

Fig. 24. Summary of pottery sequences from Exe Bridge, tenements A and B.

## F. THE SEQUENCE OF LATE MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM EXE BRIDGE (Figs. 24–8)

Excavations were conducted in 1975–9 in conjunction with the restoration of the medieval Exe Bridge. An area of reclaimed land on the former river bed was examined. This included one complete medieval tenement, parts of two others, and former river channels running under the site of St Edmund's church, which stood on the bridge (for a summary account see Henderson 1981; for the full report see Brown forthcoming).

The tenements, which fronted onto Frog Street, were occupied continuously from the 13th to the present century. Their long sequence of stratified 13th- to 15th-century deposits (up to 1.2 m deep) has produced the most complete sequence of late medieval pottery from the city. Two large assemblages are of particular value, the first attributable to the early 13th century (688–717, 821–3), the second probably to the early 15th (1463–1511). Most post-medieval deposits had been removed by recent truncation.

*Stratigraphy and recording*

The stratigraphy of the site comprised a succession of thin overlapping deposits; some internal floor levels and external yard surfaces were patched on many occasions and others completely worn through, causing difficulties in the identification of common horizons at any particular date.

In analysing the stratigraphy, the 1130 individual contexts have been organised into 133 groups according to their stratigraphic relationships and character. For example, all the various lenses of make-up which were laid between two floor surfaces, or a series of dumps which appeared to have been deposited together, have been treated as a group. The 133 groups have been arranged into 36 blocks. These may sometimes have accumulated over long periods; for example all the deposits within a single building form a single block. Others, such as those consisting of a series of dumps deposited on the river edge, seem to have accumulated rapidly.

The pottery was examined after the completion of the stratigraphic analysis. The sherds from each individual context were first recorded; this analysis is presented in the archive of the site report. All sherds from each group were then examined together; in no instance was it possible to distinguish any difference between the dates of individual contexts within a group. Finally the larger blocks were examined; these sometimes proved to contain many joining sherds scattered throughout the block. In these instances all the pottery from a block has been presented together. In all other cases the groups have been presented separately.

*Dating*

There are three datable horizons in the excavated area. First, the construction of Exe Bridge is dated by documentary evidence to c. 1200. Dendrochronological examination of a pile which was driven into the river bed when the bridge was constructed showed that it was felled in 1197. Pottery was found in the rubble raft on which the bridge was laid (835). Two much larger groups were probably deposited shortly after the construction of the bridge (688–717, 821–3).

Second, a house built beside the church is mentioned in a document of 1319 (DRO ED/M/243). A wall of this house cut a number of deposits which must therefore date before 1319.

Third, in 1448–9 the Bishop of Exeter granted an indulgence to those contributing towards the rebuilding of St Edmund's church on Exe Bridge and to its fabric, lights, etc. (Dunstan 1968, 21). A 15th-century reconstruction of the tower and the north wall were identified in excavation and may reasonably be regarded as the documented work. This was accompanied by considerable dumping of building waste under the church; deposits of rubble and slate infilled the robbed foundations of the piers which were replaced at this time. A small but important group of jugs was recovered from this horizon (836–7).

*Tenement A*

Fig. 24 summarises the stratigraphic relations and dates of groups and blocks in this area and also shows the incidence of the principal pottery types.

*Block I, groups 1 and 2*

Sherds from deposits which accumulated on the river bank, very probably shortly after the construction of Exe Bridge.

- 688–97 North French green-glazed fine sandy white wares.  
 688 from Normandy, with applied scales and rouletted stripes; 689 with yellow-green glaze, cf. the imported jug from Chapel Street, Exeter (Dunning 1964a, Fig. 10, No. 8); 690 fabric 103 with applied scales and dull mid green glaze; 691–7 possible north French sherds, 692 with impressed triangular stamps, 693–4 rims, 695 ?cooking pot with fine diamond-shaped rouletting on top of rim, *int* yellow-green glaze, *ext* sooting (precise origin uncertain), 696 with incised grooves, mottled mid green glaze, 697 with applied strip with grid-stamping, yellow-green glaze.  
 698 Micaceous fabric 105, probably hand-made, unglazed.  
 699 Fine pale grey fabric with sparse rounded quartz (up to 0.8 mm) and dull mottled green glaze. Origin uncertain; possibly imported.  
 700 Fabric 45. Incised lines, central knife-stabbing, glazed.  
 701 Probable London ware sherd with orange-green glaze.  
 702 Fabric 44, wheel-thrown, with incised lines.  
 703 Fabric 60 tripod pitcher.  
 704 North Devon-type medieval coarseware. Identification confirmed by *thin-sectioning* by Vince and Brown.  
 705–15 Fabric 20.  
 716–17 Fabric 23.

*Block IV, groups 3 and 4*

- 718 Rouen jug base with bosses and applied rouletted strips over brown slip.  
 719 Saintonge green-glazed sherd with notch-rouletted applied strip.  
 720–1 Fabric 20.

- 722 North French green-glazed jug. Fine sandy white fabric, yellow-green glaze; rivet hole and edge of a break plugged with lead (shaded on drawing).  
 723–5 Fabric 20.

*Block III, groups 5–7*

- 726 Rouen jug handle with stabbed pin-holes.  
 727 Normandy green-glazed jug, as 688, with applied scales, rouletted strip and curved linear strip.  
 728 Base of a Rouen jug.  
 729 Saintonge green-glazed jug rim.  
 730 Ham Green ware, hand-made (D. Dawson ident.).  
 731 Fabric 44, with scales on body and masks on rim.  
 732 Fabric 40, form 4 with knife-slashing and stabbed holes. Sooted *ext*.  
 733–4 Fabric 44, 733 with applied scales.  
 735 Fabric 105 with over-fired glaze.  
 736–40 Coarsewares. 736 fabric 23; 737–40 fabric 20.

*Block V, groups 9 and 10*

- 741–2 Saintonge green-glazed wares. 742 appears to be the lug of a horn of the type found by Messrs. Barton, Mayes and Thomson in their excavations in the Saintonge.  
 743 Sherd from the ?point of attachment of a tubular spout or an aquamanile spout to its body. Sandy off-white fabric, applied strips with stick-impressions, thick pale green glaze. Source uncertain, but possibly north-east English.  
 744–5 Fabric 62. 744 is probably from Dorset and closely resembles jug handles from excavations in Poole (publication forthcoming).  
 746 ?Fabric 40.  
 747 ?Fabric 45, wheel-thrown. Applied bosses and scales on

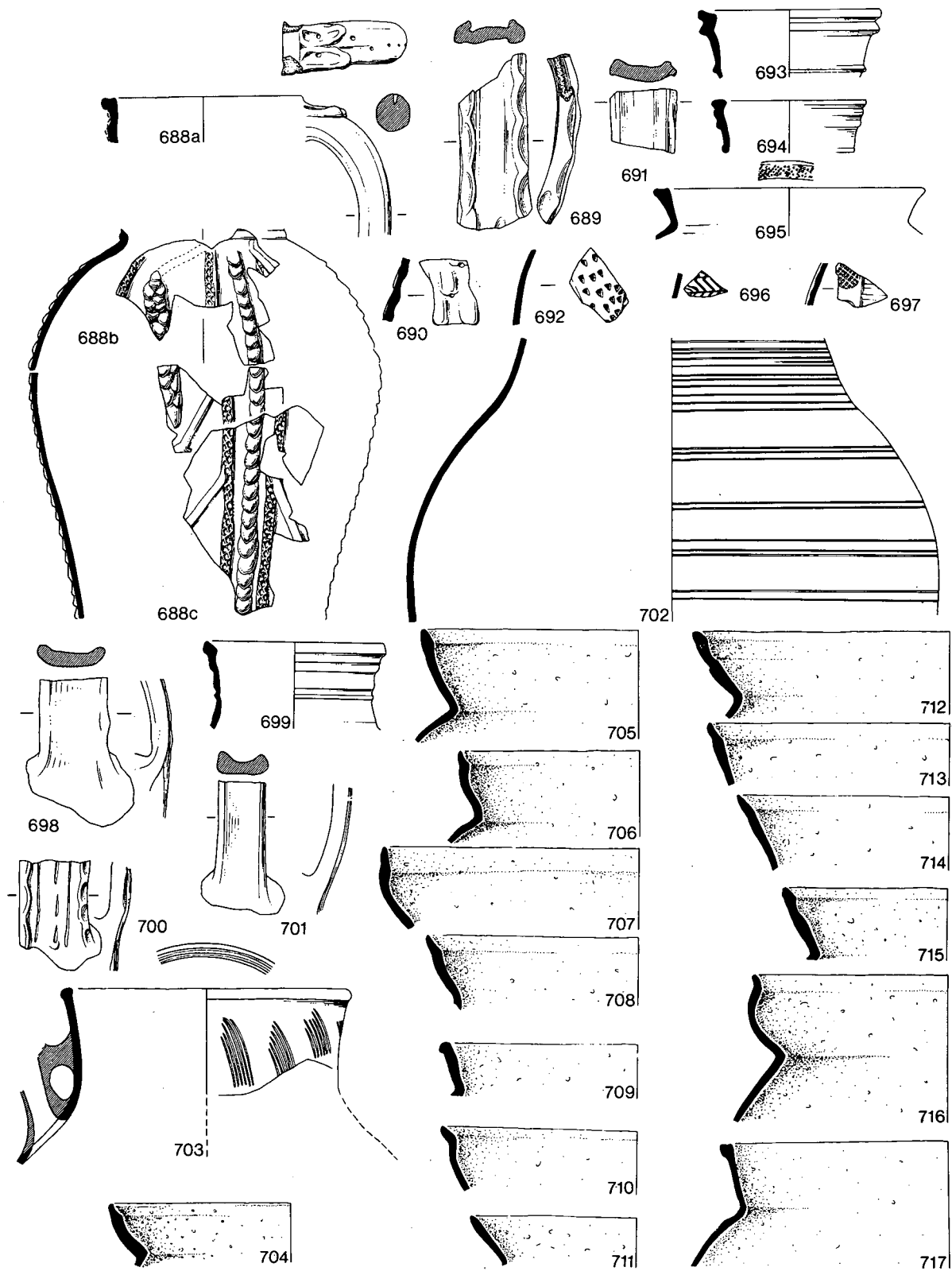


Fig. 25. Exe Bridge block I, shortly after *c.* 1200 (scale 1:4).

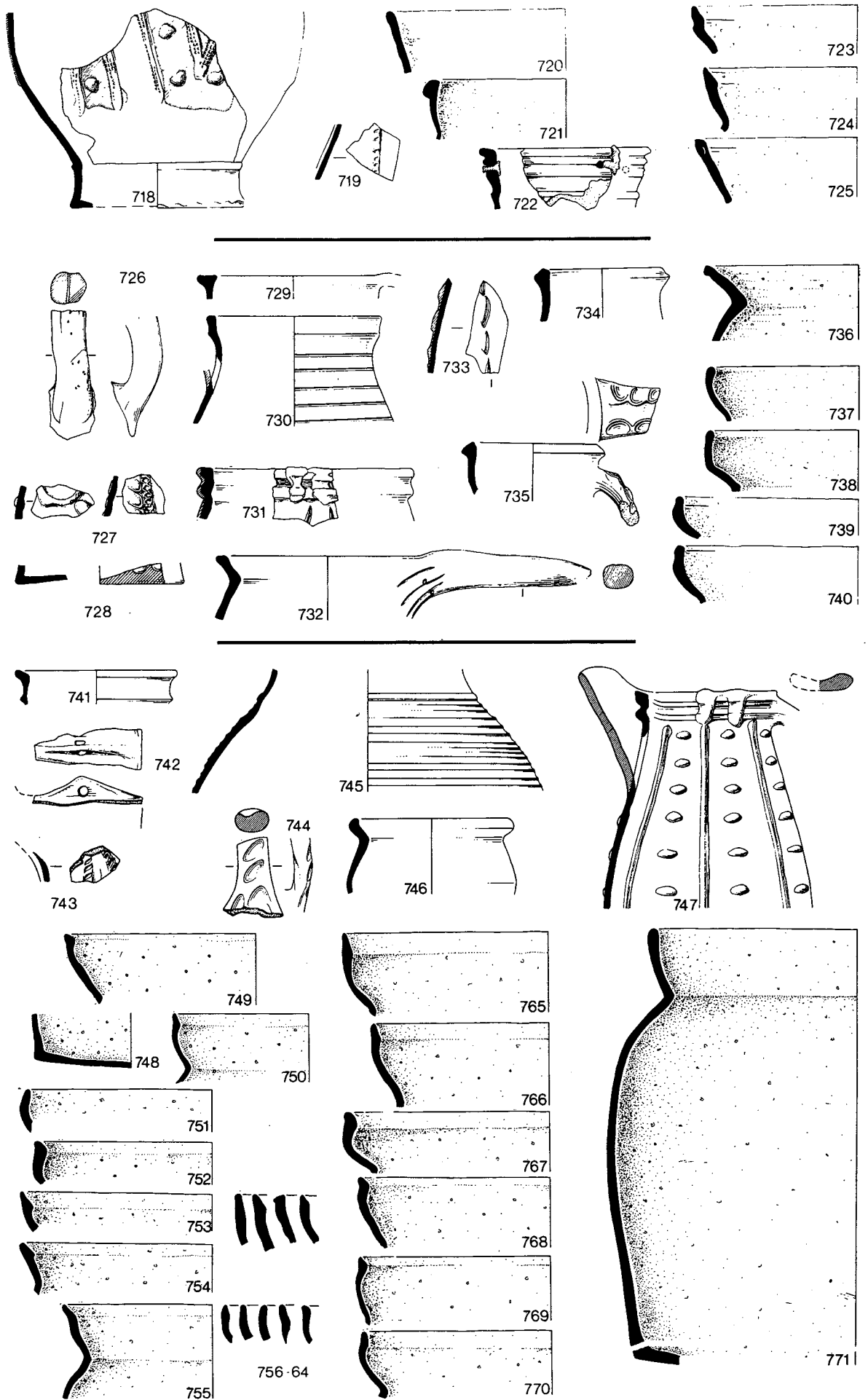


Fig. 26. Sequence of 13th-century wares from Exe Bridge, tenement A (scale 1:4).

body, masks on rim. Rich orange-green glaze with iron bleeding.

748-71 Coarsewares. 748-50 fabric 23; 751-71 fabric 20.

*Block V, groups 12-14*

- 772-3 Rouen jug rims, glazed yellow.  
 774 Coarse sandy gritty black ware. Profile similar to that of some Donyatt kiln products.  
 775-80 Coarsewares. 775 fabric 20; 776 fabric 27; 777 fabric 21; 778-80 fabric 20.  
 781 Jug handle. Unclass. fine sandy red ware, with central scored line. Weak copies of north French 'ears' on top of handle.

*Block V, group 15*

- 782 Micaceous ?hand-made jug, ?fabric 105. *Ext* combing, possible slip, and blotchy mid green glaze.  
 783 Fabric 42, glazed.  
 784 Non-local jug neck. Fine hard sandy ware, fired mid grey. *Ext* wheel-thrown grooves and glossy mid green glaze.  
 785 Sandy greyware cooking pot with sparse white mica plates.  
 786-91 Fabric 20.

*Block VIII, groups 17-22, 26-8*

- 792 ?Fabric 82, wheel-thrown. Thumbed strip, thin green glaze. ?Fragment of roof finial or louver.  
 793 Fabric 20.

*Block IX, groups 30-2*

- 794 Bodysherd of a large Spanish amphora with prominent wheel-thrown grooves, identical to 1463. This is almost certainly not Roman.

*Block X, groups 24-5, 29*

- 795-7 Fabric 40. 796 with dot-and-circle stamp over metallic stripe.  
 798 Fabric 20.  
 799 Fine unglazed red ware with very fine white mica inclusions, ?Cornish.

*Block XI, groups 33, 38-9*

- 800 Fabric 40, form 4. Unglazed, sooted *ext*.  
 801 Hand-made sandy greyware. Incised combing, glossy green glaze. Vessel form uncertain.

*Block XVIII, groups 66-7*

- 802 Fabric 21.

*Block XII, groups 40-3*

- 803 Saintonge green-glazed jug with applied rouletted strips and bosses.  
 804 Fabric 43.

*Block XIII, groups 44-50, 62-5*

- 805 Fabric 40, barrel costrel with stubs of lugs, central mouth, white-painted stripes.  
 808 Fabric 25.

*Block XVI, groups 53-8*

- 806 Chafing dish sherds. Fine micaceous greyware, mid green glaze.  
 807 ?Cornish or Breton jug handle. Fabric very rich in white mica. Applied central strip, mottled mid green glaze. Brown and Vince write,

'Thin-sectioning reveals abundant muscovite (up to 2 mm), large fragments of metamorphic rock, biotite and angular and rounded quartz (between 0.2 and 0.5 mm). The character of the matrix is obscured by the inclusions. This is a highly distinctive fabric; the schistose nature of the inclusions implies a source very close to a metamorphic rock outcrop.' A second example of this fabric is present in BSE 347 of late 13th-century date.

808

*Block XIX, groups 51-73*

- 809 Micaceous fabric 105 with *ext* and *int* slip, *int* glaze.  
 810-11 South Somerset 15th/16th-century type 4 cooking pots.

*Block XVI, group 86*

- 812 Wheel-thrown bowl in micaceous fabric 105 with white-painted lines.  
 813 North Devon coarseware jug with dribbled *ext* slip.  
 814 Wheel-thrown cooking pot/jar in fabric 105.  
 815-20 come from the fill of a well (EB 505).  
 815 Rough fawn-red fabric with fine white mica inclusions. Wheel-thrown, unglazed. Curious form, function unknown.  
 816 Tudor Green ware with copper-mottled green glaze.  
 817 Cup base in fine sandy greyware with very sparse mica inclusions and dull green-brown glaze. Origin uncertain.  
 818-20 South Somerset 15th/16th-century wares. 818-19 typical jugs; 820 gritty ware, unsooted.

*Date:* The well group contains no Coarse Sandy ware or imported stonewares. Horizon K, mid or late 15th-century.

*Tenement B*

The relationships of the groups in this tenement, with their ceramic horizons, imports and suggested dates, are shown in Fig. 24.

*Group 91*

Sherds from the deposits accumulated on the river bank, equivalent to block I in tenement C (688-717).

- 821 Normandy gritty ware with the edge of a pulled lip.  
 822 Jug sherd with sandy white fabric, roller-stamp decoration, dull green glaze. Possibly French  
 823 Hand-made crucible, *thin-sectioned* (pp. 34-7).

*Group 95*

- 824 Fabric 104, possibly Breton, with wheel-thrown rouletted ridge on neck, rouletted triangles below. Blotchy mid green glaze. Precise diameter uncertain.

*Group 96*

- 825 Fabric 40.

*Group 99*

- 826 Fabric 64, hand-made with knife-slashed decoration, cf. 1171.

*Group 100*

- 827 Saintonge green-glazed jug.  
 828 ?Fabric 44 with light green glaze.

*Group 102*

- 829 Fabric 40.  
 830 Unglazed Saintonge jug base, sooted *ext*.  
 831-2 Fabric 40. 831 with vertical iron stripes and dot-and-circle; 832 with all-over slip and sgraffito combing.

*Group 116*

- 833 Saintonge green-glazed jug base with patches of *ext* sooting.  
 834 Heavily over-fired ?fabric 42.

*St Edmund's church*

*Group 122*

Pottery from the rubble raft laid when Exe Bridge was constructed, c. 1200.

- 835 Hand-made, fine-grained rather soft buff sandy ware with *ext* combing and pale green glaze.

The group also contains one sandy ware jug sherd with applied pellets and dull green glaze (cf. 1124), but there is some uncertainty whether the latter was firmly stratified.

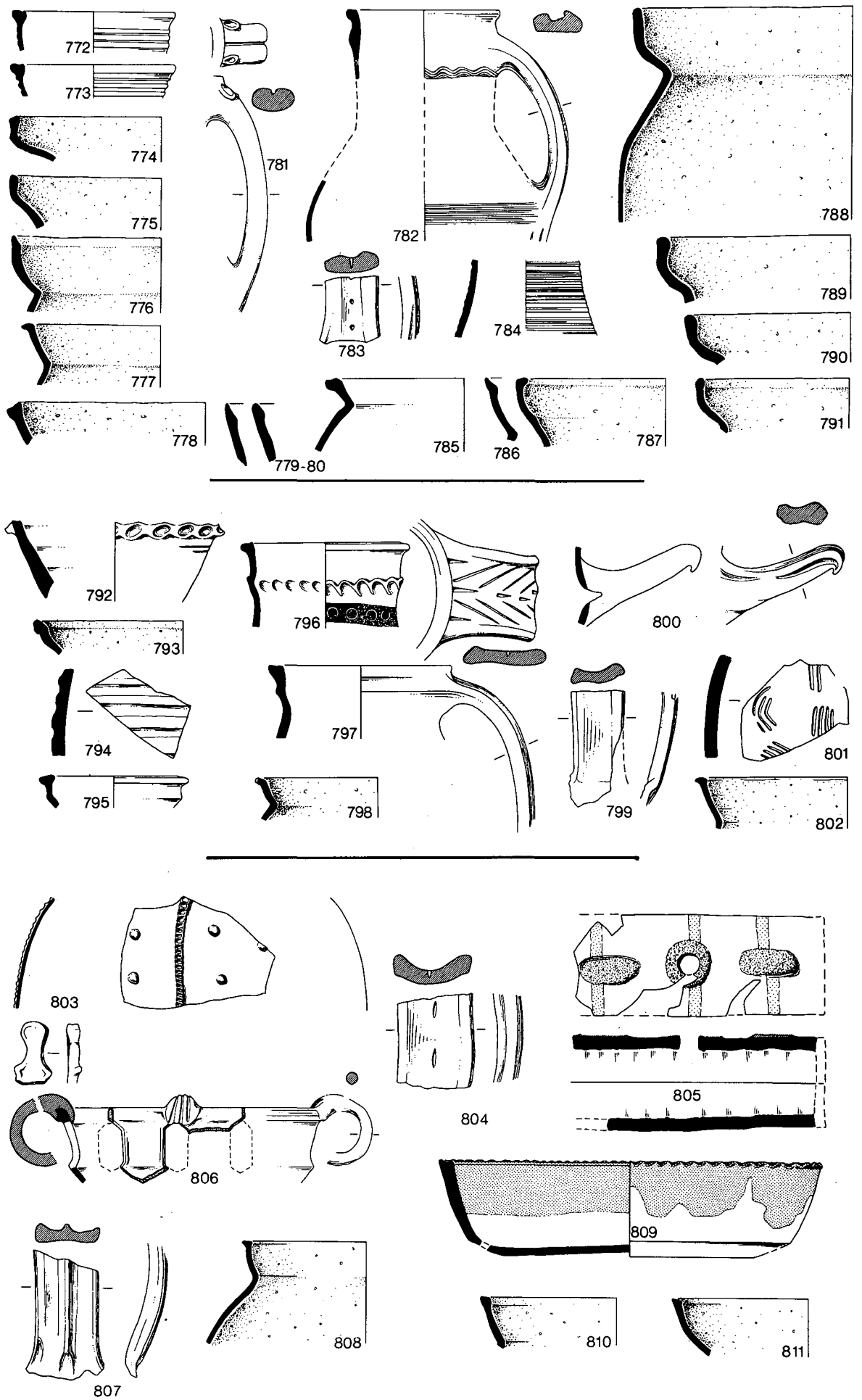


Fig. 27. Sequence of later medieval wares from Exe Bridge, tenement A (scale 1:4).

