling ranks of medieval society appropriated and contended with traditional understandings of what it meant to be a man in medieval society. In such circumstances, universal symbols of masculine identity, such as the prominent beards on face jugs, may have been particularly useful in reinforcing masculinity amongst men who neither fought, laboured nor prayed. This theory is reinforced by the results presented in this paper, which suggest a preference for these vessels amongst the mercantile and artisan communities. It is worth noting that the face jugs from several of the mercantile and artisan households discussed in this regional case study were found in association with sherds decorated with other aspects of masculine imagery. These include the phallic tubular spouts from Friars Street and Baker Lane in King’s Lynn, and the knight jug sherds from the substantial artisan properties at Westwick Street in Norwich (Jennings 2002a). The phallic spouts, which could have come from face jugs or knight jugs,

reinforce the virile associations of the beards applied to serving jugs. The knight jugs, in turn, incorporate themes of hunting and warfare, and in these ways can be seen in the context of the appropriation of symbols of hegemonic masculinity amongst groups of men lower down the social order.

Whilst masculine identity continued to form a small element of ceramic decoration in the later 14th and 15th centuries, for example the minute bearded faces applied to the handle joins of chafing dishes, curfews and basting dishes from a small group of settlements in Low Countries, as well as Norwich and London (Gaimster and Verhaeghe 1992), masculinity undoubtedly becomes a rarer and less stylistically consistent element of ceramic decoration compared to the earlier period. This correlates with wider changes in ceramic decoration, which becomes notably rarer and sloppier during this period. Loss of potting skill, due to successive waves of famine and plague, has been suggested as one potential reason for this decline in the quality of ceramic production (Jennings 1992, 27). Metal vessels also appear to have become more widespread in medieval households at this time, perhaps reducing the practical need and social value of pottery in the home (Jennings 1992, 27). Whilst there is an overall decline in applied decoration at Grimston and at most other English ceramic industries at this time, it did not disappear altogether. Applied strips and pellet decoration continued into the 15th century at Grimston (Little and Lentowicz 1994, 87–91; Jennings 1985b, 130–1), whilst anthropomorphic decoration continued at several other industries (*e.g.* Lincoln; Young and Vince 2005). Evidently, there was a general decline in the taste for (or availability of) flamboyantly decorated jugs during the late 14th century, including the anthropomorphic forms discussed in this paper.

This decline is not easy to understand, not least because the culture surrounding alcohol production and consumption became, if anything, even more masculine during the later 14th century. This period witnessed the formalisation of the brewing industry from a household task performed mainly by women, to a professional industry dominated by men (Jervis 2012; Bennett 1996). Furthermore, this period saw an explosion in the number of taverns and public houses in English towns, creating a shift in the main social drinking spaces from the home to the public arena (Mellor 2005, 157). Whilst it was common for women to serve beer in public houses, it was primarily men who made use of these spaces for drinking (Karras 2003; 1997). One might, therefore, expect the increasingly masculine associations surrounding alcohol production and consumption to be reflected in the material culture involved in these practices.

That masculine symbolism on tableware declines after the mid 14th century relates partly to changes taking place within the ceramic industry (see above). However, these changes cannot be treated in isolation from consumer choices, which drive much of the

impetus for changes in material production. As such, some consideration of the changing social conditions of this period is required if the decline in masculine symbolism on tableware is to be satisfactorily explained. Notably, the late 14th century witnessed the increased stability of urban masculinity within the social hierarchy, brought about by the formalisation of guilds, and a greater fluidity between noble and commercial identities (Nightingale 2000; Duby 1980a, 10; 1980b). Whilst craft and merchant guilds were certainly a feature of 13th-century townscapes, the later 14th century witnessed a sharp increase in the size and numbers of guilds (Nightingale 2000; Rosser 1994). Greater civic freedoms enabled powerful guilds to contend with ecclesiastical and aristocratic authorities in economic, political and social affairs, whilst merchants of the highest rank were permitted to achieve knighthood for the first time (Nightingale 2000). These developments reflect a growing confidence amongst the middling ranks of medieval society. Whilst these groups continued to compete with and appropriate the material culture used by the aristocracy (Rosser 1994; Gaimster and Verhaeghe 1992), the need to revert to universal symbols of masculine identity seems to have waned at this time. This correlates with an overall decline in ceramic decoration and in the quality of pottery, suggesting that the social value of ceramic tableware had waned, at least in terms of its capacity to convey aspects of identity and social affiliations. Bearded face jugs can, therefore, be seen as a product of negotiating urban masculinity in the 13th to mid 14th centuries, forming part of a cultural package that developed in prominent ports bordering the North Sea.