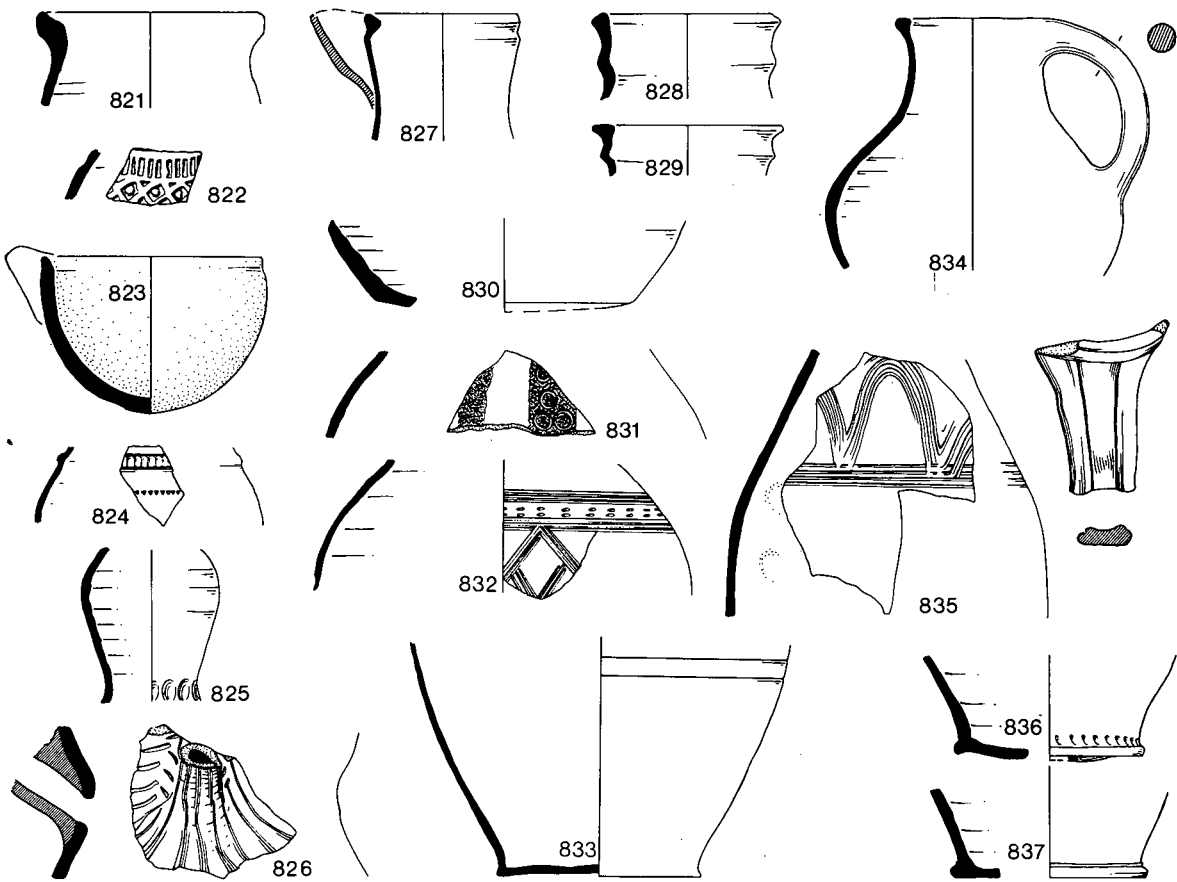
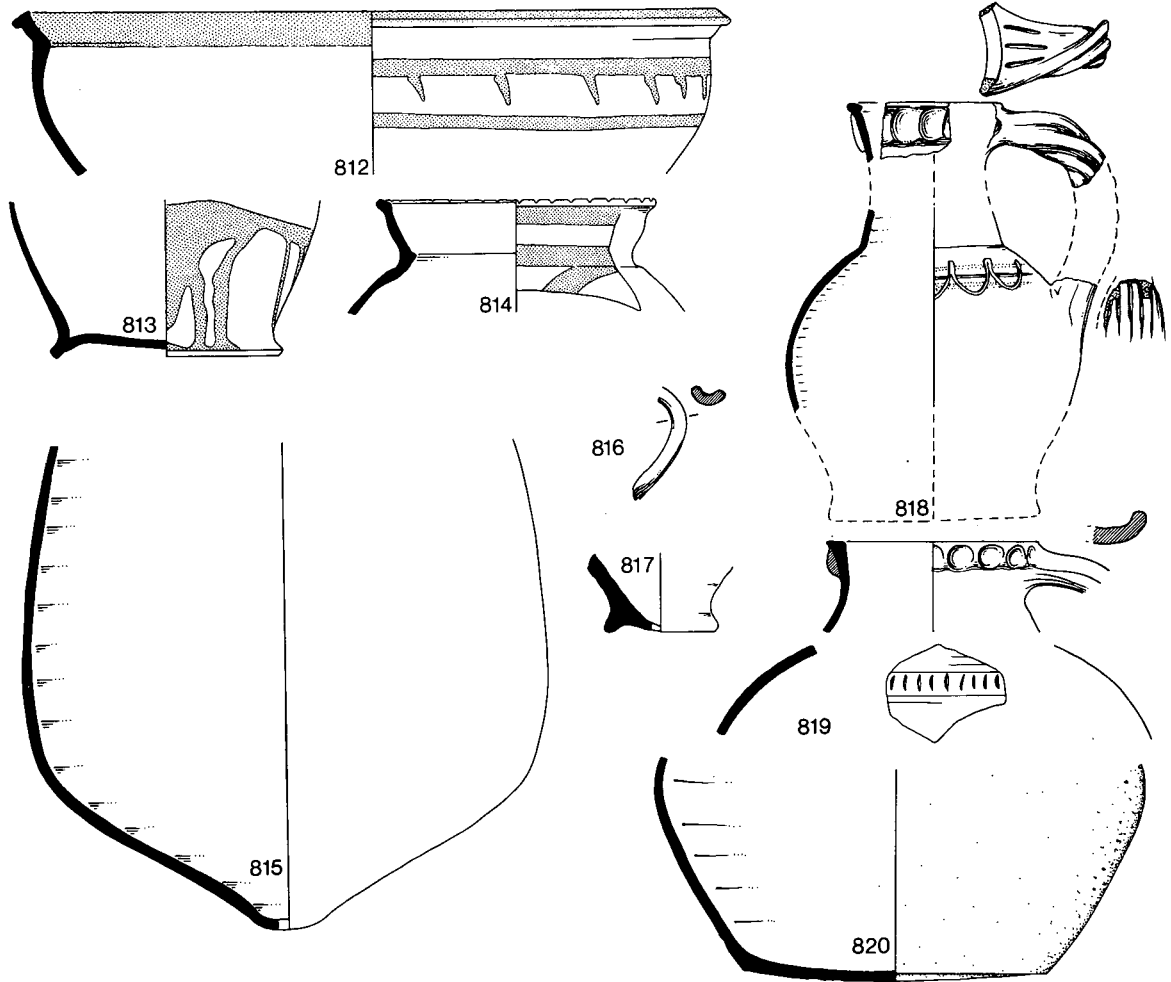


Fig. 28. Exe Bridge: 15th-century group from tenement A; pottery from tenement B and St Edmund's church (scale 1:4).

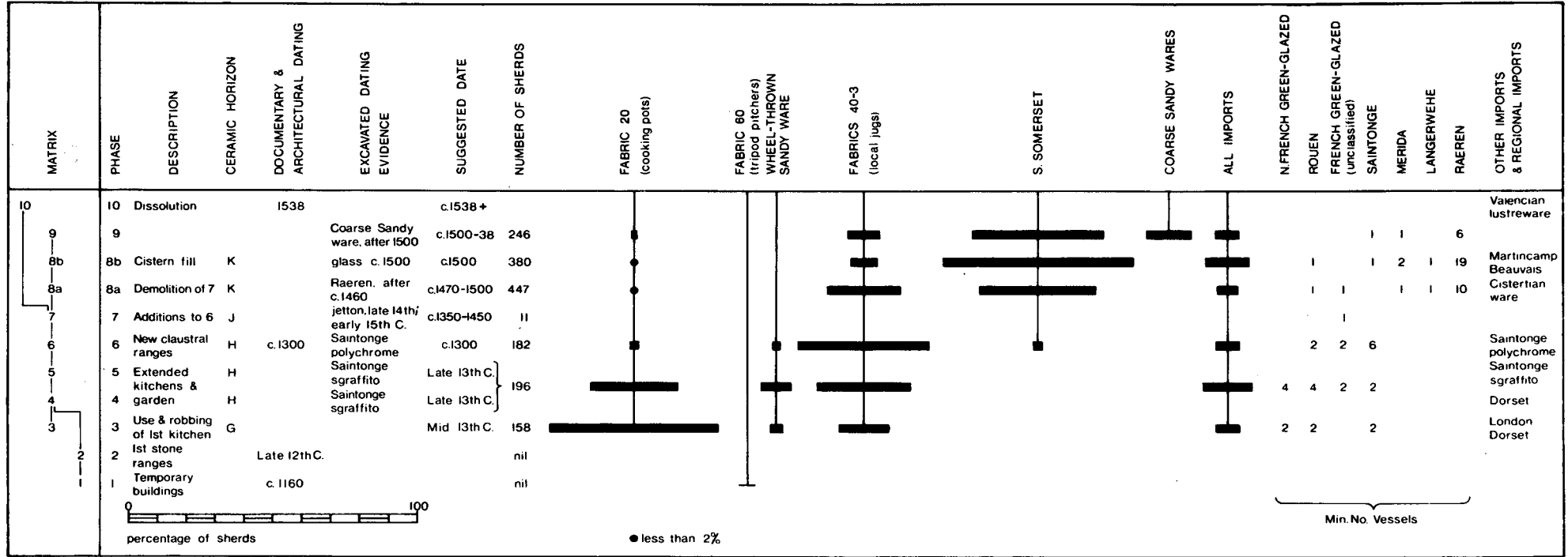


Fig. 29. Summary of pottery sequence from Polsloe Priory. The phases are those published in Webster and Cherry 1979, 250-1.



## Group 125

EB 898, dump very probably associated with the construction of the church tower of the 1450s (p. 60).

836-7 South Somerset 15th/16th-century hard-fired jug bases.

This group, with at least 36 vessels, contains only one unglazed Saintonge ware and no stonewares.

*Not ill:* Fabrics 21, 43; S. Somerset 15th/16th-century type 4; rim as 818.

## G. THE SEQUENCE OF LATE MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM POLSLOE PRIORY (Figs. 29-30)

Polsloe Priory was a small Benedictine nunnery founded on a virgin site c. 1160 and dissolved in 1539. Excavations conducted in 1976-8 revealed its main claustral ranges, and also examined an area to the south of the kitchen and refectory (Webster and Cherry 1979, 250-1). The church, cloister and cemetery each produced a single medieval sherd, and no medieval pottery was found in the sacristy or chapter house. However the kitchens and the area south of the refectory both produced helpful sequences of wares. A number of deposits were cut by the walls of the new refectory and kitchen block which were constructed in the same building programme as the standing west range of the priory; the latter displays several architectural features indicating that it was constructed c. 1300.

## Polsloe Priory 636

Probable garden soil.

*Relations:* Cut by two phases of building preceding the refectory of c. 1300 (*ibid.*, Fig. 4, plan 4); cut by PP 1559 (below).

838 *Blau-grau* ladle. Very hard pimply cream-fawn (10YR 6/4) fabric with dark grey (2.5Y 4/0) surfaces and patches of sooting.

839 Rouen jug sherds with applied white clay dots and bosses over patchy red slip.

840 Saintonge green-glazed jug sherd with combed wavy lines.

841 Fabric 40, with brushed slip, glazed pale yellow-green, covering most of *ext*, and sgraffito combing.

842 Oxidised sandy ware (?fabric 44) glazed light green on rim *int*. Rare form.

843 Fabric 27, hand-made.

*Not ill:* Saintonge sgraffito sherds; sherds of 4 Saintonge green-glazed jugs, one with vertical thumbled strips; N. French green-glazed rod handle with 'ears' (as 688a).

*Date:* Horizon H, c. 1250-1300.

*Other wares from contexts preceding the reconstruction of the kitchen range and refectory in c. 1300*

Contexts are of the mid and late 13th century unless otherwise stated.

844 PP 1559 (c. 1300). Rouen jug fragments.

845 PP 675 (c. 1300). Fabric 40, with metallic spirals and slip lines. Orange glaze.

846 PP 1335. Continental decorated jug sherd, described above (pp. 24-7).

847 PP 1214. Fabric 40 bottle neck, unglazed.

848 PP 1221. Micaceous fabric 105.

849 PP 1120. Sandy pink-cream fabric with rich copper-mottled glaze over knife-slashing. Not local.

850 PP 1668. Rectangular vessel with two chambers and slots cut in the wall between them. ?Industrial function.

851 PP 717. Fabric 23 cooking pot, found upright in a small pit, the rim flush with contemporary ground surface. Walls intact, lightly blackened *ext*; most of base absent when excavated. It is unclear whether this was within or outside a building when in use. There was no evidence of burning on the ground surface around this vessel. Cooking pots set in the ground in this manner are not

infrequent finds on medieval sites: a local example is that of Dinna Clerks, Dartmoor (Beresford 1979, 135); others are described and discussed by S. Moorhouse (1978, 12-13), who suggests that they formed the lower member of a pair of cooking pots used in distillation. PP 1069, 1096, 1184, 1668. Bodysherds of a London-type jug decorated with bands of thick slip, with red (?iron-rich) clay pellets over. I am grateful to C. Orton for confirming this identification.

852 PP 1116. Jug rim, probably South Somerset or fabric 40. *Int* and *ext* slip, *ext* sgraffito combing, pale yellow glaze with copper mottling.

853 PP 1116, 1136. Saintonge green-glazed jug.

854 PP 1069. Corner of a rectangular baking dish. ?Fabric 43. *Int* glaze, no sooting.

855 PP 991. Fabric 62, unglazed, possibly from Dorset.

856 PP 991. Tubular spout with sandy grey ware fabric. Scored lines round *ext*. Dull light green glaze; sooted *ext*.

857 PP 1670. Hard-fired cream sandy ware, impressed decoration, rich mottled mid green glaze. Not local.

858 PP 1285. North Devon coarseware (Allan 1977, 35, fabric 1).

## Pottery from post-c. 1300 contexts

860 PP 1605. ?Rough Saintonge ware.

861 PP 1656. Fine fawn fabric with fine mica and rounded white, non-calcareous inclusions. *Int* patch of mottled green glaze.

862 PP 1576, stratified above Raeren stoneware, late 15th-century. Hard pale buff fabric with sparse rounded iron-oxide inclusions. Pale yellow-green glaze with a little iron-bleeding. Not local.

863-6 Sherds from the robbing of the west wall of the dorter, stratified with Raeren stonewares in a group containing no Coarse Sandy ware; late 15th-century.

863 Micaceous fabric 105, unglazed, with applied thumbled strip.

864-5 Fabric 40 costrels. Patchy *ext* glaze.

866 Micaceous fabric 105, wheel-thrown, unglazed, sooted *ext*.

867 PP 1556, stratified with Raeren stoneware, late 15th-century. Fine pink fabric with sparse ferrous inclusions, possibly from South Somerset. *Int* mauve-brown glaze.

## H. THE SEQUENCE OF LATE MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM RACK STREET (Fig. 31)

In 1975 two adjacent medieval tenements were excavated in Rack Street. The site produced two sherds of Bedford Garage ware and a few small groups of horizon D, probably of 12th-century date, but the earliest sizeable groups of finds are of horizon E, of the late 12th or early 13th century. Occupation was apparently continuous until the 14th century when the terraced rooms of one of the houses were backfilled. The site may have been vacant in the 15th and 16th centuries as the next structural evidence dates to the late 17th century. Table 5 shows the relations of deposits in the part of the site which produced the best pottery series. It also shows the ceramic horizons of the local wares in these deposits, and the imports. The house from which these finds came comprised three small narrow rooms, probably of cob construction; this was presumably low-class housing. It lies at the heart of the West Quarter, which in post-medieval times was occupied very largely by the poor. It is therefore interesting to see that although the proportion of imported wares, 5% of the total in the 13th and 14th centuries, is lower here than elsewhere in the city, Rouen and Saintonge jugs occur in sufficient numbers (16+ vessels) to suggest that they were used here, and at least one Saintonge polychrome vessel is present.

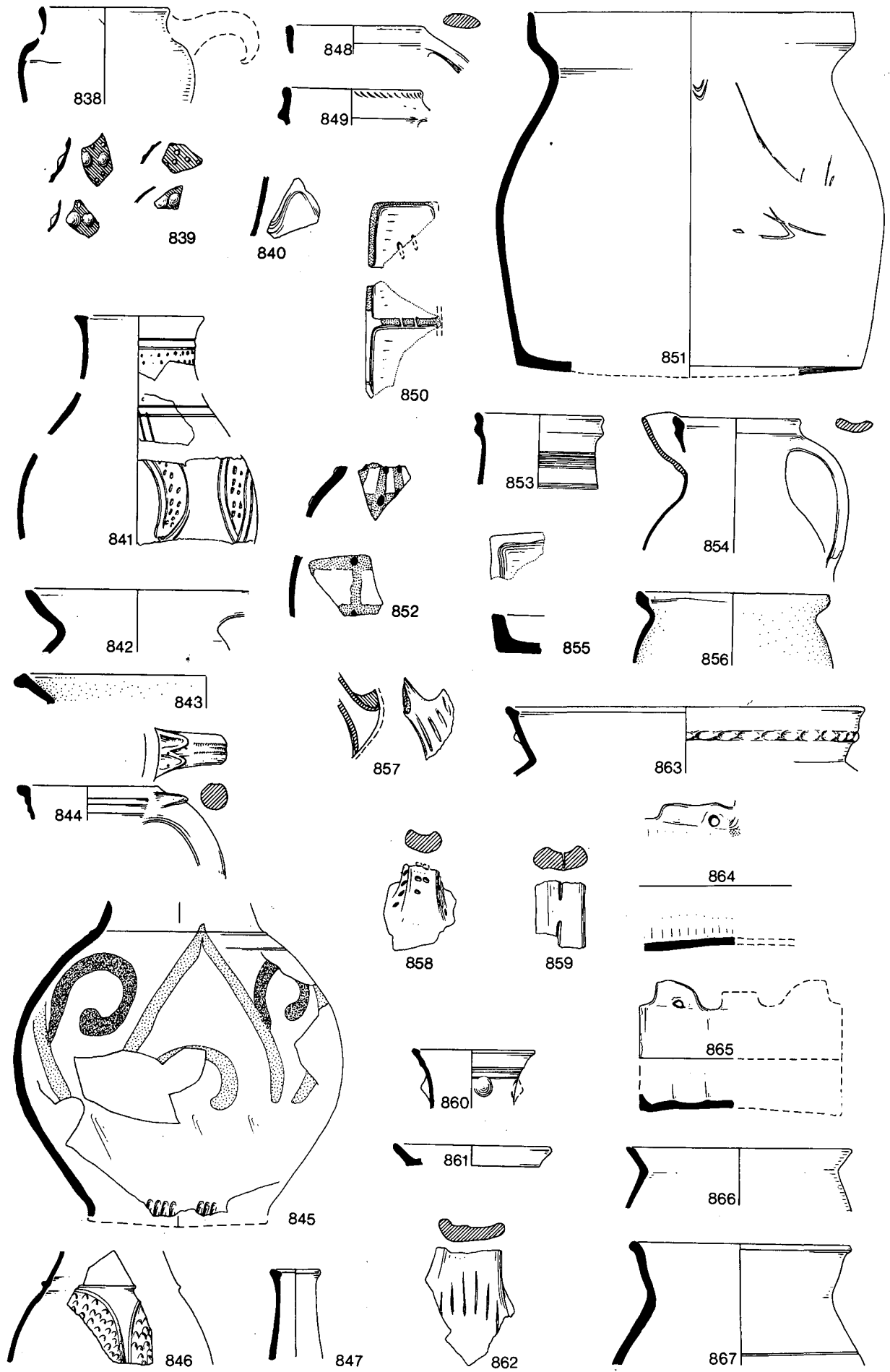


Fig. 30. Thirteenth- to 15th-century wares from Polsloe Priory (scale 1:4).

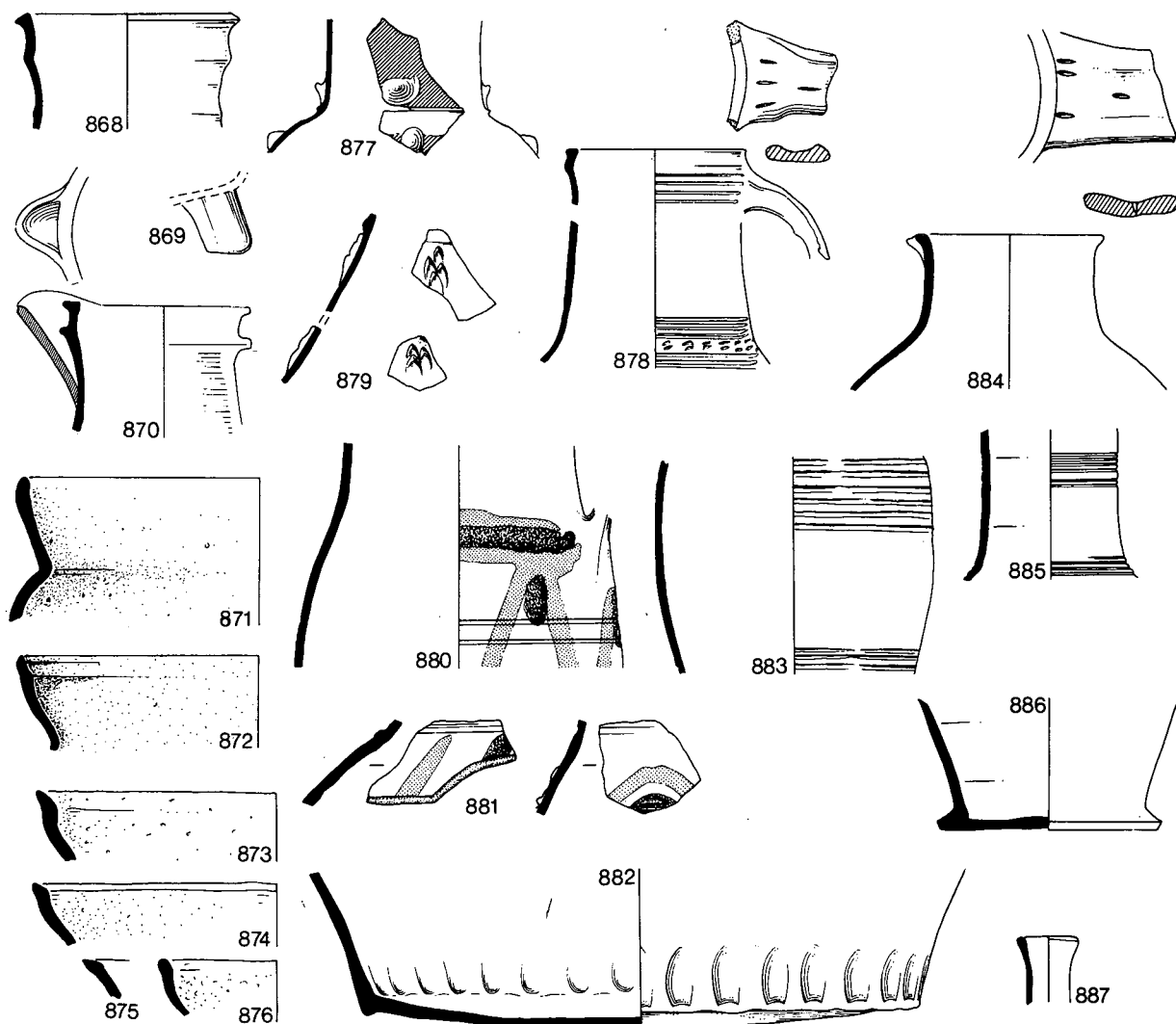


Fig. 31. Pottery from Rack Street 1975 (scale 1:4).

Dump	211 =	248	Saintonge polychrome Saintonge all-over green Horizon H, c. 1300		
Surface	355				
Dump	364	(Nos. 879-87)	Saintonge polychrome Normandy green-glazed Horizon H, c. 1300		
Surface	375	Rouen		353	Dump
Dump	368			350	Dump
Surface	700			249	Surface
Surface	390	Saintonge green-glazed		358	Layer
					Saintonge pégau N. French green-glazed
Pit	402	(Nos. 868-76)	N. French green-glazed N. French yellow-glazed Horizon F, c. 1200-50	380	Pit
					(No. 877) Rouen jug Horizon F, c. 1200-50

Table 5: Rack Street 1975: relationships of contexts containing principal groups of pottery.

## RS 402

## Pit group.

**868-70** Fabric 62. **868** wheel-thrown with mottled mid green glaze.

**871** Fabric 23.

**872-6** Fabric 20.

*Date:* Typical Horizon F group, c. 1200-50.

## RS 380

**877** Rouen jug.

## RS 401

**878** South Somerset jug with all-over brushed slip, horizontal combing, and typical yellow-green glaze with spots of copper and red patches in glaze.

## RS 208, 209, 364, 366

Since these contain joining sherds from different contexts, they have been treated as a group.

**879** Normandy green-glazed jug sherds. Fine white sandy fabric, applied scales, rich copper-green *int* and *ext* glaze.

**880-7** Local jugs. **880-1** fabric 42, with applied slip and iron-rich clay decoration; **882-3** fabric 40, **883** with all-over slip and sgraffito lines, yellow glaze; **884** fabric 42 (the handle is not certainly from this vessel); **885-6** South Somerset sherds with slip, sgraffito combing and *ext* yellow glaze; **887** fabric 40, form 3.

See also **1593**.

## I. LATE MEDIEVAL GROUPS (Figs. 32-49)

## TRICHAY STREET 191

## Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut TS 270, horizon D, 12th-century; cut by TS 169 (**1451-62**), late 14th- or early 15th-century. Lime-burning debris was stratified above the group (TS 191 L.4), suggesting that the group precedes adjacent lime-burning activity (TS 174, 193, 357, 360, 393, below).

*Dendrochronology:* TS samples 23-6, timbers forming the base plates of the wattle lining of the pit, felled in 1180 (p. 317).

*Coin:* **E.12**, minted 1281-2, lost before c. 1300, stratified above the group in a loam which infilled the top of the pit after the lower fills had settled.

*Imports*

**888** 'Orléans-type' jug. Fine sandy white fabric without gross inclusions. Hollow tubular handle, pierced and thumbled at base. No spout. Surface decoration of grooves c. 3 mm deep, cut with a 'U' shaped blade. Mid green glaze with copper mottling (p. 21).

**889** Rouen sherds with green-brown glaze over slip.

**890** French jug with soft off-white fabric and dull yellow-green glaze. Precise origin uncertain.

**891** Wheel-thrown ?mortar or bowl. Unglazed fawn-brown fabric with angular quartzite, crushed shell and small rock fragments. Origin and parallels unknown; possibly Roman residual, but the fabric is unknown in stratified Roman deposits in the city.

*Local wares*

**892-5** Sandy wares and pitchers. **892** fine sandy ware with slip and metallic bands; **893** fabric 60, combed; **894** fabric 62, wheel-thrown; **895** ?fabric 63.

**896-921** Fabric 20. **896** with *int* and *ext* combing; **897** type 3 handled cooking pot/hand-made jug, sooted *ext*.

*Date:* The construction date of 1180 provides a *terminus post quem* for the group. Horizon F, early 13th-century. The dendrochronology date perhaps suggests a date of c. 1200.

## TRICHAY STREET 365

## Pit group.

*Dendrochronology:* TS sample 39, felled in 1074±9.

*Relations:* Cut by TS 357 (below).

**922** Fabric 60, with applied strips on body, combing and usual glaze.

**923** Fabric 103, with applied boss, glazed.

**924** Sherd of a tripod pitcher in a coarse sandy fabric, not 60. A. Vince has tentatively identified this as a South Wiltshire product.

**925** ?Wheel-thrown fine oxidised sandy fabric with metallic stripe and combing.

**926-59** Fabric 20.

**960** Fabric 23.

*Not ill:* Probable Rouen jug sherd; N. French green-glazed sherd. 477 of the 519 sherds are fabric 20.

*Date:* Horizon F, early 13th-century.

## TRICHAY STREET 357, 360 and 393

Group from the filling of the central chamber of a lime kiln (TS 360) and its adjacent stoking pits (TS 357, 393): layers were continuous in the flues which communicated between them.

*Relations:* Cut TS 365 (above).

*Imports*

**961** Pitcher with two short handles, and a third larger one facing a bridge spout. Cream-pink rather coarse fabric with fine white mica plates, thick glossy mid green glaze. Wavy line on the rim incised before application of handles. Both the sandy fabric and the smooth thick glaze differ from Saintonge products, so a different French source is probable.

**962** Rouen jug rim with traces of brown slip.

**963-7** North French jugs. **963-5** fawn-pink fabrics with rounded brown and fawn inclusions up to 5mm, **963** with dull light green glaze, **964** with rich mottled green glaze, **965** with band of *ext* unglazed red slip on rim; **966** sherd from a globular Normandy jug, fabric and glaze as **866**, cf. Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 2, No. 991; **967** base with fine sandy white fabric, yellow glaze with spots of copper-green. Sooted *ext*.

**968-70** Micaceous wares. **968** fabric 104 with row of incised decoration, stabbed combing above and below, and reduced green glaze, *thin-sectioned* (p. 7). **969** fabric 103 jug with applied scales; **970** fabric 104 with rouletting over wheel-thrown cordon and poor mottled mid green glaze, *thin-sectioned* (p. 37).

**971** Lamp base, probably from Normandy. Fine light grey fabric without gross inclusions. Cream surfaces with spots of yellow-green glaze. Unglazed, sooted *int*; cf. Dunning in Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 2, 49.

*Local wares*

**972-7** Fabric 60. **976** with applied strip; **977** with combed decoration.

**978** Hand-made sherd with large coarse angular filler. Mid grey core, light brown surfaces. Not fabric 20.

**979** ?Fabric 44, glazed.

**980-97** Fabric 20.

*Date:* There are no Saintonge wares among 16 imported vessels, and no local jugs (fabrics 40-3) among a total of 373 sherds. Horizon F, c. 1200-50.

## GOLDSMITH STREET 307

## Pit group.

**998** North French jug. Fine smooth white fabric, very rich copper-speckled mid green glaze.

**999, 1000** Fabric 104 (possibly same vessel). **999** with rouletting and yellow-green to mid green glaze.

**1001** North French jug sherd. Sandy off-white fabric, glaze as **998**.

**1002** Hand-made sandy ware, unclass., with angular grey rock inclusions up to 2 mm. *Ext* combing and yellow-green glaze.

**1003** Fabric 60, glazed.

**1004-17** Fabric 20.

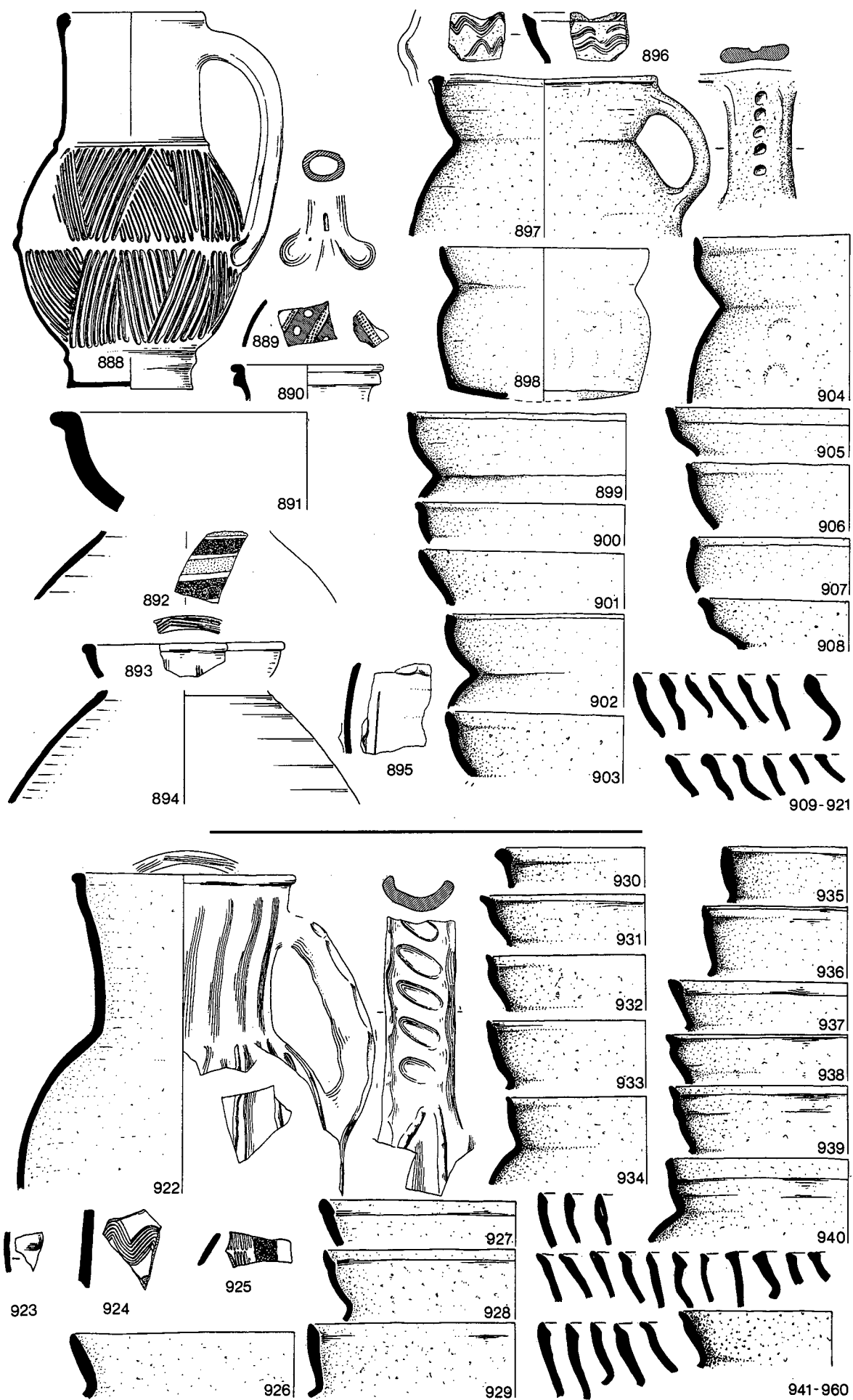


Fig. 32. Trichay Street 191 and 365, early 13th-century (scale 1:4).

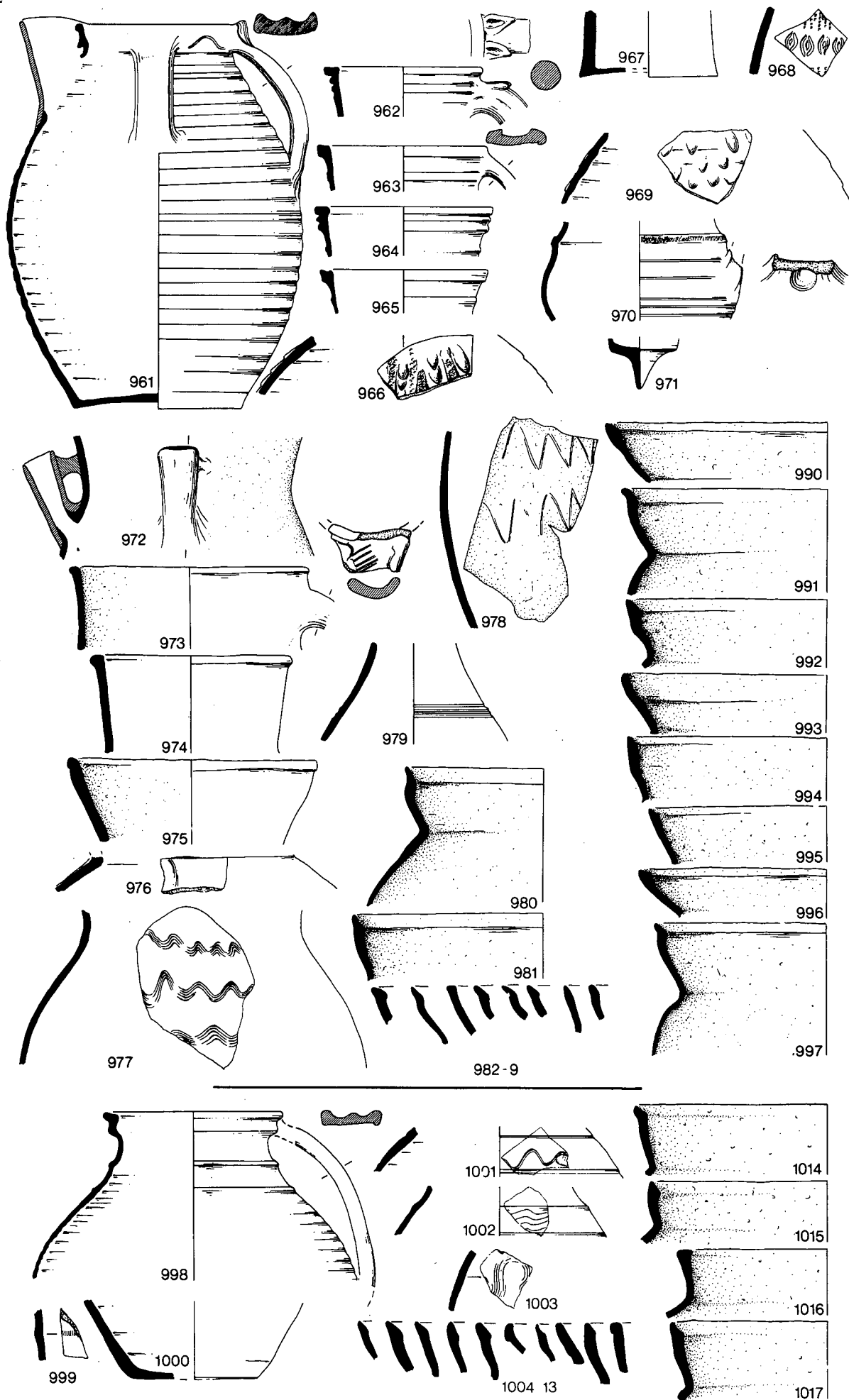


Fig. 33. Trichay Street 357, 360, 393; Goldsmith Street 307 (scale 1:4).

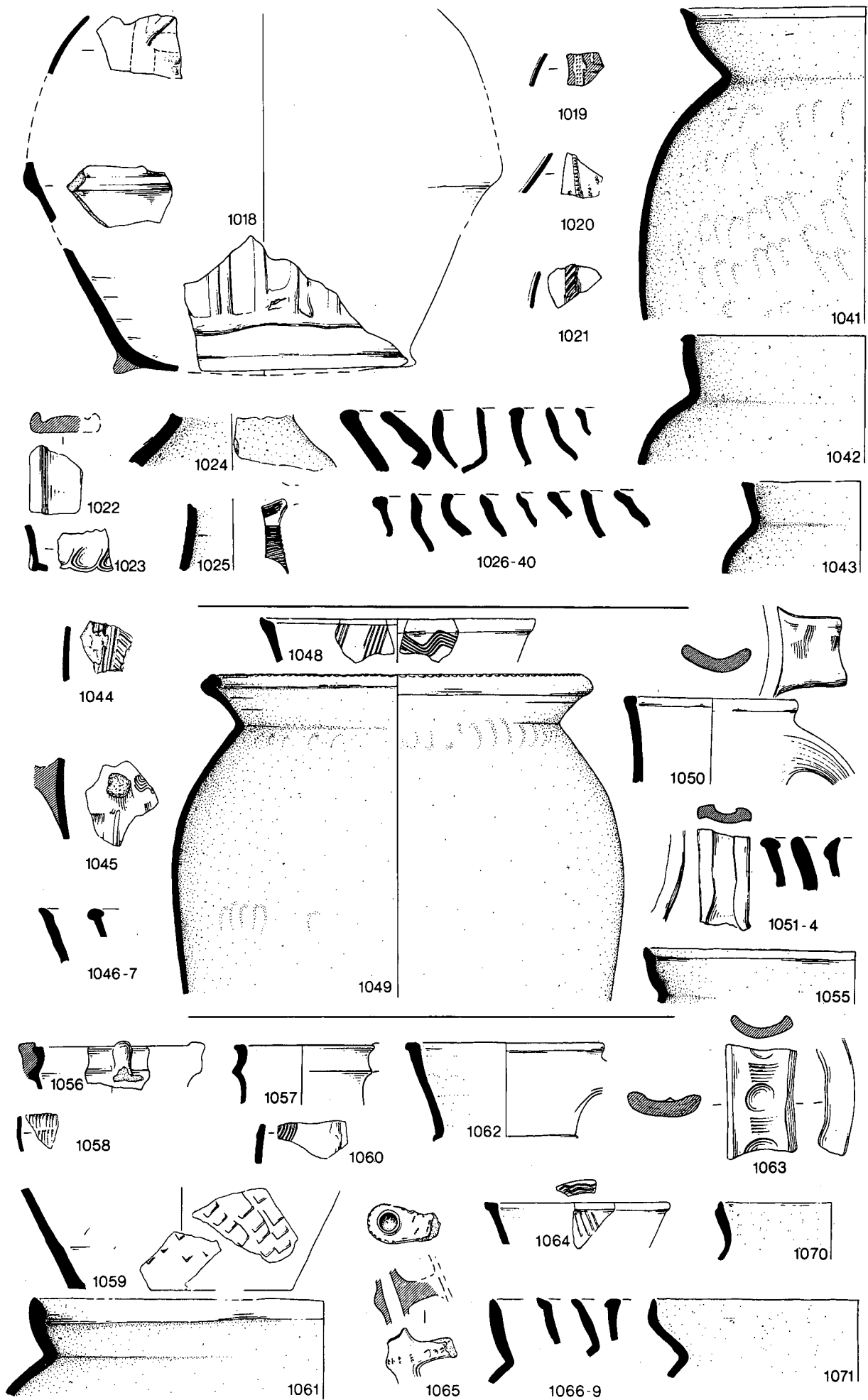


Fig. 34. Pit groups of horizon F, early 13th-century (scale 1:4).

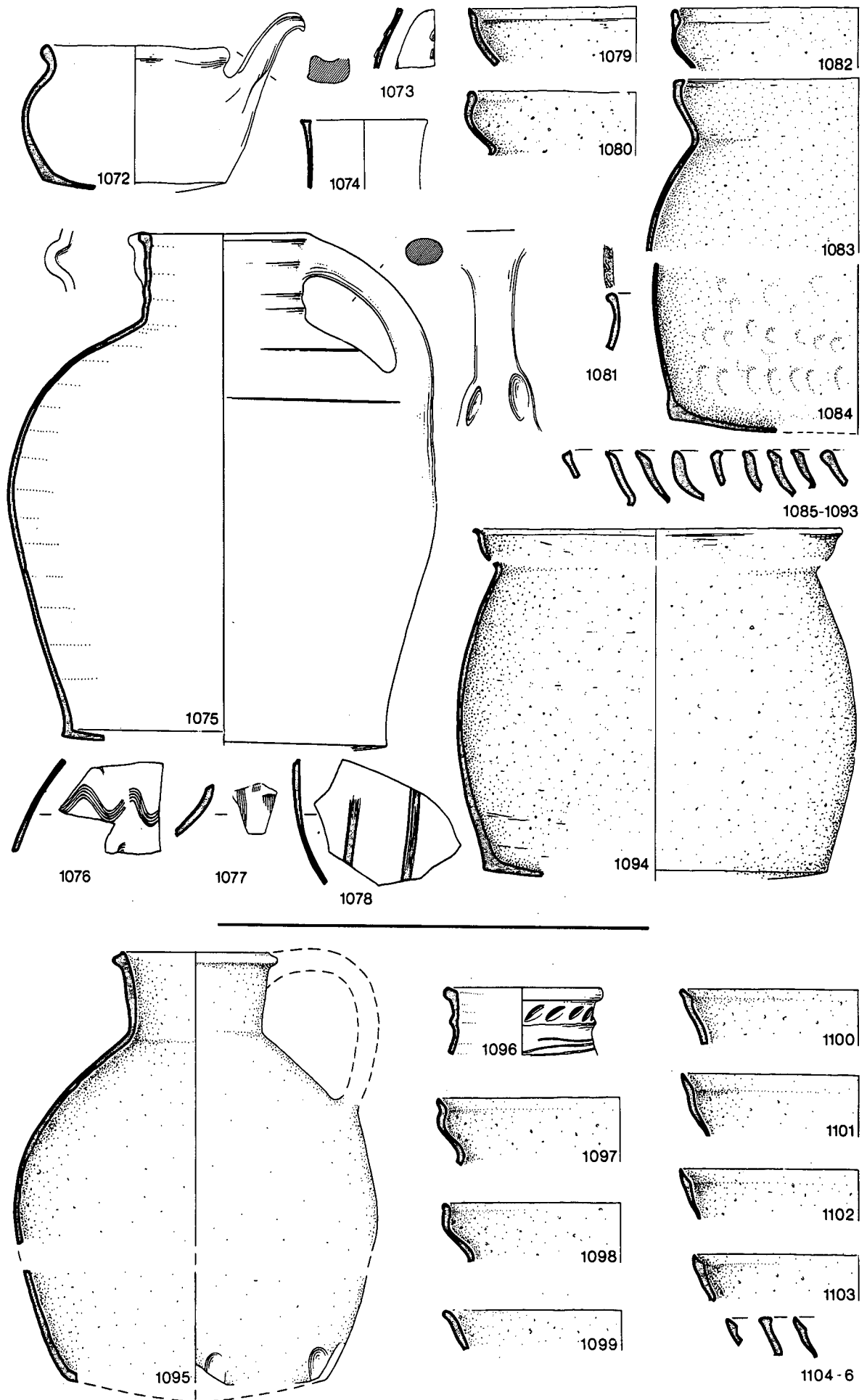


Fig. 35. Goldsmith Street 120 and 612, early and mid 13th-century (scale 1:4).



*Not ill:* Rouen scrap; Saintonge jug sherd with rough pink-red fabric with mottled green glaze (R. G. Thomson ident.).

*Date:* The group contains no local jugs (fabrics 40–3) among 208 sherds. Horizon F, c. 1200–50.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 243

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut GS 279, 297 (207–17, 11th/12th-century); cut by GS 252, small group with Saintonge polychrome sherds.

- 1018** Fine fawn-brown sandy ware with applied foot and thin applied strips. Unglazed red-brown surfaces. Origin unknown.
- 1019** Rouen jug sherd.
- 1020** French white ware. Sandy white fabric, applied rouletted strip, rich light green glaze with copper mottling. Probably north French.
- 1021** Fabric 104 with applied ?rouletted strip and dull green glaze.
- 1022–3** Fabric 62, glazed.
- 1024** Unglazed shoulder sherd. Rough hard unglazed fabric with angular and round quartz grits up to 2 mm, and rounded brown stone lumps up to 2 mm.
- 1025** Fabric 60, combed and glazed.
- 1026–43** Fabric 20, except **1027**, fabric 27.

*Not ill:* Saintonge green-glazed; London-type sherds as **852**; scratch-marked sherd; fabric 60 (29 sherds); base as **1161**.

*Date:* There are no local jugs (fabrics 40–3) among 388 sherds. Horizon F, c. 1200–50.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 283

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut GS 284, 368 (11th/12th-century); cut by GS 281, pit lined with a barrel constructed in the late 12th or early 13th century (**W.71**), containing local jugs (fabrics 40–3) and Saintonge, probably late 13th-century.

- 1044** Orléans-type jug bodysherd, as **888**.
- 1045** Fabric 60, with handle stub, glazed.
- 1046–7** Fabric 20.
- 1048** Fabric 60, glazed.
- 1049** Probably Donyatt ware. Hand-made sherd in a sandy granular fabric with elaborate rim, identical to the cooking pots made at the first Donyatt kiln. The kiln is dated mid 13th-century by a coin found in nearby kiln waste.

*Date:* Small group, probably early or mid 13th-century.

#### TRICHAY STREET 193

Group from the fill of a lime-burning pit.

*Relations:* Probably contemporary with lime kiln TS 360 (**961–97**) and lime-burning pit TS 174 (**1062–71**). Cut TS 288 (**430–50**), probably 12th-century; cut by TS 256 (below).

- 1050** Fabric 60, glazed.
- 1051** North French jug handle. Sandy white fabric, thick mottled yellow-green glaze.
- 1052–5** Fabric 20.

*Date:* There are no local jugs (fabrics 40–3) among 130 sherds. Horizon F, c. 1200–50.

#### TRICHAY STREET 256

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut TS 270, 280, 288, 328, 329, all horizons B–D, 10th/12th-century; cut TS 193 (above).

- 1056–9** Fabric 103, glazed. **1056** with applied mask; **1058–9** with impressed knife-marks; **1059** *thin-sectioned* (p. 37).
- 1060** Fabric 63 with applied strip and combing, glazed.
- 1061** Fabric 20.

*Not ill:* N. French green-glazed sherd.

*Date:* The group contains no local jugs among 46 sherds. Horizon F, c. 1200–50.

#### TRICHAY STREET 174

Group from the fill of a lime-burning pit, probably contemporary with lime kiln TS 360 (**961–97**) and TS 193 (**1050–5**).

*Relations:* Cut by TS 146 (**1107–46**), probably mid 13th-century; cut by TS 215 (**1401–22**), end of the 13th or early 14th-century.

- 1062–5** Pitchers. **1062** fabric 62; **1063–4** fabric 60, combed; **1065** ?fabric 62, tubular spout with impressed combing.

**1066–71** Fabric 20.

*Not ill:* Saintonge green-glazed sherd.

*Date:* Horizon F, c. 1200–50; the Saintonge sherd probably indicates a date after c. 1230.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 120

Pit group.

*Relations:* Under GS L.25–9 with Saintonge polychrome sherds. *Coin:* E.8 struck 1242–7, lost before 1250.

- 1072** Fabric 40, type 4 handled cooking pot, sooted *ext*, with *int* glaze in base.
- 1073–4** Fabric 44. **1073** with applied clay pellets, possibly Bristol ware (D. Dawson ident.).
- 1075** Fabric 62, wheel-thrown, glazed. The base may have been thumbled. The fabric and the form of the rim and handle are closely comparable to those of local sandy wares at Poole and Christchurch, Dorset (cf. Thomson *et al.* 1982, Nos. 21, 145).
- 1076–8** Fabric 60, glazed.
- 1079–94** Coarsewares. **1079** fabric 23; **1080** fabric 25; **1092** fabric 23; all others fabric 20.

*Not ill:* Scraps of one Rouen jug; four Saintonge green-glazed jugs.

*Date:* The coin provides a *terminus post quem* of 1242. The mid 13th-century date suggested by the coin is favoured by the small number of sherds of fabrics 40–3 (from 4 vessels) compared with the tripod pitchers and sandy wares (8 and 5 vessels respectively), and the high proportion of cooking pots (76% of 540 sherds). The group is stratified below Saintonge polychrome sherds.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 612

Pit group.

**1095** Hand-made Cornish jug. Coarse light fawn fabric with prominent white mica inclusions. Dull light brown to black-brown glaze. Brown and Vince write,

'*Thin-sectioning* reveals angular to sub-angular quartz and quartzite (up to 2 mm), sparse sub-angular fine-grained rock up to 1 mm, altered feldspar, black iron ore and biotite of similar size, muscovite (up to 2 mm), limestone (up to 1 mm) and two fragments of a rock composed of quartz and muscovite, probably a granite (up to 1 mm). The isotropic clay matrix contains quartz and muscovite (up to 1 mm).'

The base is heavily sooted and a black residue adheres to its *int*. This vessel's very distinctive fabric cannot be matched in Devon, but is similar to that of sherds from Colliford and Launceston Castle in Cornwall.

- 1096** Fabric 62, hand-made. *Ext* impressed nail decoration, irregular incised lines and light, rather pitted green glaze.
- 1097–8** Fabric 23.
- 1099–1106** Fabric 20.