## Conclusions

Bearded face jugs were part of a wider package of tableware that celebrated masculine virility and maturity, and were enrolled in the construction of masculine identity in a diversity of contexts. That it was mercantile and artisan populations who appear to have made the heaviest use of these vessels may be explained in terms of the new forms of urban masculinity emerging in 13th-century towns and ports, which necessitated the appropriation of traditional symbols of male power and potency in order to be successfully negotiated. The virtual disappearance of these symbols from ceramic tableware around the mid-14th century can be seen both as a product of the wider decline in the production and social relevance of decorated pottery, and of the maturing of urban masculinity into a more stable subset of the social hierarchy. Bearded face jugs therefore belong to a context of increased urbanism and prosperity on the one hand, but also to a period of increased insecurity surrounding traditional understandings of what it meant to be a man in medieval society.

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## Appendix 1: List of unpublished pottery reports from rural sites, with sherd counts lower than 20

Parish	HER Nos.	Report
Attleborough	41824 ATT; ENF 127653	NAU 1101; 2722
Beeston with Bittering	35173 BNB	NAU 1084
Besthorpe	9137 BES	NAU 1176
Blofield	ENF 133877	Norvic 45
Brancaster	ENF 126541; ENF 125537	NAU 2712; APS 04/11
Bressingham	45727, ENF 125240	NAU 2451
Brettenham	40419 BRT	NAU 1016
Briston	135255	NAU 1197
Burnham Deepdale	ENF 129500	NAU 3054
Burnham Market	49125 BVM	NAU 1323
Burnham Market	40704 BVM	NAU 989
Caister-on-Sea	8688 CAJ	HW 101
Caister-St-Edmunds	40830 CBN	NAU 1008
Cantley	ENF 125181	APS 78/10
Castle Acre	ENF 126596; ENF 128922; ENF 129203	APS 60/11, 34/12, 05/13
Caston	ENF 132501	Norvic 37
Cley next the Sea	44785 CLY	NAU 1189
Coltishall	127893	NAU 2902
Cringleford	ENF 125702	NAU 2498
Croxton	ENF 128381	PCA 11157
Diss	ENF 130793	SCCAS 2013/023
Drayton	51058	NAU 1759
East Dereham	ENF 127890	NAU 2829
East Harling	35185	NAU 756
East Rudham	ENF 129410	JNAS (ADS doi.10.5284/1026372)
East Winch	ENF 124453	NAU 2344
Easton	36414 EAS	NAU 859
Felmingham	ENF 128892	NAU 2696
Feltwell	52795	SCCAS 2009/305
Gorleston	ENF 132022; ENF 125133	Norvic 33; ASLtd 3609
Great Bricham	ENF 125611	NAU 2610
Great Ryburgh	ENF 124835	NAU 2742
Great Witchingham	ENF 125612	Norvic 11
Grimston	39844 GRM	NAU 916
Hemsby	41649 HMY	NAU 1079