*Date:* There are no local jugs (fabrics 40–3) among 165 sherds in this group. Horizon F, c. 1200–50.

#### TRICHAY STREET 146

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut TS 279, 678, 686–5, all 11th/12th-century; cut TS 174 (**1062–71**), c. 1200–50.

*Imports and non-local English wares*

- 1107** North French green-glazed jug sherd. Fine white fabric, mottled glaze.
- 1108–9** Fabric 104, oxidised, with orange-yellow glaze.
- 1110–11** North French green-glazed sherds. **1110** handle with pin-holes; **1111** with applied rouletted strips.
- 1112** London-type jug base, probably a Rouen copy. Red slip covered by bands of white slip.
- 1113** Saintonge green-glazed sherd with combed horizontal grooves.

*Local wares*

- 1114–28** Sandy ware jugs and pitchers. **1114–15** fabric 45, glazed; **1116–18** fabric 44 with rich mid green glaze, **1117–18** with applied metallic pellets (D. Dawson has identified these as Bristol wares); **1119** fabric 62, hand-made, glazed; **1120** wheel-thrown sandy ware jug with applied metallic pellets, and applied face

masks under mottled mid green glaze (D. Dawson has identified this as Bristol ware); **1121** fabric 47, glazed; **1122** fabric 62, glazed; **1123-4** fabric 44, glazed; **1125** hand-made sandy ware, glazed; **1126** fabric 60, glazed; **1127** ?fabric 62, hand-made, with applied metallic pellets; **1128** fabric 27.

**1129-45** Fabric 20. **1129** with fern impression on base *int*. **1146** Donyatt-type cooking pot rims; cf. **1049**.

*Date:* Horizon G. The group contains only a few (5 of 256 sherds) local jugs (fabrics 40-3), the probable mid 13th-century sherd **1146**, and a mixture of north French and Saintonge sherds. Mid 13th-century.

#### VALIANT SOLDIER 256

Pit group.

**1147** Saintonge green-glazed jug rim with the edge of a beak-spout.

**1148** London-type Rouen-copy jug with dark red-brown iron-rich slip, and white clay stripes and pellets over. Glaze light green-brown over body, pale yellow over white clay; cf. *LMMC*, Pl.63, No.1. I am grateful to A. Vince for confirming this identification.

**1149** Rouen jug sherd with slip glazed greenish-brown. Sandy wares. **1150** fabric 47; **1151** typical fabric 62, wheel-thrown; **1152** fabric 61, wheel-thrown; **1153** fabric 47, probably hand-made; **1154** fabric 62, hand-made; **1155** fabric 61, base of a jug handle; **1156** tubular handle, unglazed granular sandy ware fired light grey, sooted underside, possibly from Dorset; **1157** fabric 61 pitcher base with *int* striations suggesting that it is hand-made. Spots of orange glaze. A single foot is present, perhaps one of three.

**1158-60** Fabric 20.

*Not ill:* Saintonge green-glazed sherds with horizontal combing; fabrics 60 and 64; Ham Green sherd.

*Date:* This group contains no local jugs (fabrics 40-3) among 53 sherds. Horizon F, c. 1200-50; the Saintonge sherds probably indicate a date after c. 1230.

#### TRICHAY STREET 251A

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut TS 251B (Horizon D); cut by TS 251 containing vessel **1611**.

**1161** Fabric 104, unglazed, fired mid brown. *Thin-sectioned* (p. 37).

**1162** ?Fabric 103 with rouletting and orange glaze.

**1163** Fabric 23, very vesicular.

**1164-8** Fabric 20.

*Not ill:* Rouen jug handle; fabrics 60 and 61.

*Date:* Horizon F, c. 1200-50.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 158

Pit group.

*Relations:* Under GS L.25-9 (including Saintonge polychrome sherds).

**1169** Sherd from a hand-made vessel, probably an aquamanile. Fine sandy fabric, light grey core, pink *int* surface and sparse red-brown ferrous inclusions. Applied white clay strips, rich mottled mid green glaze. ?From North-East England, (not Scarborough).

**1170** Fabric 42, with applied iron-rich pellets.

**1171** Fabric 64. Tubular spout, hand-made body. Slashing with a blunt point round spout; cf. **826**. ?From Dorset.

**1172** ?Fabric 45 with applied strips and glaze.

**1173** Fabric 23 with scored lines *ext*. Not local.

**1174-7** Fabric 20.

*Not ill:* N. French green-glazed sherds including one rod handle; Saintonge green-glazed sherds including one with applied strip. There are very few sherds of fabrics 40-3 in this group.

*Date:* Horizon G, mid 13th-century.

#### TRICHAY STREET 423

Group from a layer.

**1178** Normandy green-glazed jug. Fine sandy white fabric, applied strips with rouletting and applied pellets; rich mid green *ext* glaze, speckled mid green *int* glaze.

**1179** Fabric 61, glazed handle base pushed through body.

**1180** Fabric 27.

**1181-3** Fabric 20.

*Date:* Horizon F, c. 1200-50.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 265

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut by GS 256 (**1352-79**), c. 1250-1300.

**1184** Fabric 62, ?hand-made.

**1185** Fabric 60, combed.

**1186-95** Fabric 20.

*Date:* Horizon F, c. 1200-50.

#### GOLDSMITH STREET 215

Group from a large cess-pit.

*Imports*

**1196** Base of an Andalusian tin-glazed jug (Hurst 1977a). Thick cream-pink *int* and *ext* glaze. Mr. Hurst has pointed out (*in litt.*) that if the mid 13th-century date of the group is accepted, this provides the earliest firmly stratified instance of imported Spanish pottery in England.

**1197-9** Rouen jug sherds. **1197** much of the *ext* surface decayed, removing applied strips, bosses and slip; **1199** burnt.

**1200** Jug rim in a sandy creamy-white fabric with even mid green glaze, and edge of a bridge-spout. French, precise origin uncertain.

**1201-2** Saintonge green-glazed jugs. **1201** scrap with applied red clay strip glazed dark brown; **1202** with combed horizontal grooves.

**1203** Fabric 104 with dark green glaze.

**1204** Sandy grey-white fabric, unglazed. Origin uncertain, (?English).

**1205** Fabric 104.

**1206** Fine sandy white ware with two rows of triangular rouletting and mid green glaze. French, precise origin uncertain.

**1207** Wheel-thrown spout, fabric as **1206**, applied pellets and even green glaze. French, precise origin uncertain.

*English wares*

**1208** Head of an aquamanile in the form of a horse's head with impressed circular stab-marks and interrupted combing. Sandy light grey fabric, light green glaze. C. Hayfield has identified this as a product of the Hallgate kiln B at Doncaster, Yorkshire.

**1209-10** Fabric 40. **1209** with adjacent metallic and slip bands.

**1211** Crucible. Hand-made sandy ware.

**1212** Wheel-thrown cooking pot with a coarse sandy fabric, *int* yellow-green glaze on base, *ext* sooting. Rivet holes beside broken edge. Unusual vessel, probably not local.

**1213-30** Fabric 20.

**1231** Fabric 23, ?residual.

*Date:* There are very few local jugs (6 of 640 sherds), much coarseware (82% of sherds) and several tripod pitchers. Horizon G, mid 13th-century.

#### NORTH STREET 12

Pit group.

*Imports*

**1232** Normandy jug. Fine sandy white fabric, mottled *ext* mid green glaze, thick and glossy in places, with black iron streaks. This vessel has been repaired: a lead plug seals a hole in one bodysherd.

**1233-4** Handle and bodysherd of a French jug. Fine sandy off-white fabric, round ferrous inclusions up to 1 mm and fine white ?mica plates. Horizontal grooves of body. Thick, even mid green glaze with lustrous sheen. Precise origin uncertain.

**1235-6** Fabric 104 with mottled green glaze. **1236** *thin-sectioned* (p. 37).

*Not ill:* Saintonge green-glazed sherds, one with brown stripe as **1565**, others with combed horizontal grooves.

*Local wares*

**1237** Coarse sandy ware handle, glazed green-black.

**1238** ?Fabric 62. Spot of orange glaze.

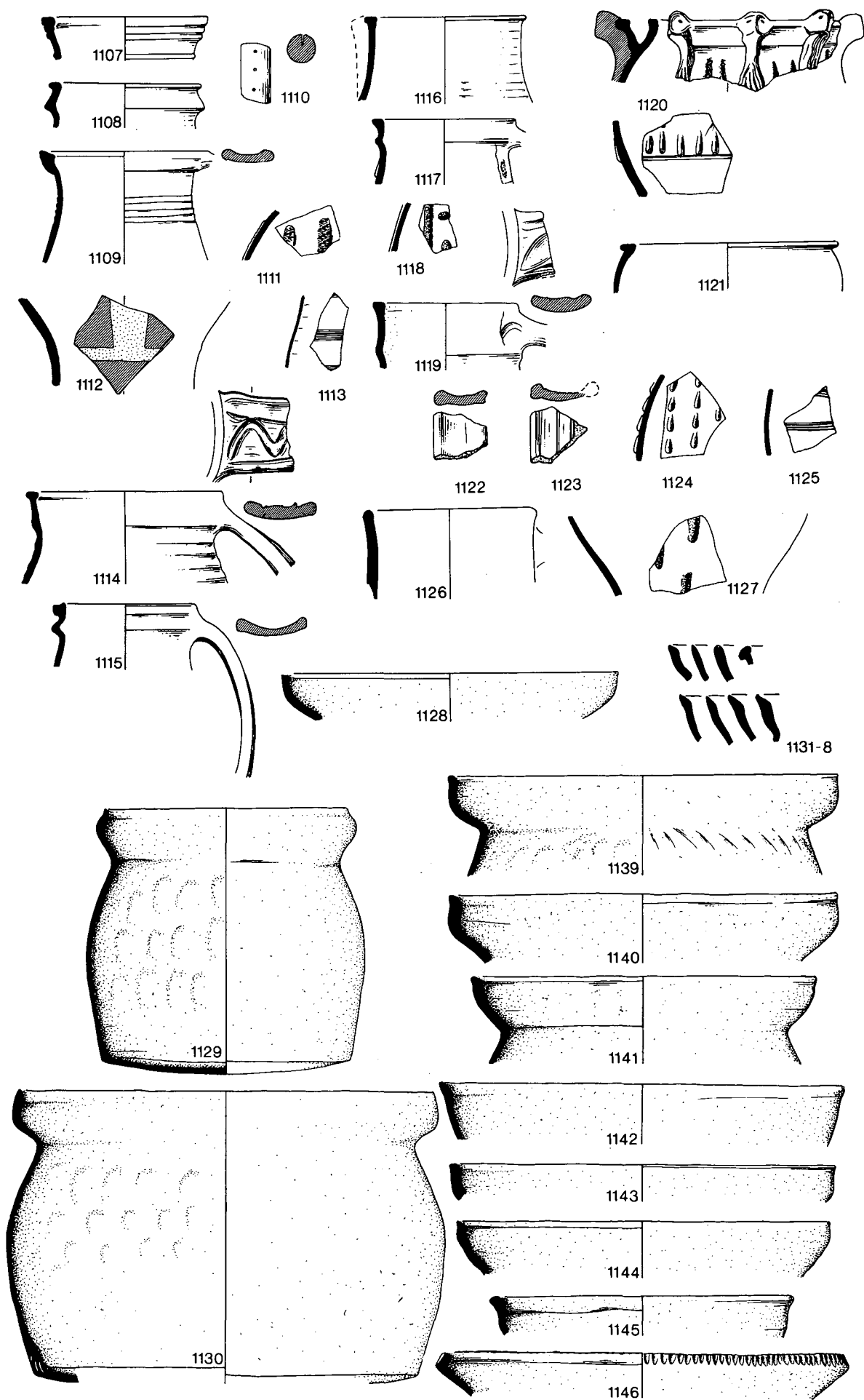


Fig. 36. Trichay Street 146, mid 13th-century (scale 1:4).

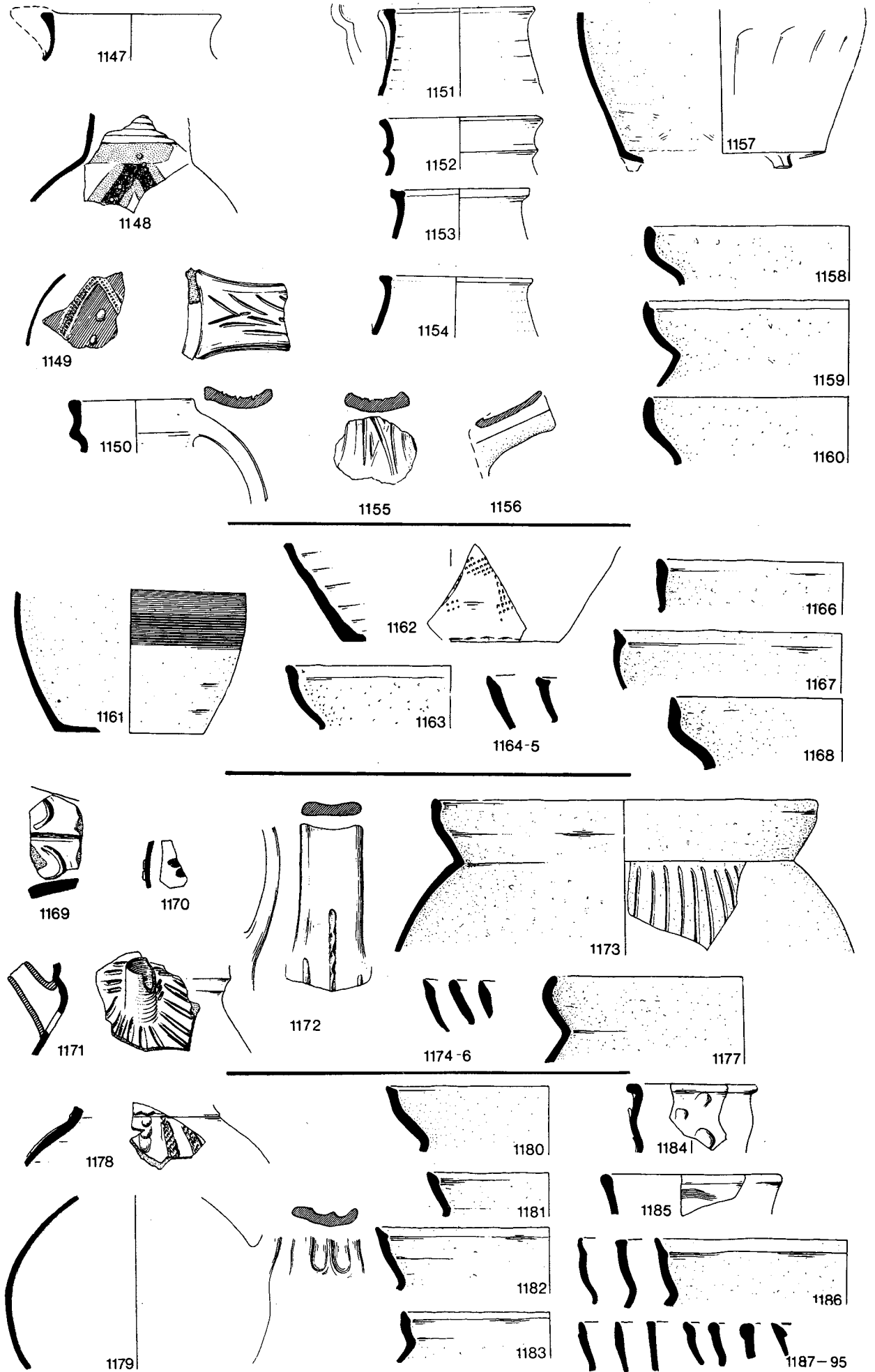


Fig. 37. Groups of horizons F and G, early and mid 13th-century (scale 1:4).

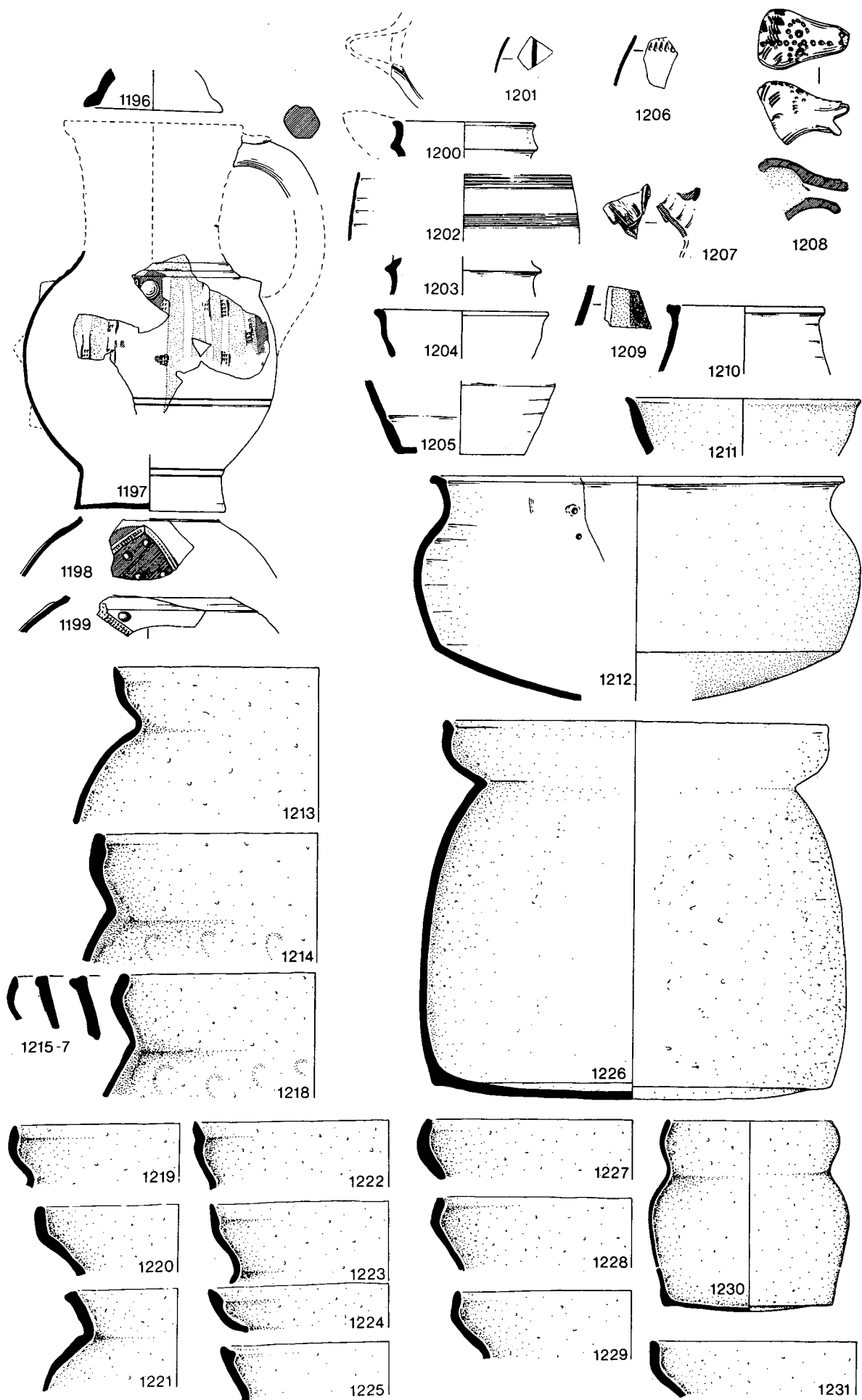


Fig. 38. Goldsmith Street 215, mid 13th-century (scale 1:4).

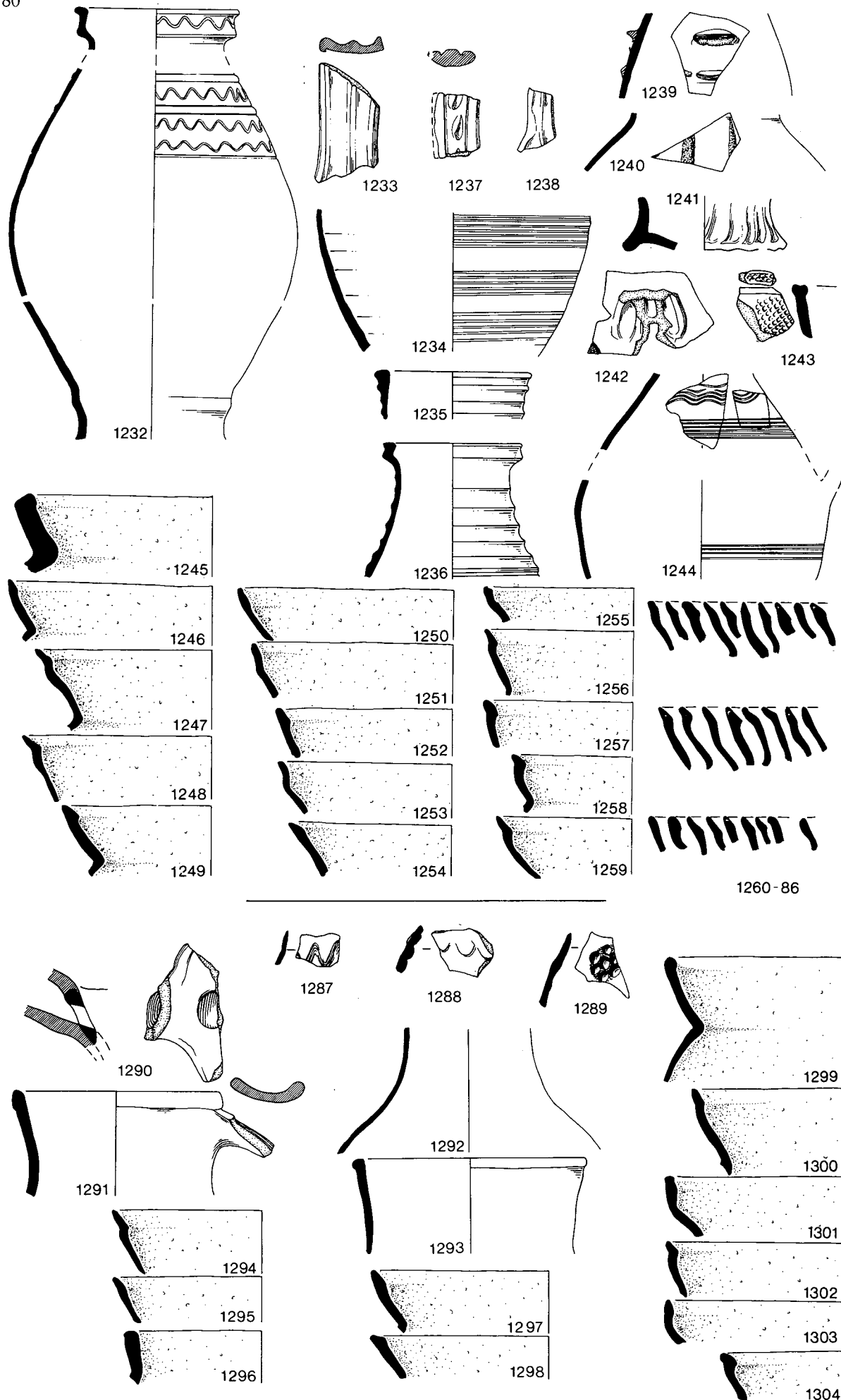


Fig. 39. North Street 11 and 12, mid or late 13th-century (scale 1:4).

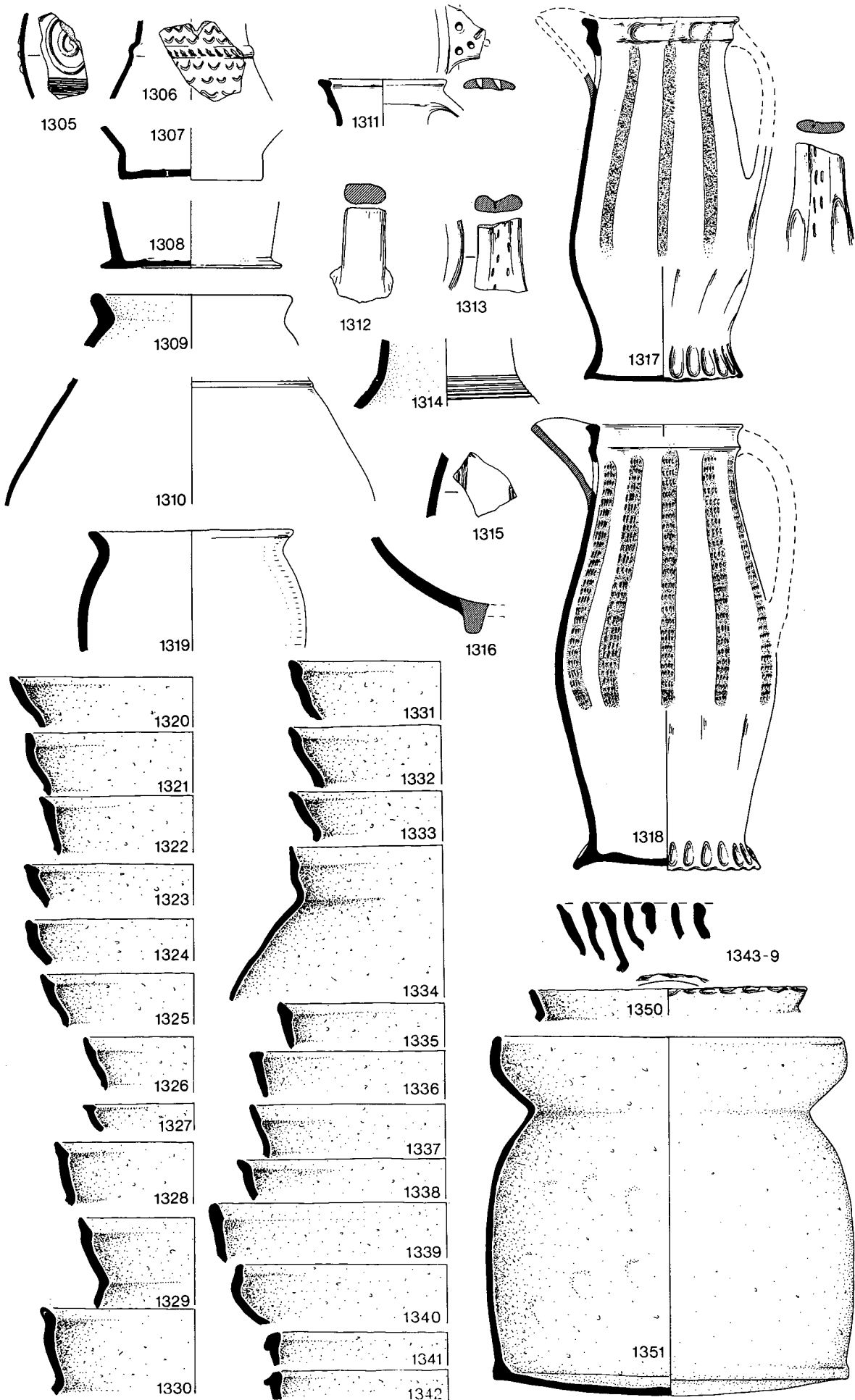


Fig. 40. Goldsmith Street 135, late 13th-century (scale 1:4).

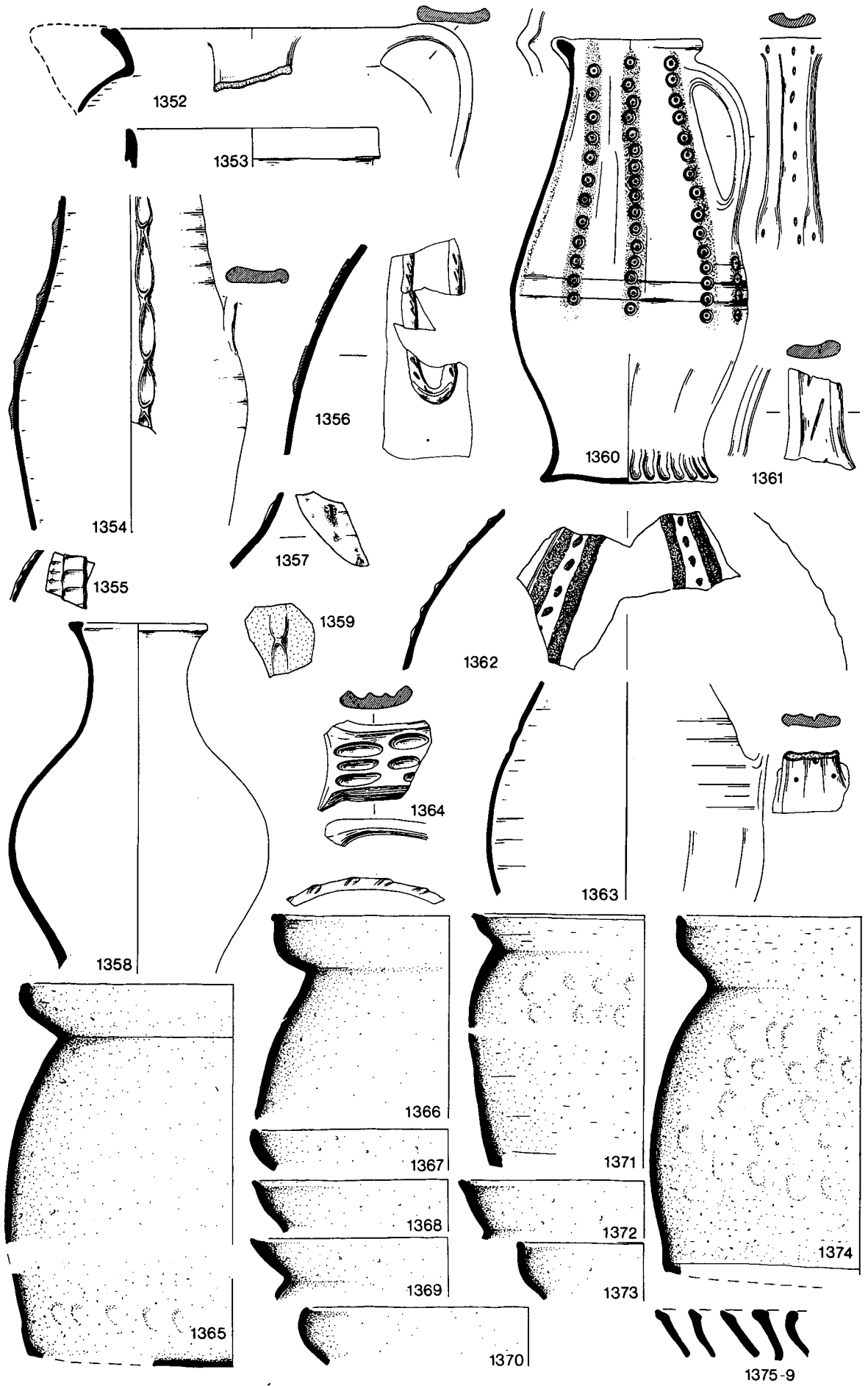


Fig. 41. Goldsmith Street 256, late 13th-century (scale 1:4).



- 1239-42 Fabric 40. 1239 with applied decoration (?a face) with metallic wash; 1240 with metallic stripes; 1241 base; 1242 handle base with adjacent edge of applied metallic strip.
- 1243 Fabric 60. Tripod pitcher rim with diamond-shaped rouletting on *ext* and top.
- 1244 Fabric 61, hand-made (form uncertain). This vessel is visually identical to fragments of a jug from Totnes (Rigold 1954, 244, group A, ia).
- 1245-86 Fabric 20.
- Date: See below.

## NORTH STREET 11

Pit group.

- 1287 Saintonge green-glazed jug with combing.
- 1288 Fabric 103 with applied scales.
- 1289-90 Fabric 40. 1289 with impressed finger-marks in the form of a rosette, iron wash over rosette; 1290 pan handle with sooted underside.
- 1291 Fabric 60 pitcher, glazed.
- 1292 Fabric ?47, wheel-thrown, with *ext* orange glaze.
- 1293 As 1291.
- 1294-1304 Fabric 20.

Date: So many vessels are present in both NS 11 and NS 12 that they may be treated together. They contain a high percentage (76% of 588 sherds) of coarsewares, roughly equal quantities of local jugs (fabrics 40-3) and sandy wares, and both Saintonge and north French sherds. Horizon H, mid or late 13th-century.

## GOLDSMITH STREET 135

Pit group.

Relations: Under GS L.33-8 containing much Saintonge green-glazed pottery, Saintonge polychrome sherds, and many residual sherds, some from this pit.

Glass: G.1. Late 13th- or 14th-century type.

Imports

- 1305 Sherd with a sandy white fabric, combing and applied white clay spiral; *ext* glazed mottled green. French, precise origin uncertain; cf. 1560.
- 1306 Sherd with a sandy white fabric, shallow incised decoration and *ext* dark mottled green glaze. French, precise origin uncertain.
- 1307 Base of a north French green-glazed jug. Sandy white fabric, mottled copper-green glaze. Hole drilled in base, probably after firing.
- 1308 Base of a Saintonge green-glazed jug.

English wares

- 1309-10 Fabric 62. 1310 identification doubtful, hand-made cooking pot, glazed and sooted *ext*.
- 1311 Ham Green ware (Barton 1963b).
- 1312-18 Local jugs and pitchers. 1312 fabric 62; 1313 fabric 40; 1314 ?fabric 64; 1315-16 fabric 60, 1315 combed, 1316 pitcher base with foot pushed through body; 1317 fabric 40 with metallic stripes (profile reconstructed from overlapping sherds); 1318 fabric 42 with stabbed combing under metallic stripes.
- 1319 Bedford Garage ware, type 2, residual.
- 1320-51 Fabric 20.

Date: The mixture of sandy wares, tripod pitchers and local jugs together with the high percentage (64% of sherds) of coarseware and the presence of Ham Green ware suggest a date before c. 1300. This is supported by the presence of Saintonge polychrome sherds in the succeeding deposit. Horizon H, c. 1250-1300.

## GOLDSMITH STREET 256

Pit group.

Relations: Cut by GS 228 with Saintonge polychrome sherds (1446-50); cut GS 265 and 282, 11th- and 12th-century.

Imports

- 1352 Unglazed Saintonge *pégau* with prominent quartz and white mica inclusions.
- 1353 North French cooking pot rim with fine sandy grey-white fabric. Possibly residual.
- 1354 Saintonge green-glazed jug with applied thumbled strips.
- 1355 Sherd of a vessel with a soft white fabric with soft rounded fawn inclusions. Thick crazed yellow-green glaze. Probably French. ?Residual.

English wares

- 1356 Ham Green ware jug (Barton 1963b). Hand-made, with applied knife-slashed strip. I am grateful to M. Ponsford for confirming this identification.
- 1357 Jug sherd in a fine sandy pale grey fabric with iron-rich pellets; pale green glaze. Origin uncertain.
- 1358-63 Local jugs, fabric 40. 1358 plain type 1B; 1359 sherd with slip and mottled copper-green glaze; 1360 type 1A jug with iron-rich strips over dot-and-circle decoration; 1361 handle; 1362 type 1E jug with iron-rich pellets and stripes; 1363 plain jug with discoloured glaze.
- 1364 Fabric 62, probably from Dorset. *Thin-sectioned*.
- 1365-79 Fabric 20, except 1371 North Devon-type coarse-ware.

Date: Horizon H, c. 1250-1300. The pre-c. 1300 date suggested by stratification below Saintonge polychrome sherds is supported by the presence of Ham Green ware.

## 'MR KNOTT'S, SOUTH STREET'

Exeter Museum Acc. Nos. 99-9-2 to 99-9-26. 'Sherds found 20 feet below the surface of South Street behind the house of Mr. Knott', donated to Exeter Museum in 1899.

- 1380 North French costrel. Fine white sandy fabric, thick pale yellow glaze; both glaze and fabric are similar to those of Rouen jugs. The vessel has been thrown in a single piece. Spout inserted through body; shallow incised lines on its outer surface. One handle with thumbled edges present; a second handle can be assumed.

As Dunning (1964b) has shown, this form of costrel is typical of northern France, and the costrel from St Cyr-du-Vaudreuil (*ibid.*, 128-9) is very similar.

- 1381-3 Green-glazed Saintonge wares. 1381 *pégau*, the handle with shallow graffiti scratched ?after firing; 1382 base of jug; 1383 spout of a *pégau*, perhaps 1381.

- 1384-6 Fabric 40. 1384 type 4 cooking pot.

- 1387 Fabric 23, ?residual.

Since these vessels come from a feature 20 feet (6.1 m) below road level, they must surely be a group, probably from a well or deep cess-pit. Presumably the coarsewares, which would make up the majority of wares in such a group, have largely been discarded. Horizon H, ?late 13th-century.

## WYMAN'S WELL, HIGH STREET

Exeter Museum Acc. Nos. 70/1950/1-4. From 'near the western side of St Stephen's church, in what was apparently a well at the rear of the premises'. The sherds are marked 'Wyman's Well, 20 feet'.

- 1388 Base of a large Saintonge green-glazed jug.

- 1389 G. Coppack writes,

'Upper part of a highly decorated spouted pitcher in a dirty pink to buff, hard, finely sand-tempered fabric with a rich light green glaze over all the *ext*. The neck is decorated with a zone of six vertical applied strips with interrupted comb decoration, which ends against a cordon at the junction of neck and body. Below the cordon are eight rouletted applied strips, interspersed with vertical bands of scale decoration. The junction of the spout with the shoulder is decorated (and strengthened) with deep knife-cuts, and the tubular spout was covered with random interrupted combing. The strap-handle, with a thick applied strip on its upper surface, is deeply stabbed with a bodkin or similar tool. The neck and rim are wheel-thrown, but at the junction of the body a coil is clearly visible, and the lower part of the vessel is somewhat surprisingly hand-made by coiling.

'Highly decorated vessels of this class are well-known in the East Midlands, and kilns producing jugs of closely comparable form and decoration operated at Stamford, Doncaster and Nottingham. Considering the fabric of this vessel, there can be little doubt that it is a product of the kiln excavated by G.F. Campion in St Anne's Street, Nottingham. There is no dating evidence from the kiln site itself,

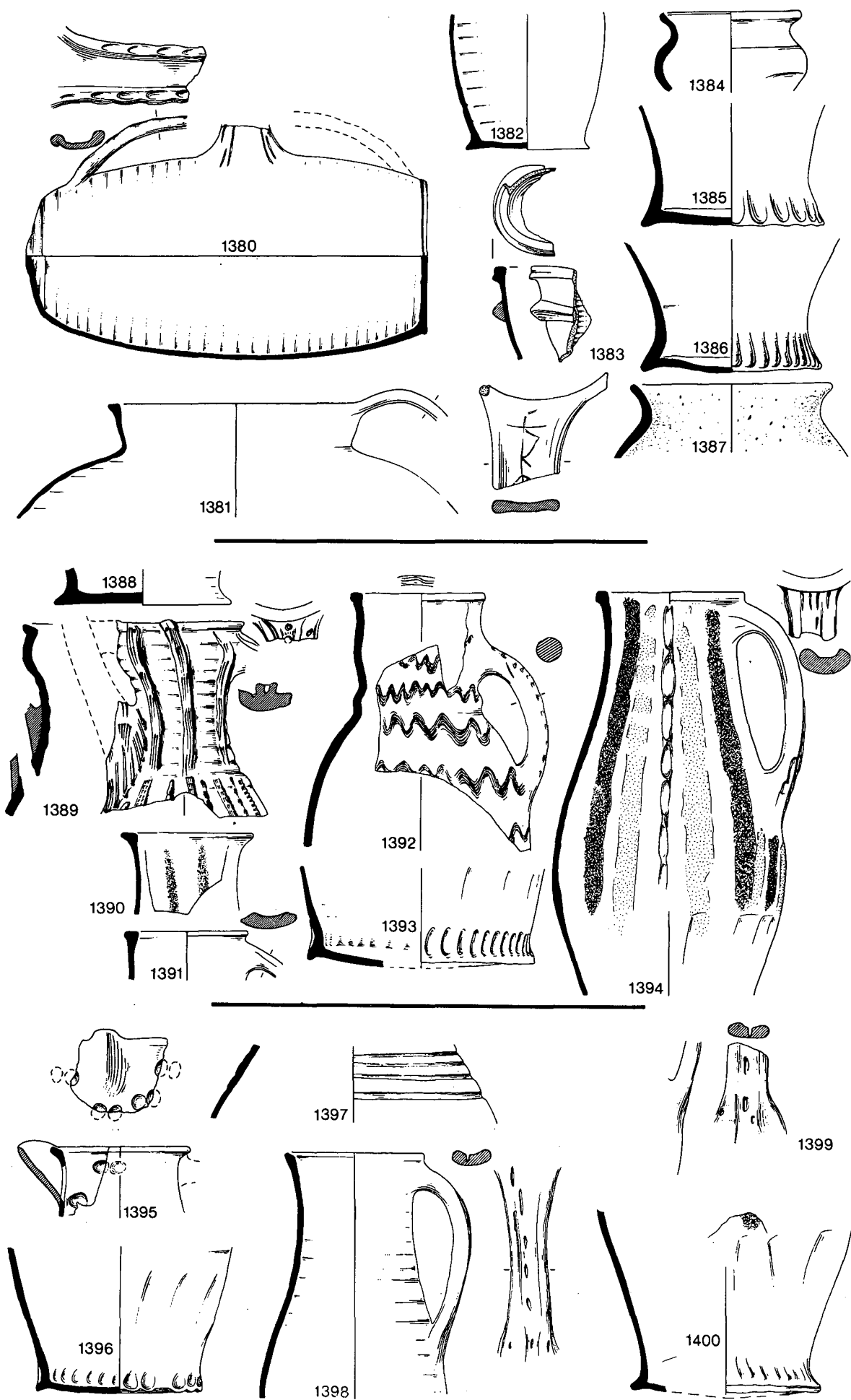


Fig. 42. Medieval pottery groups from previous excavations (scale 1:4).

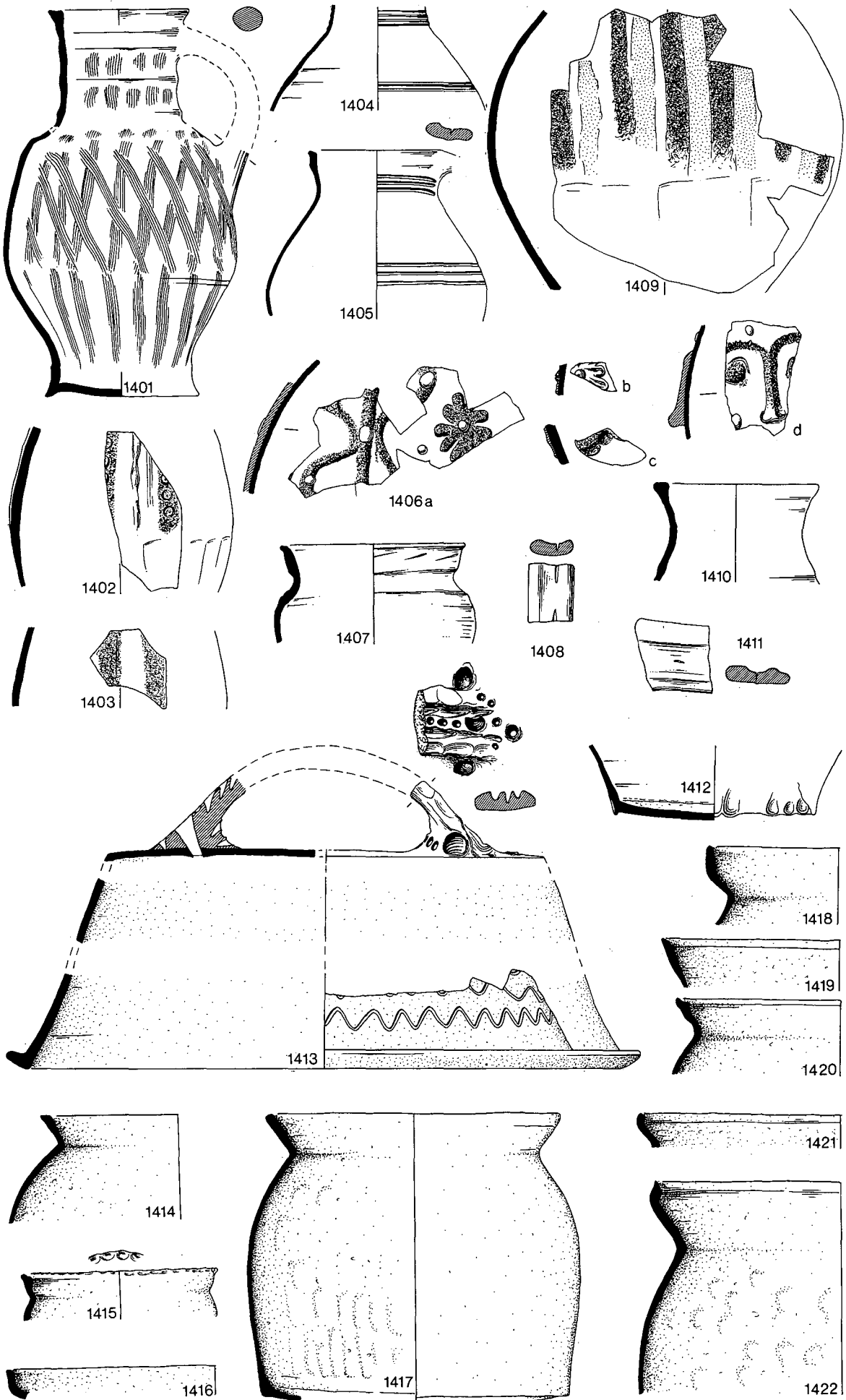


Fig. 43. Trichay Street 215, late 13th/early 14th-century (scale 1:4).

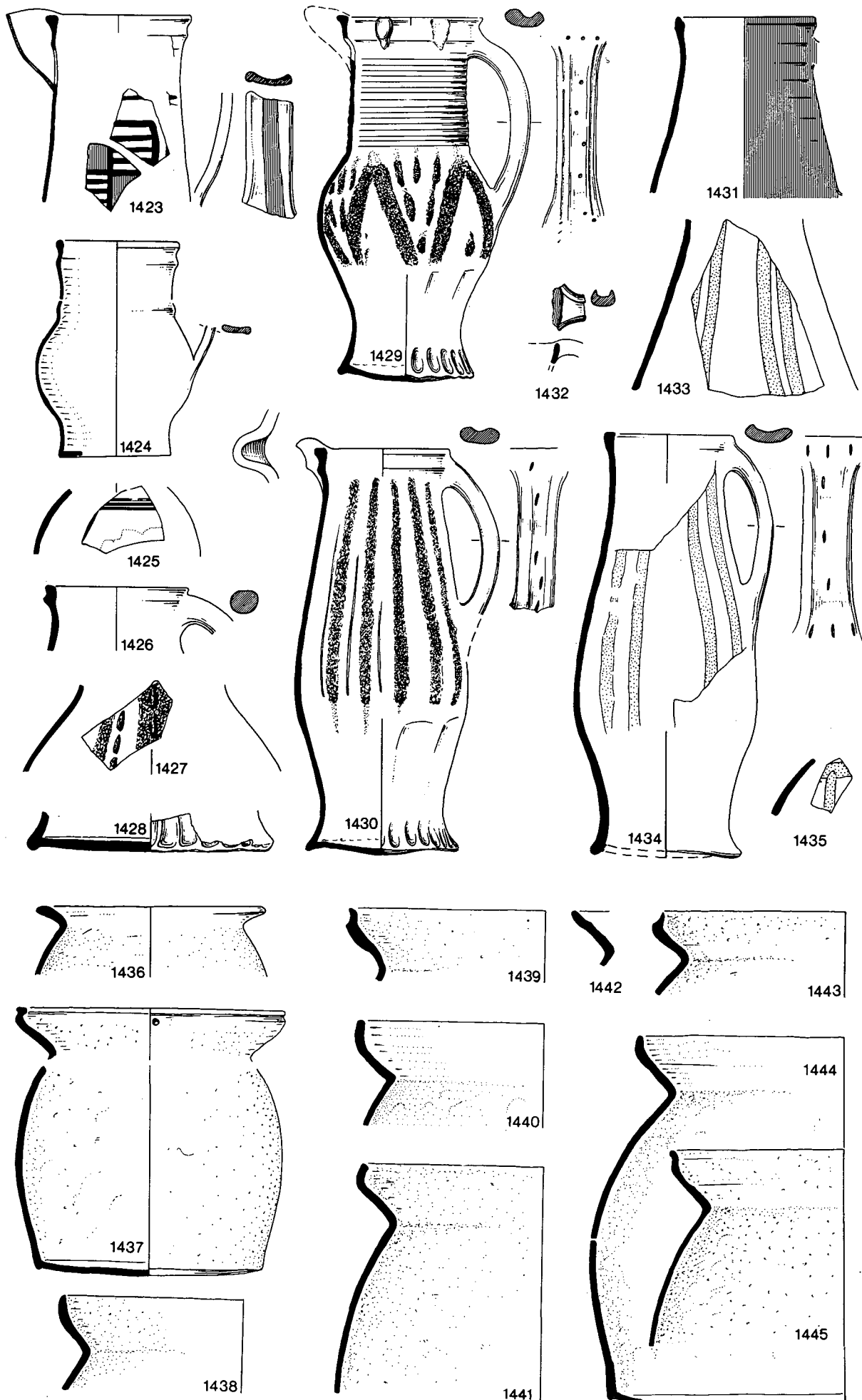


Fig. 44. Queen Street 112, c. 1270-1330 (scale 1:4).

and this particular ware is far from common in excavated groups from Nottingham. However, a large portion of an undecorated jug in this fabric was recovered from a midden deposit in a cave below the Nottingham Moot Hall, which can be dated from other vessels in the group to the final quarter of the 13th century, or fractionally earlier. This date is confirmed by the occurrence of further sherds from one of these vessels in a late 13th-century cave deposit from Drury Hill, Nottingham. The general rarity of this particular fabric in Nottingham would suggest that it was produced over a fairly restricted period. Nottingham wares were widely traded, particularly around the coast, and a find-spot in Exeter, whilst well beyond the usual pattern of distribution, is not altogether surprising.'

1390-4

Local jugs. **1390-1** fabric 40, **1390** with metallic stripes; **1392** fabric 60 (*sic*), hand-made, combed and glazed; **1393-4** fabric 40, **1394** type 1A with applied thumbed strips, brushed slip and metallic stripes.