Forming identities, transcending boundaries

Hillington	ENF 128198	NPS PA07-21783T
Holt	ENF 129173	APS 97/12
Horning	ENF 131296	Norvic 32
Horsford	ENF 126529	NAU 2699
Kirstead	Wade 1976	EAA2
Little Cressingham	4697	NAU 1950
Little Fransham	51769	NAU 1954
Little Melton	50209	APS 49/08
Little Plumstead	51524	NAU 1845
Loddon	41643 LDD	NAU 1073
Long Stratton	39671 LGS	NAU 942
Middleton	51696	NAU 1938
Morley	ENF 127717	NAU 2796
Narborough	ENF 127745	NAU 2879
Old Buckenham	ENF 135130	NAU 1080
Poringland	ENF 125790	NAU 2586
Postwick	30475	NAU 1922
Rockland All Saints	ENF 133235	Norvic 42
Roughton	ENF 133461	Norvic 52
Saham Toney	ENF 125344	NAU 2561
Scole	ENF 124515	NAU 1817
Southery	49133 SRY	APS 06/07
South Wootton	ENF 128891	NAU 2962
Sporle	39677 SWP	NAU 869
St Olave's	ENF 132207	Norvic 36
Swaffham	40917 SWF	NAU 937
Tilney All Saints	ENF 125381	APS 110/10
Titchwell	ENF 125306	ASLtd 3653
Thornham	51386	APS 45/08
Upwell	38184	NAU 839
Upton with Fishley	ENF 126682	CAU 1019
Walsingham	ENF 132502	Norvic 35
Waterden	1976 CRS	NAU 1093
Wells-next-the-Sea	41754 WNS	NAU 1081
West Winch	3374	NAU 1856
Wicklewood	ENF 131411	APS 59/13
Wilby	29582 QVD	NAU 1110
Wymondham	41125 WYM, ENF 126711; ENF 128720	NAU 1050, 2757; 2954

## Résumé

*Ce document examine le rôle des cruches au visage barbu dans la construction identitaire à la fin du Moyen Age en Angleterre, spécifiquement en ce qui concerne l'urbanisme, le mercantilisme et la masculinité. L'accent est mis sur les cruches produites par l'industrie de la céramique de Grimston, Norfolk. Un examen de la répartition régionale de ces récipients permet de mieux comprendre le rôle des cruches au visage dans la construction identitaire dans un large éventail géographique et social. Des points nodaux dans le commerce et la consommation de ces récipients sont identifiés dans des sites d'habitation riverains qui sont commercialement importants à King's Lynn et Norwich. Il est suggéré que les cruches au visage jouaient un rôle dans la construction de liens d'intérêt commun et identitaire dans les populations mercantiles et artisanales de ces sites d'habitation. Il est également suggéré que le symbolisme de ces récipients, qui font appel aux associations viriles de barbes, lie ces récipients à la construction de nouvelles formes de masculinité qui se développaient dans les ports et les villes du 13<sup>ème</sup> siècle.*

## Zusammenfassung

*Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht, welche Rolle bärtige Gesichtskrüge bei der Identitätsbildung im spätmittelalterlichen England spielten, insbesondere in Bezug auf Stadtplanung, Handelsgeist und Männlichkeit. Das Augenmerk richtet sich hauptsächlich auf Gesichtskrüge, die in der Keramikindustrie Grimstons in Norfolk hergestellt wurden. Die Untersuchung der regionalen Verbreitung dieser Gefäße bietet Einblicke in die Rolle, die Gesichtskrüge bei der Identitätsbildung über ein breites geographisches und soziales Spektrum hinweg spielten. In wirtschaftlich bedeutsamen, sich am Wasser befindenden, Siedlungen in King's Lynn und Norwich wurden Knotenpunkte im Handel und im Gebrauch dieser Gefäße entdeckt. Der Beitrag legt dar, dass Gesichtskrüge innerhalb der kaufmännischen und handwerklichen Bevölkerungen dieser Siedlungen aktiv zur Herausbildung von Verbänden, die sich auf gemeinsame Interessen und Identitäten stützten, beitrugen. Die symbolischen Eigenschaften dieser Gefäße beziehen sich auf die Assoziation von Bärten mit Männlichkeit. Das verbindet die Gefäße mit der Herausbildung neuer Formen der Männlichkeit in den Städten und Häfen des 13. Jahrhunderts.*