*Not ill:* Saintonge all-over-green glazed sherds.

*Date:* The Saintonge all-over-green sherds indicate a date after c. 1270. **1392** belongs to a type which seems to have died out in the early 14th century (p. 7). End of the 13th century or early 14th. Again the coarsewares must have been discarded.

## BEDFORD STREET 1949

Exeter Museum Acc. No. 99/1949. Sherds excavated by Lady A. Fox in Bedford Street. They were found together, apparently in a medieval pit. The precise location of the find is uncertain.

**1395-1400** Fabric 40 jugs. **1395** four bosses raised around spout by pinching with finger and thumb; **1396** base; **1397** bodysherds; **1398** type 1A; **1399** handle; **1400** base.

It is unclear whether coarsewares were discarded from this group; no such sherds are present.

## TRICHAY STREET 215

Pit group.

*Relations:* Cut TS 174, containing **1062-71**, c. 1200-50; cut TS 324, 347, 349 and 351 (all 11th/12th-century).

**1401** London-type jug. Thick *ext* brushed slip, glazed pale green, combed sgraffito decoration. The form of this vessel is paralleled by the series of Rouen-copy jugs from London (*LMMC* 1967, 224). I am grateful to A. Vince for confirming this identification; the jug belongs to the group he describes as of 'north French style'.

**1402-8** Fabric 40 jugs. **1402** with applied strip between dot-and-circle, overlain with metallic iron stripes; **1403** jug with metallic iron stripes and reduced green glaze; **1404-5** with *ext* all-over slip, glazed pale yellow, and sgraffito lines; **1406** large globular jug, possibly type 1E, fabric with addition of some burnt bone filler. The applied strips and rosette of (a), the ?leaf of (b) and the eyebrows, eyes and nose of (d) are in the same fabric as the body, with a metallic iron wash giving a black surface. The small pellets on (a) and (d), and the rosette on (c) are of white clay, glazed yellow-green. Incised lines round eyes and on eyebrows; **1407** cooking pot sherd with slashing on rim, *int* glaze and *ext* sooting; **1408** handle.

**1409-12** Fabric 42. **1409** metallic stripes alternating with brushed white slip; some copper-green mottling; **1410** plain.

**1413** Unglazed hand-made firecover in micaceous fabric 105. Only one side of handle survives. Incised wavy lines on walls, stabbed handle, sooted *int*. *Thin-sectioned*.

**1414-22** Fabric 20.

*Date:* This group contains many local jugs (15 vessels), very little wheel-thrown sandy ware and no tripod pitchers. The proportion of coarseware is low (177 of 318 sherds). The London jug is of a type common in the 13th-century London waterfront contexts, especially early and mid 13th-century deposits, but almost absent in the early 14th century there (Vince, pers. comm.). Horizon H, late 13th/early 14th-century.

## QUEEN STREET 112

Pit group.

**1423** Saintonge polychrome jug sherds. Beak-spout outlined in green.

**1424** Fine Saintonge jug with all-over-green glaze. Profile reconstructed from large overlapping sherds.

**1425** South Somerset sherd. Hard fine grey fabric with *ext* slip, apparently brushed-on; combed sgraffito lines. Patches of copper-green seem to be in slip rather than sprinkled over it.

**1426** ?Non-local jug. Sandy red fabric, orange-red glaze on handle.

**1427-35** Local wares. **1427** fabric 40 with applied metallic pellets and stripes; **1428** fabric 42; **1429** fabric 40, type 1C jug with brushed metallic stripes on body, single applied mask below rim with scar of a second, scar of an applied beak spout; **1430** fabric 40, type 1A jug with brushed metallic stripes (unusually, this has been fired upright); **1431** fabric 42, type 1A jug with *ext* slip and bright copper-green glaze; **1432** fabric 40?, top of a handle and attached body, perhaps of a lobed cup. Yellowish-green glaze; **1433-5** fabric 42 jugs with brushed slip lines.

**1436** Hand-made cooking pot in a fine sandy grey fabric. This is not a local type. It is very similar to the local wares of Poole (Dorset), and it is likely that this comes from south-central England.

**1437-45** Coarsewares. **1437** fabric 25 with rivet hole in rim; **1438** fabric 23; **1439-45** fabric 20.

*Date:* Horizon H. The Saintonge polychrome and all-over-green-glazed jugs indicate a date of c. 1270-1330.

## GOLDSMITH STREET 228, LAYERS 13-17

Group from the lower fills of GS 228 (p. 160).

*Relations:* Construction of pit cut GS 256 (**1352-79**), late 13th-century.

*Glass:* **G.2-13** 14th-century types, **G.14-25** 14th-century or later.

*Leather:* **L.7-16**. Large group including late 15th/early 16th-century pieces from top of these layers.

**1446-8** Saintonge polychrome and (**1448**) green-glazed jugs (L.13; L.13, 17; L.13).

**1449** Unglazed micaceous fabric 101, probably from Dartmoor. Hand-made; incised lines and brushed white slip lines. *Thin-sectioned* (p. 7) (L.13).

**1450** Fabric 40, type 1F jug with incised lines and mid green glaze (L.13).

*Date:* L.13-17 contain no sherds from the post-medieval group deposited in the upper pit fills (**1729-83**). The glasses are consistently 14th-century types, so the context of the polychrome jugs should not be taken as evidence that their date requires reconsideration. However, the surprisingly late date of some of the leather in L.13 and 15 suggests that the deposit accumulated over a considerable period, and the finds may not all be contemporary with the polychrome jugs.

## TRICHAY STREET 169

Group from the two lowest layers (TS 169, L.4-5) in the fill of a stone-lined pit.

*Relations:* Pit construction cut TS 191, L.1 with coin **E.12** of 1281-2, lost before c. 1300.

*Dendrochronology:* Samples TS 33-8, felled between c. 1114 and c. 1249. All were evidently old when discarded.

*Leather:* **L.17-18**, late 14th- or early 15th-century.

**1451-2** Fabric 40 jugs. **1451** type 1E with metallic stripes; **1452** form imitating Saintonge vessels.

**1453** Sherd from **1611**, residual.

**1454** Fabric 42 bowl with *int* orange-brown glaze and sooted base.

**1455-6** Jugs. **1455** fabric 40 copying Saintonge vessels with thumbed vertical strips and mottled mid green glaze; **1456** ?fabric 42 with slip stripes.

**1457-62** Coarsewares. **1457** fabric 25, *thin-sectioned*; **1458** fabric 24, *thin-sectioned*; **1459-60** fabric 23; **1461** fabric 27; **1462** fabric 23.

*Date:* The leather provides the principal dating evidence for the group. Horizon J, c. 1350-1450; comparison with Exe Bridge 449-51 (below) favours a late 14th-century date, since there are far more cooking pots in this group.

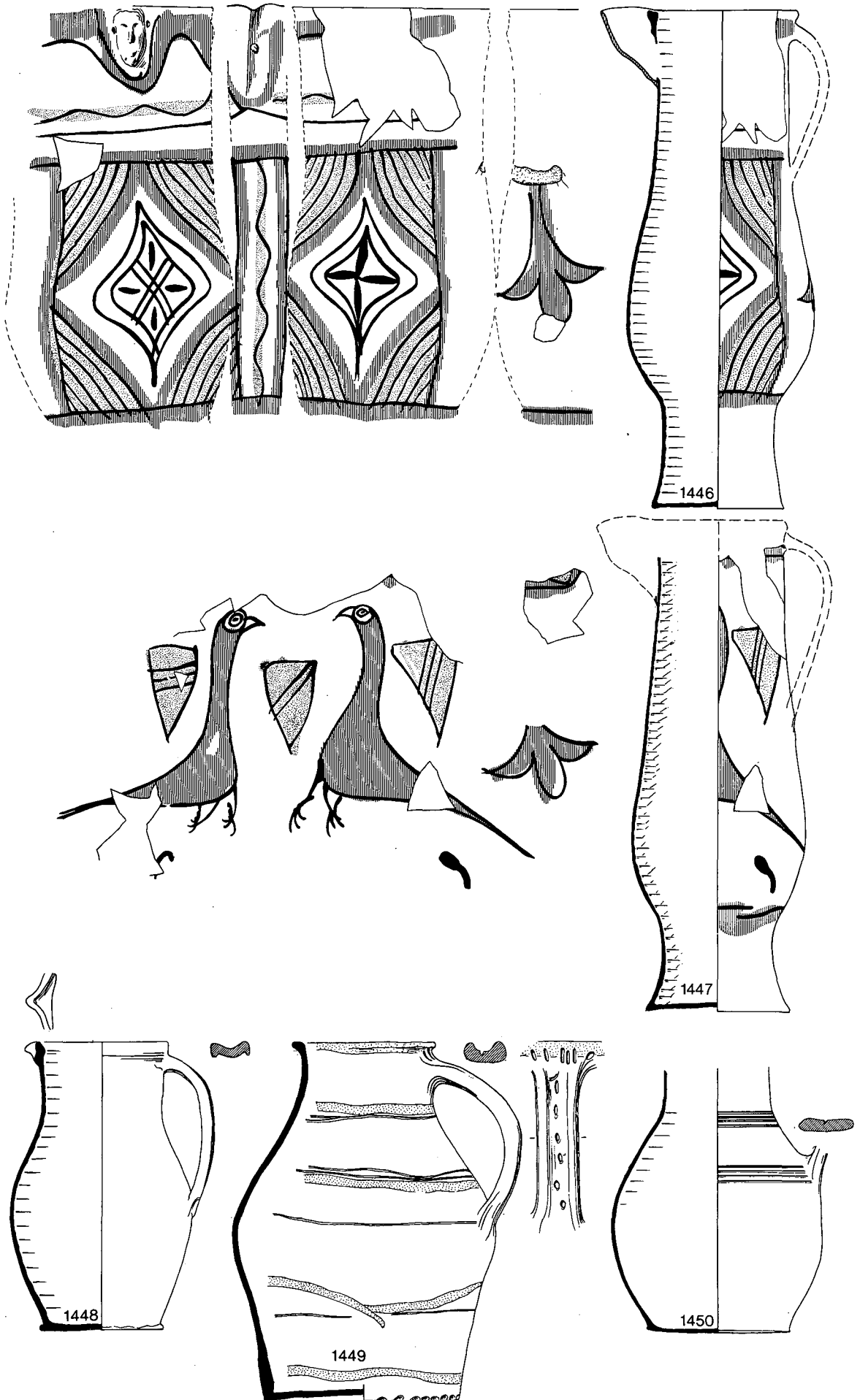


Fig. 45. Goldsmith Street 228 Layers 13-17, *c.* 1300 and later (scale 1:4).

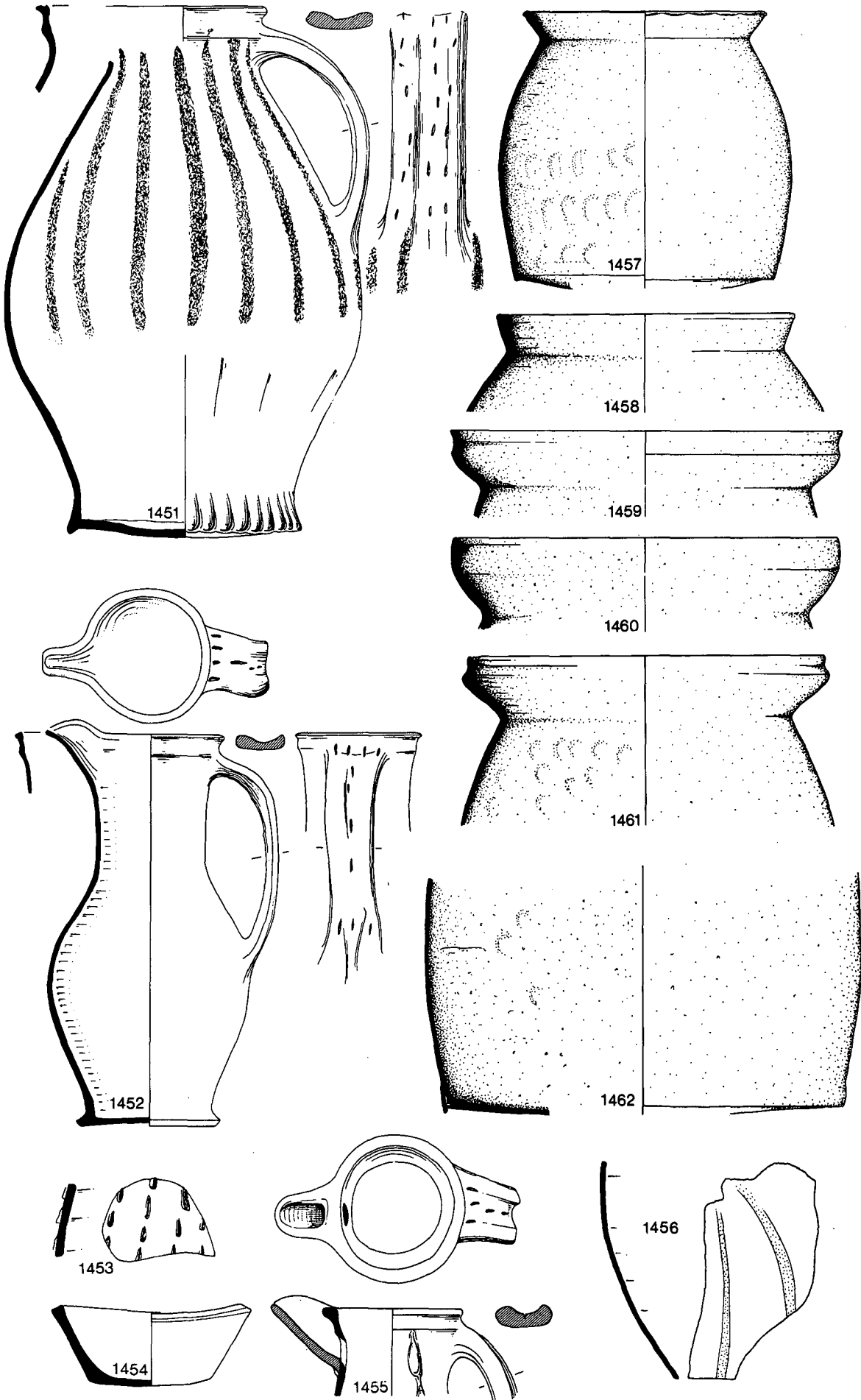


Fig. 46. Trichay Street 169, late 14th/early 15th-century (scale 1:4).

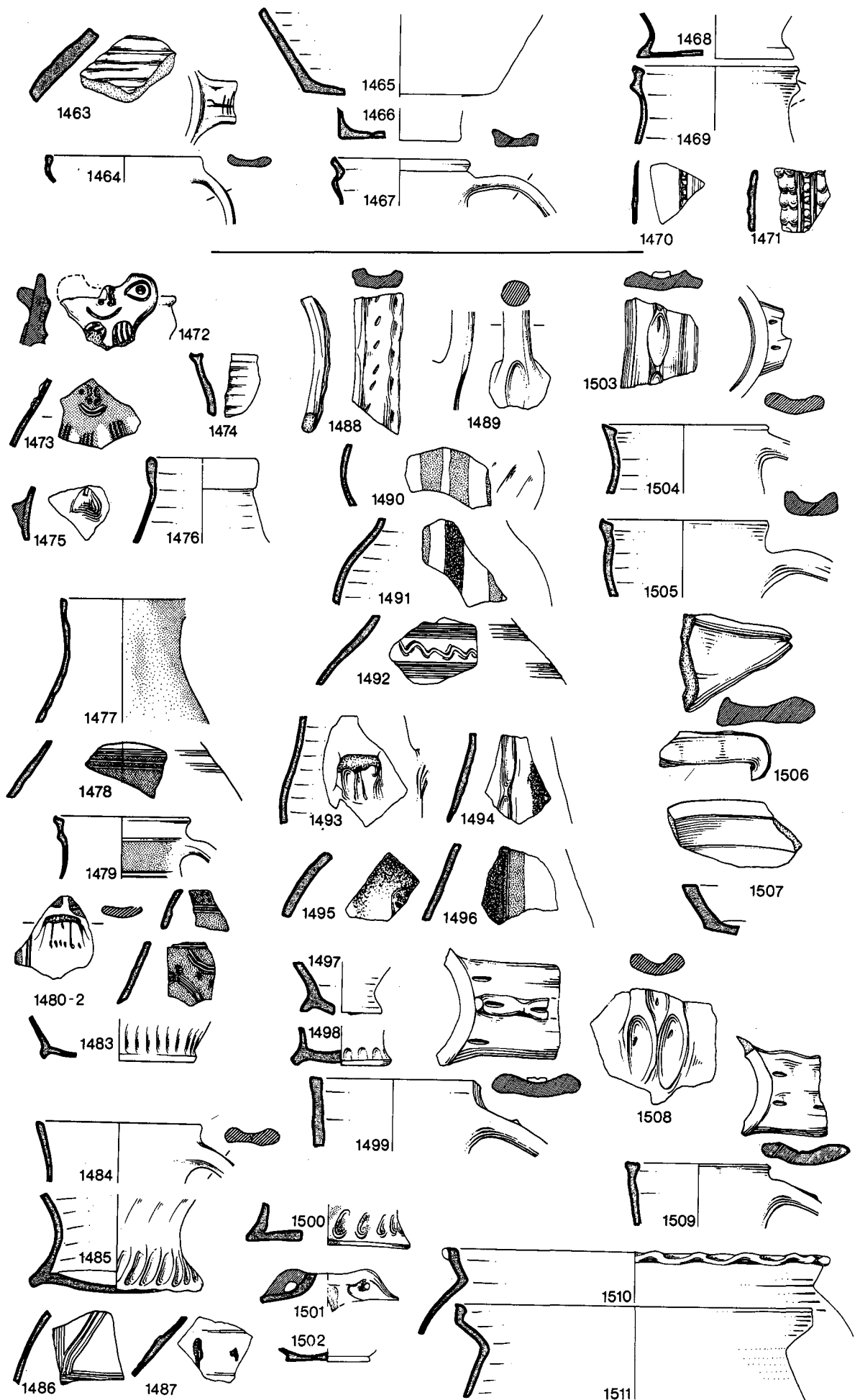


Fig. 47. Exe Bridge 449-51, probably early 15th-century (scale 1:4).



## EXE BRIDGE 449-51

Group from three successive dumps blocking one river channel under Exe Bridge. The pottery from each layer is identical in character, and there are joining sherds between them, so they have been treated as a single group.

*Imports and non-local English wares*

- 1463** Iberian amphora sherd. Fine unglazed buff-fawn fabric, *thin-sectioned* (p. 145). This does not belong to any of the classes of Roman amphorae known from Exeter, and there are no certain residual Roman sherds in the group; cf. Hurst 1977a, 98-103.
- 1464-8** Saintonge green-glazed sherds. **1464** handle with device scratched after firing; **1465** base of large jug or *pégau*; **1468** sooted *ext*.
- 1469** Possible non-local English sherd. Fine pale fawn fabric with sparse iron oxide and fine quartz-sand inclusions. Even yellow-green glaze.
- 1470** Saintonge green-glazed jug with applied roulette-decorated strip.
- 1471** Sherd in a granular pink fabric with applied decorative scales and strips under a glossy mid green glaze. English, not local, precise origin uncertain.

*Local wares*

- 1472-6** Micaceous wares. **1472** fabric ?105 with applied face mask, possibly above handle, metallic wash over fingers, thin light green glaze with speckled iron-bleeding; **1473** sherd from body of face-jug, fabric 105, stabbed and combed, with white clay mouth and slip wash; **1474** fabric ?105 with *int* thick mid green glaze, *ext* sooted; **1475-6** fabric 107, unglazed, **1475** with applied boss, **1476** *thin-sectioned*.
- 1477-83** South Somerset-type jugs. **1477** with patchy slip and copper mottling; **1478-82** with sgraffito combing under copper-mottled glaze.
- 1484-92** Fabric 40. **1486** combed; **1487** with metallic decoration; **1489** identification doubtful; **1490** with white-painting; **1491** with white-painting and metallic stripe.
- 1493-1509** Fabric 42. **1494-6** with metallic decoration; **1506-7** pans; **1508-9** identifications doubtful.
- 1510-11** Coarsewares. **1510** fabric 25; **1511** fabric 27.

*Date:* There are no stonewares in this major group, nor are there any of the South Somerset wares believed to be in circulation by the 1450s (p. 10). On the other hand there are hardly any of the medieval cooking pots which were still common after c. 1350 (1457-62). Horizon J, probably early 15th-century.

## QUEEN STREET 350

This group comes from the bottom 0.40 m of a stone-lined well c. 6 m below the late medieval ground surface. The sherds were closely packed and evidently do not represent a typical collection of domestic rubbish, as no bones were found with them. Presumably most were used in collecting water from the well, and broken on ascent or descent.

- 1512** Saintonge green-glazed jug with pulled lip.
- 1513** Fabric 106. Applied clay pellets, some grid-stamped, and clay strip. Slip on spout. Glaze mid green over body, yellow-green over slip. *Thin-sectioned* (p. 7).
- 1514** Fabric 105, wheel-thrown, unglazed.
- 1515** South Somerset-type jug. Thick slip, glazed speckled yellow, and combed sgraffito.
- 1516-27** Local jugs. **1516-17** fabric 40, type 1D jug with grooves and brushed slip, handle fabric 43 pushed through body; **1517** fabric 40, type 1D jug with slip, sgraffito combing and copper-mottled glaze; **1518-19** plain fabric 43 jugs; **1520-7** fabric 40 jugs, **1520** with combing and green glaze, **1521** with combing and metallic blobs, **1525** applied beak spout, **1526** with slip, glazed yellow, and sgraffito combing, **1527** with combing and green glaze.
- 1528** ?Fabric 40, sooted *ext*.

*Not ill:* Fabric 25.

## POLSLOE PRIORY

Vessels **1529-50** come from the latest pre-Dissolution deposits at Polsloe Priory (p. 67). All are stratified above or with sherds of Raeren stoneware, indicating a date in the late 15th or early 16th century.

## POLSLOE PRIORY 1609

- 1529-30** Two examples of 11 waterpipes found *in situ*, feeding water to a cistern. Possibly fabric 42. Some have adhering slate setter fragments.

## POLSLOE PRIORY 1582-3

Group from the fill of a large stone-lined cistern.

*Glass:* Scrap, c. 1500 (p. 268).

*Imports*

- 1531-2** Coarse-grained Merida-type wares, *thin-sectioned*, fabric 2 (p. 145). **1531** lid rim; **1532** base of bowl with *int* burnishing.
- 1533** Valencian tin-glazed dish sherd. Pink-red fabric with schist inclusions, buff zones under tin glaze. Pale blue painting.
- 1534** Spanish tin-glazed sherd. Granular buff-cream fabric, very faint *int* lustre painting, parts of pattern lost. *Ext* possible concentric lustre lines, too faint to be drawn. Sparse pale blue spots in glaze. This is similar in fabric to 'Columbia plain' wares.
- 1535** Sherd of a Spanish tin-glazed plate. Fabric and glaze as **1534**, no lustre visible. Possibly 'Columbia plain' ware, but this may have been lustred.
- 1536** Beauvais earthenware dish base with combing under yellow glaze with iron-bleeding.
- 1537** Handle of a Beauvais stoneware ?costrel.
- 1538** Body of a ?cup in Beauvais stoneware.
- 1539** Raeren mug.
- 1540** South Netherlands maiolica sherd painted dark blue and yellow.

*Not ill:* Martincamp type II; Beauvais yellow-glazed jug; Langerwehe; Raeren. There are no Cologne stonewares.

*Local wares*

- 1541** Sherd of a South Somerset cup with a double handle, probably one of a pair. Fine light grey fabric, mid green *int* and *ext* glaze.
- 1542** South Somerset cup rim, fabric and glaze as **1541**.
- 1543** North Devon type 15.
- 1544** Bowl rim. Unglazed brick-red fabric, probably South Somerset.
- 1545** Pan handle, probably South Somerset, with patches of *int* glaze, *ext* sooting.

*Not ill:* S. Somerset 15th/16th-century types 2 (including twisted handles), 4, 6, 8. This large group (c. 120 vessels) comes from a context which is succeeded by two phases of pre-Dissolution occupation. The local wares are dominated by late medieval jugs; the absence of Coarse Sandy ware, the most common type of 16th-century pottery, shows that this group is earlier than any of the early 16th-century groups from the city (below). The date of c. 1500 suggested by the glass is acceptable for the other finds in the group.

- 1546** PP 1591, immediately preceding PP 1582-3, late 15th-century. Cistercian ware sherd. Fine hard grey fabric, applied white clay decoration (?a stag), thick lead glaze, dark green-black over body. Possibly from Yorkshire, Derbyshire or Lancashire where most sherds of this type are found (Brears 1971, 19).
- 1547** PP 909, Dissolution deposit of 1538 or later. Spanish tin-glazed bowl sherd. Granular pinkish-cream fabric, *int* and *ext* rather glossy tin glaze, poorly preserved lustre, parts of pattern lost. Precise origin uncertain, perhaps Catalan or Aragonese (J.G. Hurst ident.).
- 1548** PP 619, Dissolution deposit of 1538 or later. Base of South Netherlands maiolica bowl, painted dark blue with one *int* yellow band. *Ext* plain tin glaze.
- 1549** PP 1749, context preceding PP 1582: pre-c. 1500. Sherd of a South Netherlands maiolica bowl painted blue with one thin horizontal band just below the rim (J. G. Hurst ident.).
- 1550** PP 1596, pre-Dissolution deposit with Raeren stoneware. Lid in South Somerset gritty ware with spots of glaze.

## TRICHAY STREET 157

Small pit group.

- 1551** Saintonge jug, delicately thrown, with a bib of mottled green glaze. Area of spout absent.
- 1552-3** Surrey white wares with rich green glaze on upper half of *ext*.

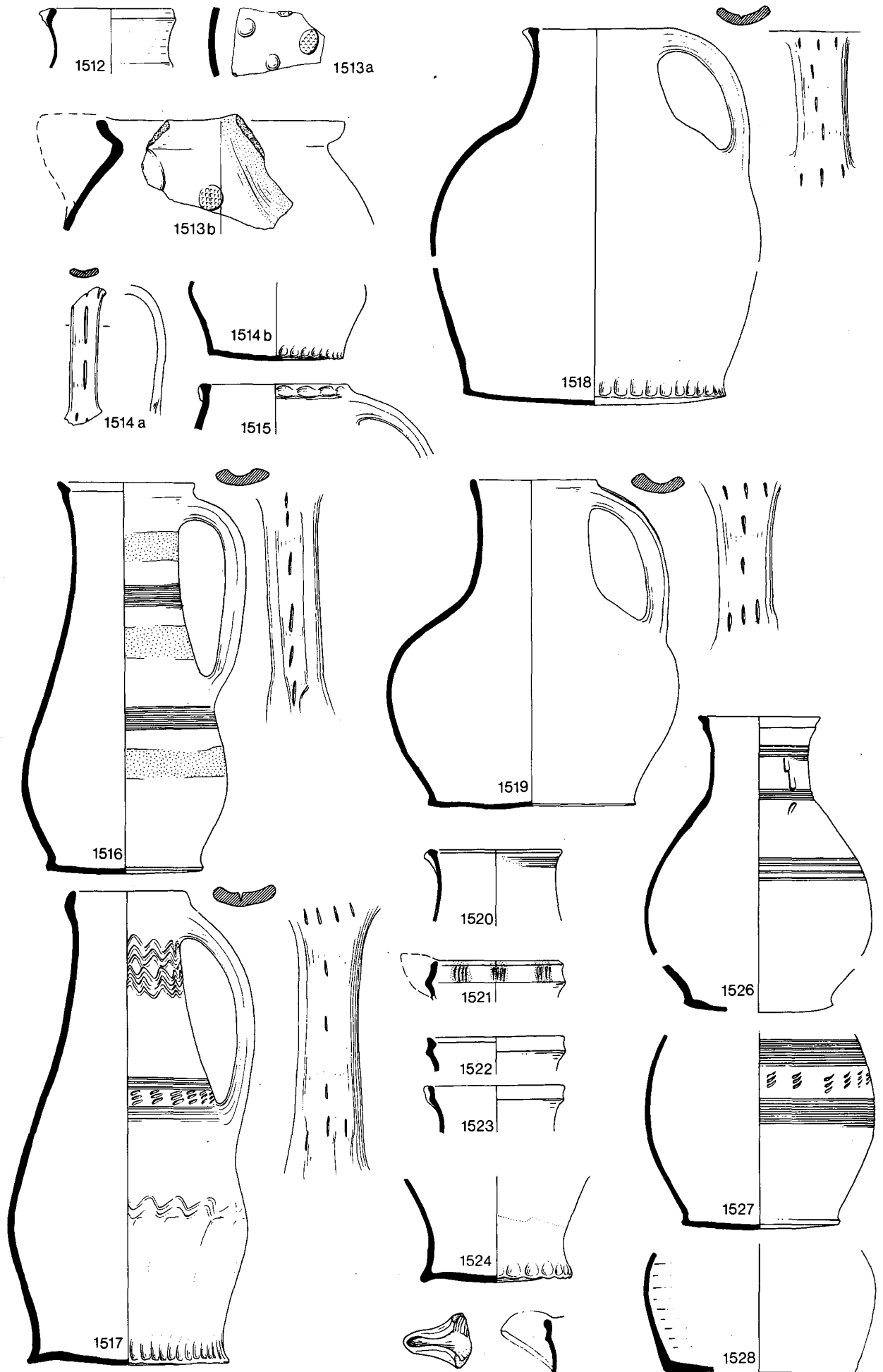


Fig. 48. Queen Street 350, ?early 15th-century (scale 1:4).

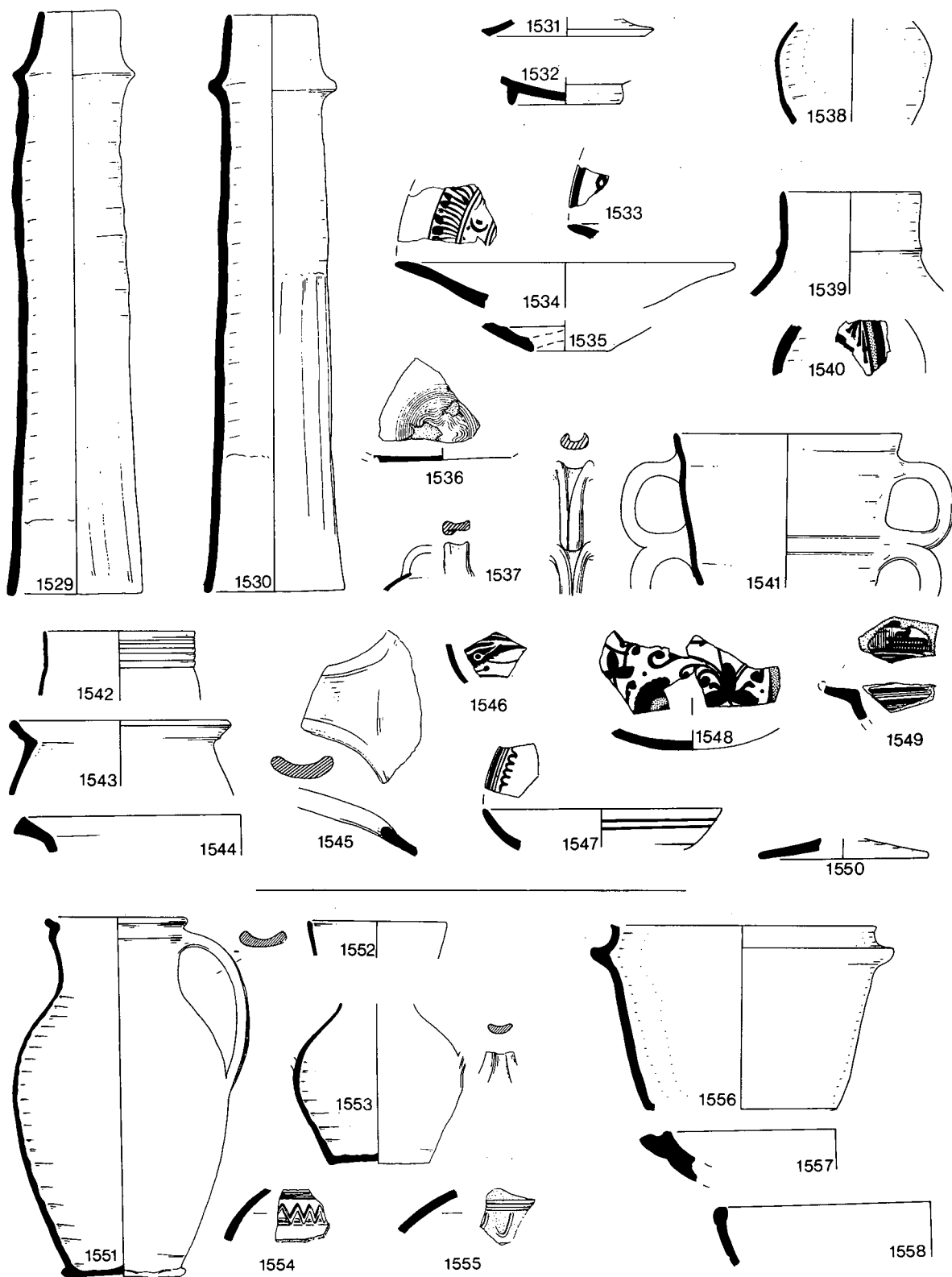


Fig. 49. Late 15th-century groups from Polsloe Priory, Trichay Street and South Street (scale 1:4).

**1554** Jug sherd with granular grey fabric. Incised lines and dark green glaze.

**1555** Typical South Somerset 15th/16th-century jug sherd with thin slip, sgraffito lines and copper mottling.

*Date:* 1555 indicates a date for this group in the mid-late 15th century or later. The absence of Coarse Sandy ware or other post-medieval fabrics suggests a date before c. 1500. Horizon K, c. 1450–1500.

FOX EXCAVATIONS 1946

Group from South Street trench 4, 'slate debris'.

**1556** Probable cucurbit. Unglazed South Somerset gritty ware, sooted *ext.*

**1557–8** North Devon gravel-tempered wares. **1557** unglazed; **1558** with *int* blotchy glaze.

*Not ill:* S. Somerset 15th/16th-century types 1 (3+), 2 (2). There is no Coarse Sandy ware among 36 sherds.

*Date:* Horizon K, c. 1450–1500.

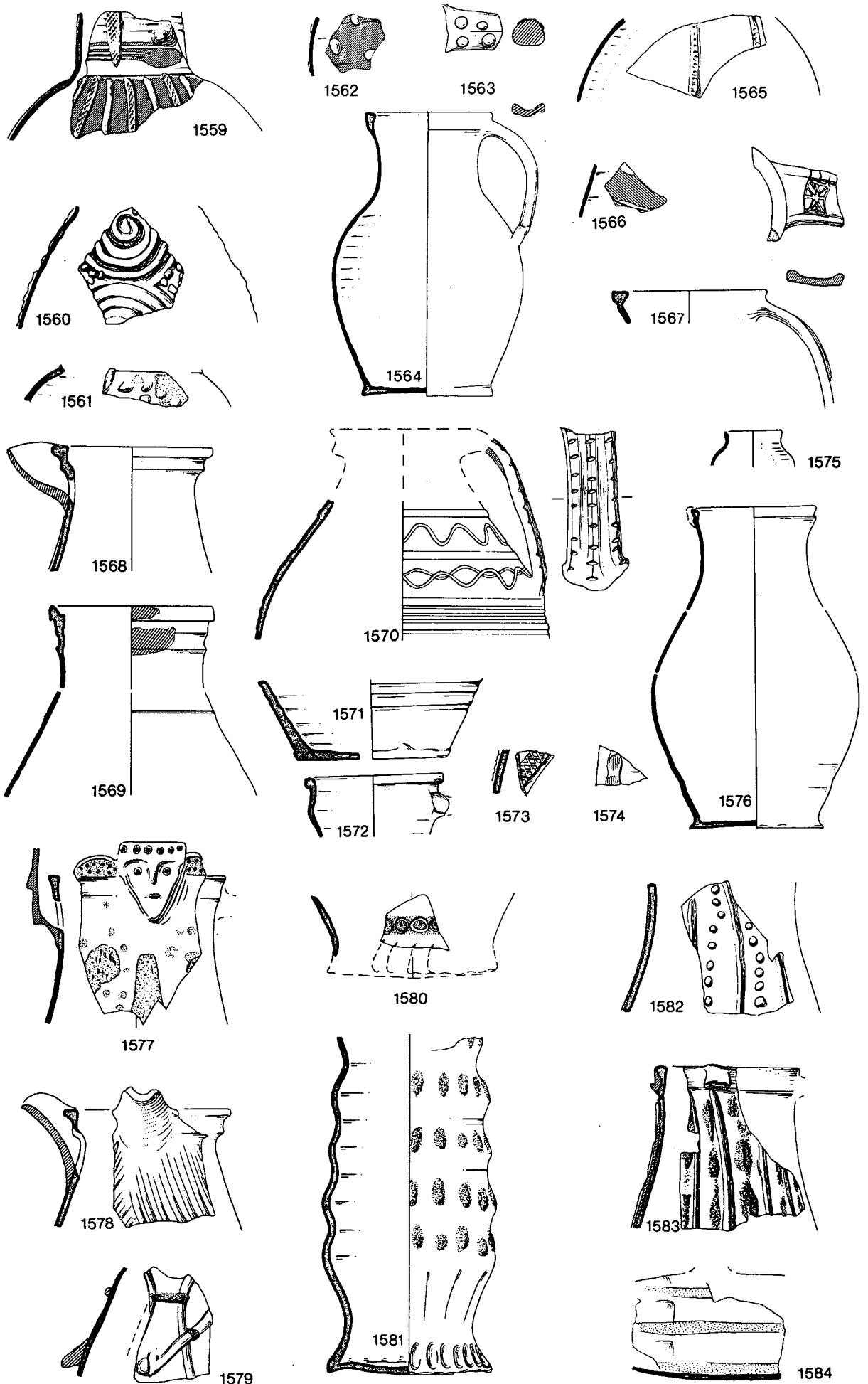


Fig. 50. Late medieval wares from other contexts (scale 1:4).

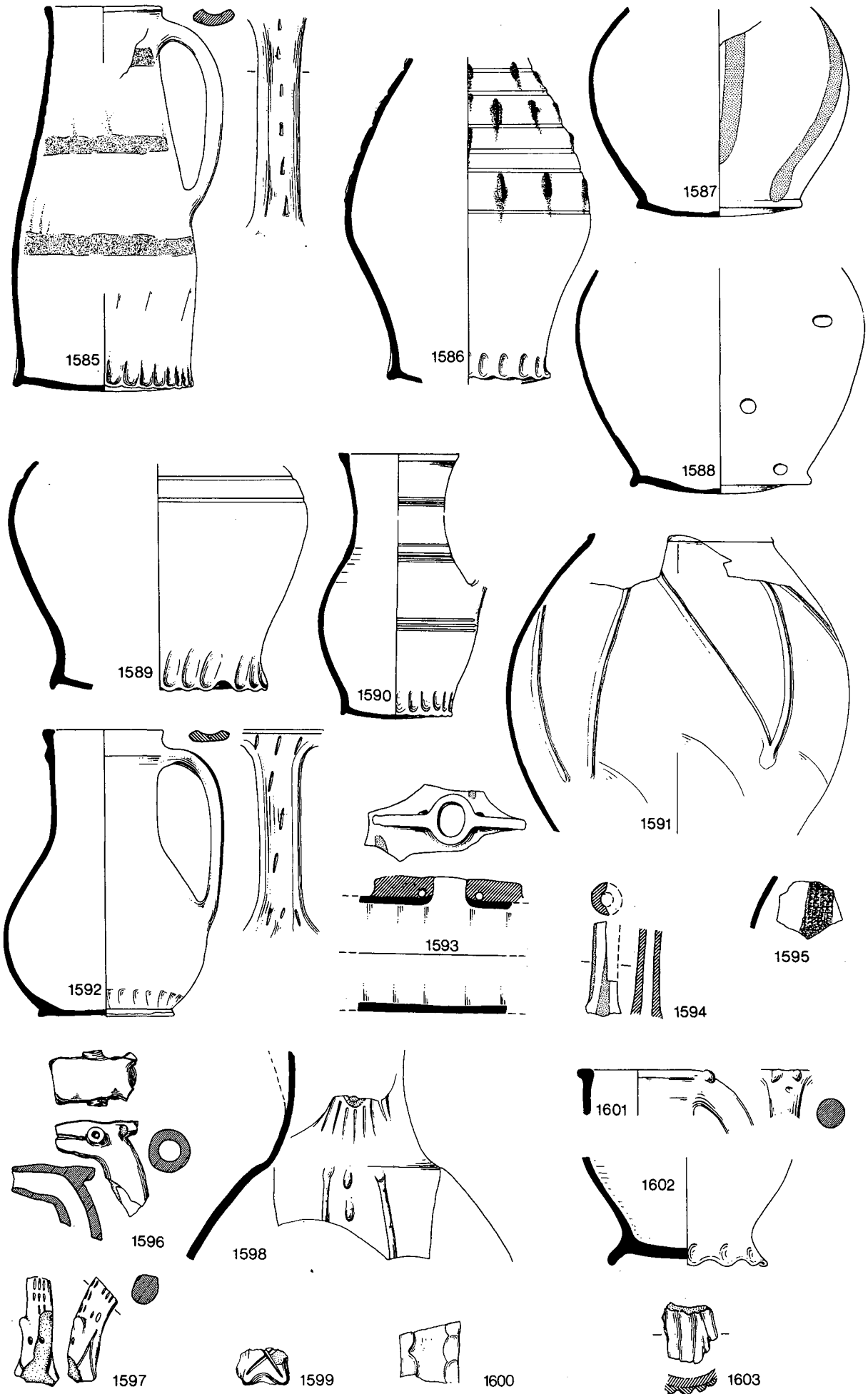


Fig. 51. Late medieval wares from other contexts (scale 1:4).

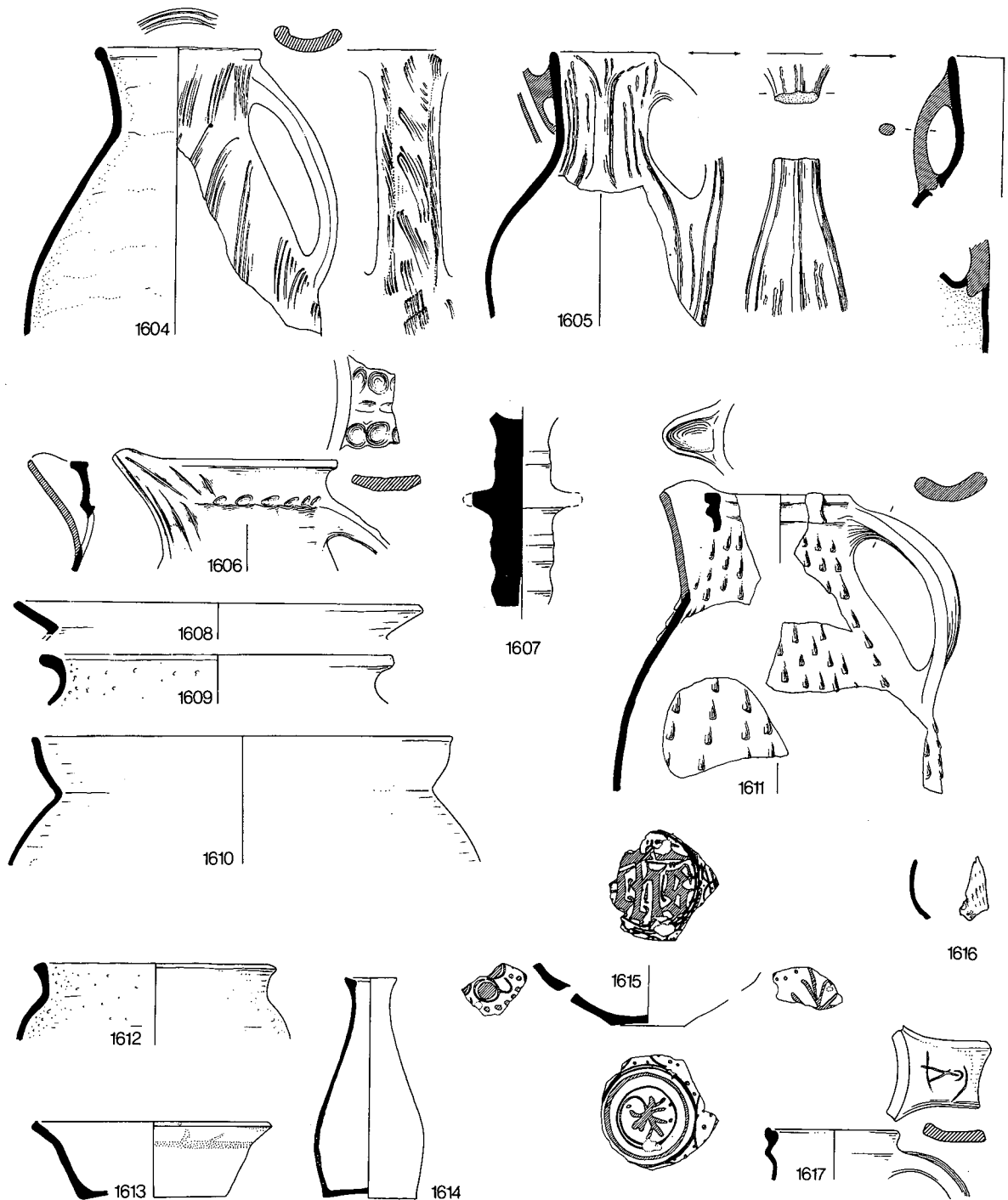


Fig. 52. Late medieval wares from other contexts (scale 1:4).

#### J. LATE MEDIEVAL WARES FROM OTHER CONTEXTS (Figs. 50–2)

Details of the provenances, museum accession numbers, associations and descriptions of these vessels will be found in MF 27–32.

**1559–76** French imports. **1559** Rouen jug; **1560** mottled dark green-glazed sandy white ware with applied spirals, ?north French; **1561** Normandy green-glazed white ware; **1562** Rouen jug; **1563** mottled green-glazed white ware handle with applied red clay pellets; **1564** Saintonge bib-glazed jug; **1565** Saintonge jug with rouletted red clay stripes and mottled green glaze; **1566** Saintonge sgraffito sherd (brown slip); **1567–8** Saintonge green-glazed jugs, **1567** with de-

vice scratched after firing; **1569–72** north French green-glazed white wares, **1569** with patchy red slip; **1573** Normandy red ware with applied rouletted white clay strip; **1574** green-glazed white ware, ?Saintonge; **1575–6** Saintonge green-glazed sherds. Local jugs of fabrics 40 and 42. Nos. **1578**, **1581–2**, **1584**, **1593–4** are of fabric 42. **1577** with mask of c. 1300; **1579** ?arms; **1580–1**, **1583**, **1585–6** with metallic decoration; **1584** costrel.

**1577–95**

- 1596–1601** Regional imports. **1596** Lincoln ware aquamanile spout in the form of a ?ram (detailed report by G. Coppack in MF 30); **1597** aquamanile handle made at Hallgate kiln B, Doncaster; fabric and glaze as **1208** (C. Hayfield ident.); **1598** fine sandy fabric, very glossy mid green glaze, source uncertain; **1599** applied ornament from jug with glossy mid green glaze; **1600** handle with chert and limestone inclusions; **1601** London-type jug with 'French ears'.
- 1602–14** Miscellaneous. **1602** green-glazed grey-white earthenware, ?stoneware copy; **1603** Saintonge figurine fragment in a context of *c.* 1500 (R.G. Thomson ident.); **1604** fabric 62; **1605** sandy ware with chert temper; three handles, tubular spout, applied strips and combing; **1606** fabric 62, probably from Dorset; **1607** ?fabric 43; **1608** West Devon coarseware; **1609** London shelly/sandy ware (Vince and Brown

ident., *thin-sectioned*); **1610** North Devon coarseware; **1611** fabric 44 sandy ware with scales; **1612** unusual sand-tempered coarseware; **1613** ?South Somerset dish; **1614** micaceous fabric 105.

#### *Addenda*

The following were excavated whilst the medieval pottery catalogue approached completion (contexts in MF 32).

- 1615** Valencian lustreware dish (Hurst 1977a, 90–2). *Ext* lustre design of bryony and dots; *int* lustre IHS monogram and two concentric blue circles.
- 1616** Possible exotic sherd with very fine smooth white fabric, turquoise thin hard glaze over ?rouletting marks. Not identified.
- 1617** Saintonge jug handle with device scratched before firing.

### III THE POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

#### 1. PROBLEMS OF ATTRIBUTION (Fig. 53)

The ascription of sherds to particular groups of kilns relies primarily on the identification of wasters at the production sites. Outside Exeter, substantial post-medieval kiln collections have been excavated at five sites in the South-West, none of which has yet been published. These are the finds from Nether Stowey; the very extensive series of wares from the Donyatt kilns; the North Walk potters' waste at Barnstaple; the St Germans wares; and two collections of waste from Mawgan-in-Meneage, the first recovered by Mrs. J. Minter and the second by Mr. L. Douch. More recently smaller groups of kiln waste have been recognised from Langford Budville and Wrangway in South Somerset, probable kiln waste has been found at Instow in North Devon, and a small collection of possible wasters of uncertain post-medieval date has come from a site near Calstock, Cornwall. In addition local earthenwares, believed to be kiln waste, have been found at Lostwithiel (Miles 1979) and some of these sherds are probably of 16th-century date. Finally, a single atypical kiln group from Exeter is presented here.

Examination of sherds from each of these sites shows that the North Devon, Lostwithiel, Mawgan-in-Meneage and St Germans wares all have very distinctive fabrics which can usually be recognised even from small sherds. The South Somerset kiln wares are largely in common red earthenware fabrics, but many have specific decorative styles which are readily identifiable. In a collection like that at Exeter, with a large number of complete pots, the details of glaze, form and technique of vessels excavated in the city may be compared with those from the Somerset kiln sites, and since the two are repeatedly identical, it is probable that the wares found at Exeter were made in South Somerset.

It is however now apparent that many more potteries were in production (Fig. 53) and the wasters come from only a fraction of the total number of production sites. In Cornwall, Mr. Douch's examination of documentary sources, particularly wills and probate inventories, has located a large number of potteries (Douch 1969). In Devon, the destruction of most local wills and inventories in World War II has deprived students of a major source of information, and it is quite possible that kilns were equally numerous in some parts of Devon. In the course of the present study, documentary evidence for potteries has been found at Dodbrooke near Kingsbridge and in the parish of Berry Pomeroy near Totnes.<sup>1</sup> Like so many Cornish sites, these are positioned on the edge of river estuaries. In addition, there may have been kilns near Bovey Tracey and Kingskerswell, where Baring-Gould (1899, 304) noted waster heaps. Both places are near the sites of later potteries, but no early kiln waste has yet been found in either area. In Somerset, intensive documentary study of the kind undertaken by Mr. Douch has yet to be carried out, but the recent discoveries of wasters suggest that further kilns almost certainly await discovery. When one compares the number of sites shown in Fig. 53 with those shown in a recently published gazetteer of post-medieval potteries (Brears 1971, 175-7) it will be apparent that the number of known manufactories has trebled in the last few years. This emphasises the difficulties in the attribution of sherds to kiln sources. For example, although St Germans ware differs markedly from other excavated kiln wares, one does not know if it will prove possible to distinguish this fabric from the products of the documented but unexcavated kilns in East Cornwall or at Dodbrooke. This is a major problem at Plymouth, where a large proportion of wares are of St Germans type. At Exeter a similar problem attaches to South Somerset pottery. Virtually all the pottery of this type found in Exeter is closely paralleled at the Donyatt kiln sites. It is now clear that this kind of pottery was very widely marketed in the South-West, and that the potteries at Donyatt were manufacturing on a very large scale (report by R. Coleman-Smith and T. Pearson forthcoming). However the present author is unable to distinguish the products of Wrangway from Donyatt ware, and some sherds from Nether Stowey seem very similar. The Wrangway kiln may not have been very important, and Nether Stowey is remote from Exeter, so perhaps neither marketed much pottery here. However there is now evidence of pottery production at Honiton, at least from the late 17th century (Field 1977, 77-9). In his description of the Exeter market in the early 19th century, Cossins states that at the Midsummer fairs in the city the coarser pottery, mostly from Honiton, was placed on the ground in front of the standings selling crockery and glass (Cossins 1877, 18). The coarsewares excavated in early 19th-century groups in the city look much like Donyatt kiln wares. If Cossins was correct in saying that most of the city wares came from Honiton, it seems probable that Honiton and Donyatt pottery of this period will not be readily distinguishable. This may well be true at an earlier period, particularly since it is known that at least one 18th-century potter worked both at Honiton and at Donyatt (Coxhead 1963, 37). One recent publication has attempted to distinguish the 17th- and 18th-century products of Donyatt and



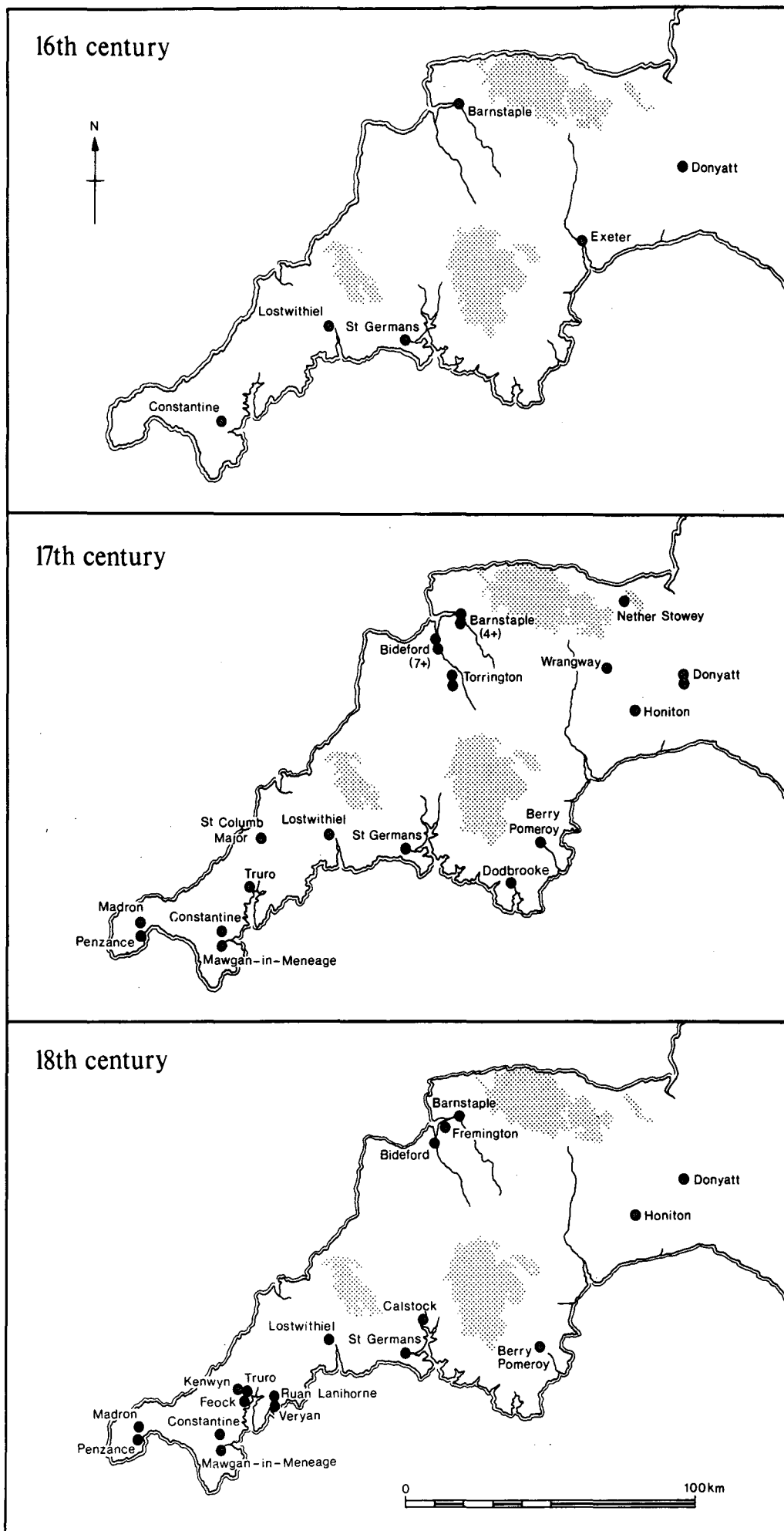


Fig. 53. The post-medieval potteries of South-West England.

Honiton (Field 1977). In the absence of kiln waste from Honiton, this division seems premature, especially since there are parallels at Donyatt for many of the wares attributed by Mr. Field to Honiton.

In the present corpus all wares which are paralleled at Donyatt have been called South Somerset wares. It seems probable that much, perhaps most, of this pottery came from the Donyatt kiln sites, although it may become apparent as a result of future discoveries that some of it was made at Honiton or elsewhere. All sherds visually identical to St Germans ware have been listed here as St Germans-type ware; some may have come from adjacent kilns. In the corpus it should be borne in mind that insufficient evidence is available to attribute these wares with confidence to individual kiln sources.

## NOTE

1. The detailed evidence will be presented in the writer's report on the finds from 39 Fore Street, Totnes.

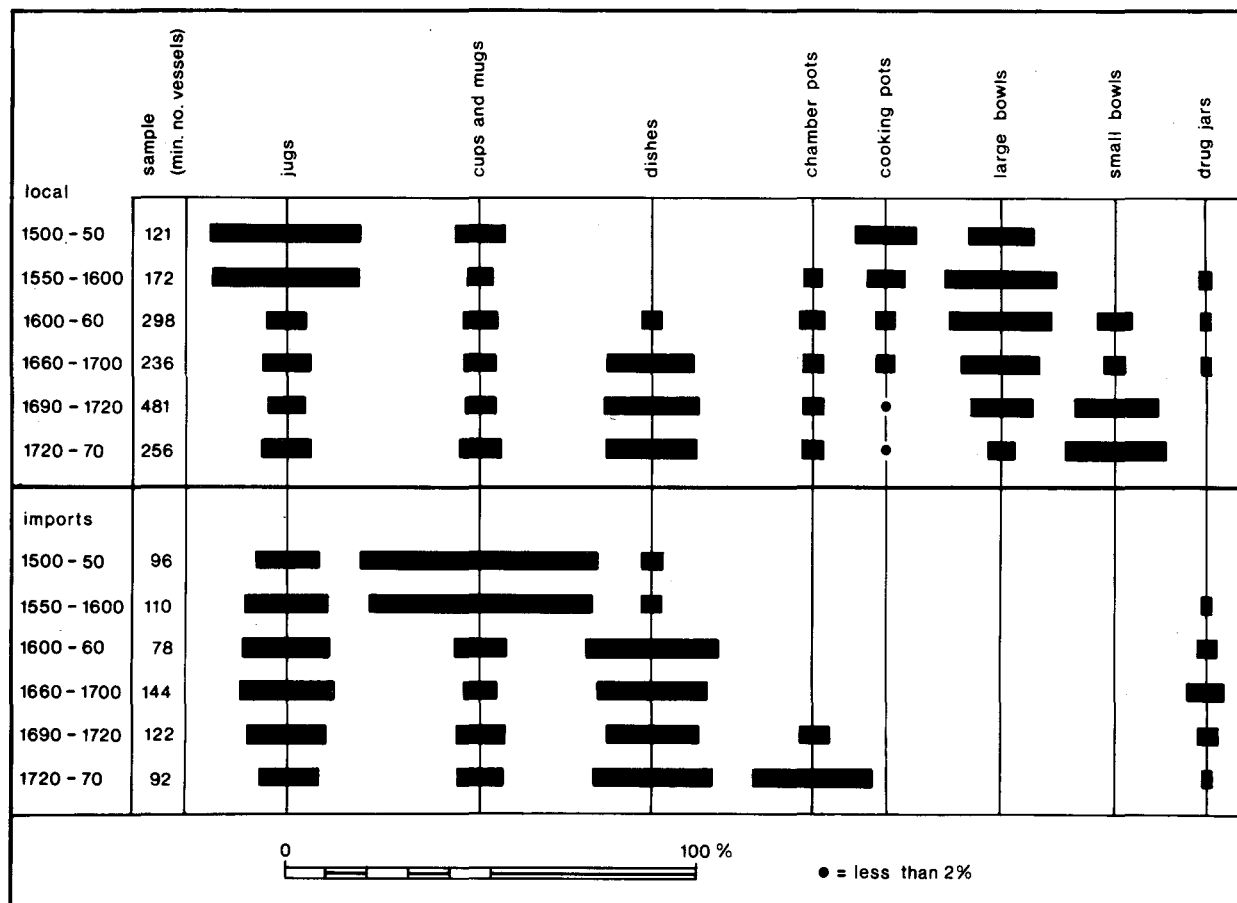


Fig. 54. Principal vessel types, c. 1500-1770 (Min. No. ve.).

## 2. THE TYPES OF VESSEL IN USE (Fig. 54)

In an attempt to examine the changing pattern of vessel consumption in the city during the post-medieval period, the proportion of each type of vessel in successive periods has been calculated using minimum vessel counts; imported wares have been examined separately from local wares. The results obtained (Fig. 54) are subject to the usual weaknesses of minimum vessel counts: some forms of vessel, such as candlesticks, chafing dishes or highly decorated wares, can often be recognised from bodysherds, whilst others, such as the large plain jars and bowls, can usually be distinguished only from rim fragments. Further, the differing proportions of the vessel types represented in successive periods may in part result not from chronological developments but from the variety of social levels from which the wares come (p. 104). Again, some groups seem to contain sets of vessels of one form which may further distort the picture. Nevertheless several major changes are reflected in most groups; it seems likely that they reflect changing patterns of vessel use throughout the city.

The late medieval assemblages from the city are all dominated by jugs; other types of vessel are rare at this time. Local jugs form a diminishing proportion of the pottery of the 16th century, and by the early 17th

century they compose about 10% of the total, a proportion which remains constant into the early 18th. Whether this apparent decline resulted from a real decline in the numbers of jugs in use, or simply from the production of a much wider range of vessels by local potters, is uncertain.

The changes in drinking habits which brought the use of stoneware or fine earthenware mugs and cups in place of their wooden predecessors (Brears 1971, 13–15) were evidently well established at Exeter at least by *c.* 1500; these vessels first appear in a group of that date from Polsloe Priory (1538–42) and are a constituent of all the substantial early 16th-century groups. Vessels of these forms make up well over 50% of the 16th-century imports. The sharp decline in the numbers of mugs and cups imported in the early 17th century is an interesting phenomenon in the city, and it seems to correspond to the cessation in the production of elaborate mounts for the stoneware imports (p. 121). Perhaps this niche in the vessel market was increasingly occupied by glass or metal vessels; at the end of the century the large-scale production of Westerwald stoneware mugs and their yellow slipware counterparts from Bristol and Staffordshire only partially re-established the popularity of ceramic drinking vessels at Exeter tables.

Of the other tablewares, chafing dishes are present in a few late 15th-century groups from the city and continue in use as late as the end of the 17th century. A few unstratified examples have the glossy orange-green glaze which characterises 18th-century South Somerset wares, so there must have been some production of the form after *c.* 1700, but there are no later examples and their use seems to have ceased in the early 18th century.

In the 17th century the most striking phenomenon is the rapid growth in the use of dishes, which are invariably decorated. Whilst platters and plates of pewter seem quite common features of the city's late 16th-century inventories, their ceramic counterparts become common only in the early 17th century with the arrival of imported Dutch tin-glazed wares. Local excavated examples become much more frequent around the middle of the century, and the production of this new form must have served as a major stimulus to the development of decorative techniques.

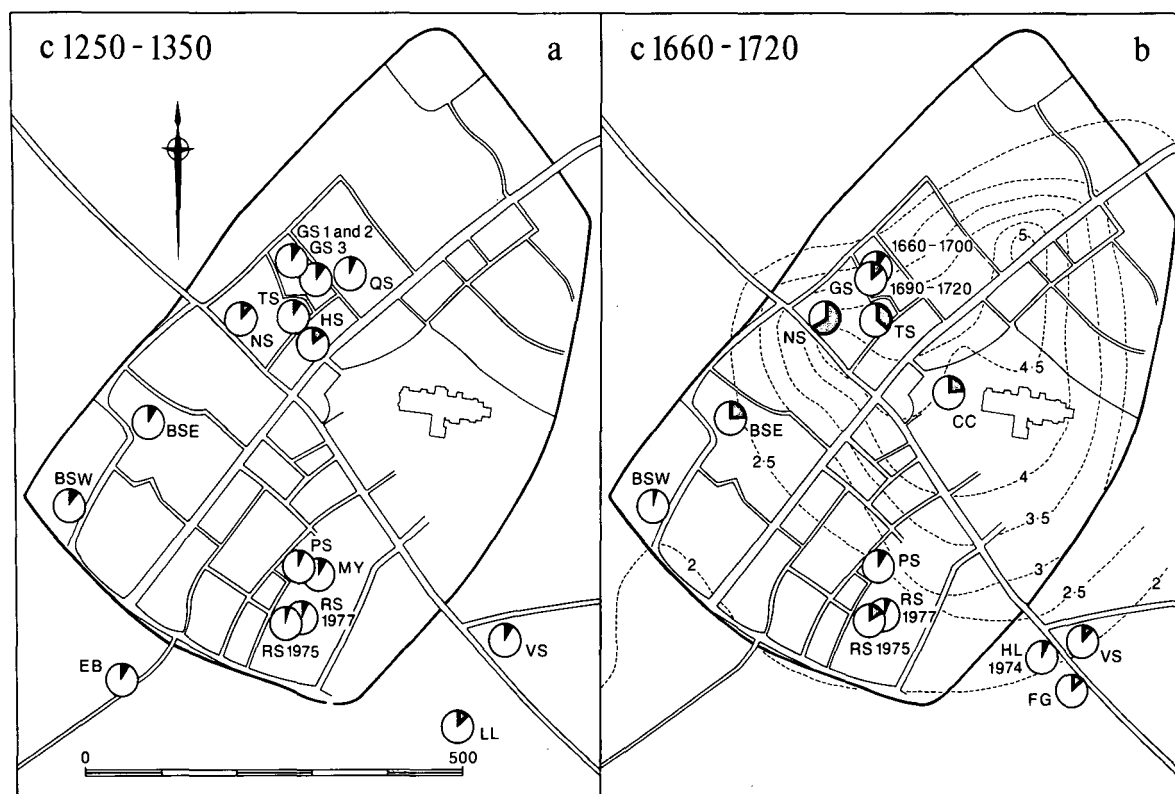


Fig. 55. Pie-diagrams showing the proportion of imports in (a) *c.* 1250–1350 and (b) *c.* 1660–1720. Fig. 55b also shows isopleths of the number of hearths per household in 1671–2.

### 3. THE SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CERAMICS (Fig. 55)

Studies by Hoskins (1935, 111–22), Stephens (1958, 40–4) and MacCaffrey (1958, 247–52) have shown that throughout the 16th and 17th centuries wealth in Exeter was concentrated in the hands of a small minority of the population who lived in the city's central parishes. The mass of the population was poor; both in the 1520s and the 1670s about 70% of Exeter's inhabitants fell into this category (Hoskins 1935, 119; MacCaffrey 1958,

	Sherds	Min.No.ve.
<i>Chinese porcelain</i>		
Types of c. 1590-1650	48	18
Undated, from late 17th-century pits	7	6
Types of c. 1680-1725	11	7
Types of c. 1700-70	277	101+
Types of after c. 1770	2	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	345	133+
<i>?Mediterranean</i>		
Red wares, green-glazed, 16th-century	14	4
<i>Italian</i>		
Florentine, 15th-century	1	1
Tuscan, 16th-century	9	1
Ligurian or Venetian, 16th-century	1	1
Ligurian tin-glazed, 17th-century	2	2
Marbled wares	11	7
Montelupo	20	10
Tin-glazed, probably Italian	9	2
Oil jars, 18th-century and later	4	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	57	28
<i>Spanish</i>		
Olive jars	209	86+
Valencian tin-glazed	16	13
Isabela polychrome	2	2
Yayal blue-on-white	1	1
<i>Cuerda seca</i>	10	3
Columbia plain	4	3
Lustreware, 16th- or 17th-century	2	1
Green-glazed flanged bowl	1	1
Lead-glazed	1	1
Unclass. Spanish tin-glazed	17	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	263	122+
<i>Portuguese</i>		
Merida-type	71	40
Tin-glazed, 17th-century	30	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	101	51
<i>South-West French, green-and-brown</i>		
	1	1
<i>Saintonge</i>		
Unglazed jugs	76	31
C I chafing dishes	2?	2?
C II chafing dish	1	1
C V chafing dish	1	1
C VI chafing dish	1	1
Unclass. chafing dishes	9	6
Marbled wares	9	8
Green-glazed bowl	1	1
Late polychrome wares	6	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	106	55
<i>Tudor Green (? mainly Surrey)</i>		
	15	12
<i>North French</i>		
Martincamp type I flasks	13	8
Martincamp type II flasks	34	14+
Normandy stoneware	2	1
Beauvais yellow- or green-glazed drinking jugs	54	34
Beauvais sgraffito and combed earthenwares	11	10
Beauvais stonewares	13	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	127	76+

	Sherds	Min.No.ve.
<i>?French</i>		
Green-glazed white wares	6	4
<i>Low Countries earthenwares</i>		
Redwares (def. and poss.)	14	4
North Holland slipwares	40	26
White ware glazed green-and-yellow	24	1
White ware, possibly Low Countries	14	1
South Netherlands maiolica	23	18
Sgraffito-decorated slipwares	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	117	52
<i>German earthenwares</i>		
Weser slipware	1	1
Cologne encrusted wares	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3	3
<i>Stonewares</i>		
Langerwehe	18	7
Raeren, early 16th-century types	510	275+
Raeren, late 16th-century panel jugs and plain jugs	31	9
Cologne, oak leaves, acorns or rosettes, early 16th-century	42	20
Cologne, plain early 16th-century jugs	35	11
Cologne-Frechen inscribed bands, foliage bands, acanthus leaves, mid 16th-century	38	11
Cologne-Frechen, other types	1128	478+
Siegburg, 15th- to 16th-century	13	3
Siegburg, <i>schnelle</i> , late 16th-century	2	1
Westerwald	749	277+
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2566	1092+
<i>Delftware</i>		
Malling jugs	2	2
Dutch, c. 1600–60	107	61
Dutch, c. 1660–1700	99	49
English, c. 1600–60	9	3
English, c. 1660–1700	69	40
Dutch, c. 1700–25	53	22
Dutch, c. 1720–60	22	7
English, c. 1700–25	29	19
English, c. 1720–60	35	17
Not ident., contexts of: 1600–60	25	16
1660–1700	72	33
1690–1720	174	74
1720–60	120	54
undated	413	c. 128
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1229	525
TOTAL FOREIGN IMPORTS INCLUDING UNIDENT. DELFTWARE	4002	1772
TOTAL IMPORTS INCLUDING ALL DELFTWARE	4950	2158

Table 6: Total quantities of post-medieval imported pottery at Exeter.

247–9). MacCaffrey concluded that in the early 16th century ‘the lot of more than half of the population was grinding poverty’ (*ibid.*, 249). The distribution of wealth within the city has been plotted by S. W. Brown in a series of unpublished isopleth maps; these all show a similar picture of wealth declining with distance from the central parishes. His map based on the Hearth Tax assessment of 1671–2 is reproduced here (Fig. 55b).

Excavations have retrieved ceramic assemblages from both rich and poor areas. At most periods the number of samples from different areas is too small to make useful comparisons of ceramic wealth in different parts of the city, but this is possible for the period c. 1660–1720. Fig. 55b also shows the percentages of imported pottery on all sites which have produced sufficiently large assemblages of this period to be of use. It is apparent that there is a close correlation between the wealth of particular areas in the city and the proportion of imported ceramics occurring on sites there. A single large group, North Street 1501, comes from one of the richest areas of the city. The merchant’s house in which it was found was large and well-appointed (E. A. R. forthcoming) and the quality of the finds here is unparalleled elsewhere in Exeter. In neighbouring Waterbeer Street, the group TS 316 similarly contained high-quality finds, but they do not form such a large proportion

of the assemblage. The other sites all lie in predominantly poor areas: the Rack Street and Preston Street sites lie in the heart of the West Quarter, an area notorious for its poverty as late as last century when, for example, it was the area which suffered most severely from cholera (Shapter 1849, *passim*). The Bartholomew Street and Goldsmith Street excavations and the extra-mural sites all lie in parishes in which more than half the population had only a single hearth in the 1670s (Hoskins 1935, 117). The assemblages from these sites must very largely be from poor households. It will be seen that in the groups from these areas between 7% and 18% of sherds were imported. No group of more than about 15 vessels is completely lacking in imported sherds, although these are most commonly stonewares, olive jars and delftware. It seems highly probable that many of these groups come from the households of the 'labouring poor', and that imported ceramics must have been in use, albeit on a reduced scale, by this class of society. There are a few examples of Italian marbled wares on several of these poor sites, and even the more exotic tin-glazed wares are represented there by one or two vessels. Porcelain, however, is absent from the sites in the West Quarter and Bartholomew Street before the second quarter of the 18th century and is represented only by a few sherds on other sites in the poor parts of the city.

In the 16th century similar contrasts are apparent in a limited number of instances. The richest assemblages of this period come from the monastic sites of St Nicholas Priory and Greyfriars, where the imports make up about 40% of the total. At Polsloe Priory about 25% of sherds are imported. All the secular sites have produced rather lower proportions. On two sites near the city centre (Queen Street and Goldsmith Street site 3) imports make up 20% of the total. The wealth of the latter site was strikingly suggested by the remarkable range of faunal remains of this date, including many unusual bird species (Maltby 1979, *passim*). By contrast, in the large samples from Goldsmith Street sites 1 and 2, further from the city centre, imported wares make up about 10% of the pottery. As in the late 17th century, all sites excavated produced stonewares and many examples of these are present in areas which appear to have been poor, such as Rack Street (RS 36, 1705–10).

The wealth of a household may also have been reflected in the kinds of local pottery in use; it is likely that richer households used more metal vessels, and so the ceramic counterparts of these will perhaps prove less common in the richer areas. Attempts to examine this possibility for the 16th century have not produced any convincing results but in the samples of *c.* 1660–1720 the scarcity of South Somerset dishes, tablewares and candlesticks in NS 1501 and TS 316 is noticeable, and the more decorative South Somerset wares are a much more pronounced feature of all the Goldsmith Street site 1 groups (e.g. GS 96, 97, 107). This may suggest that the chief markets for the more elaborate local wares were among the poor, but there are often differences between individual groups, and a larger sample of conspicuously wealthy finds is needed before any firm conclusions can be reached. The coarse jars and bowls however are present in all the rich groups in some quantity and must have been in common use both in rich and poor households. There is no evidence that the coarsest wares are more sparsely represented on rich sites.

There are therefore major differences between large assemblages of the same date from various parts of Exeter, and in some instances the differences can be correlated with variations in wealth. For this reason it is difficult to attempt generalisations about the proportions of imports in use in a city, particularly from excavations concentrated in a single area. It is therefore hazardous to compare the proportions of imports at Exeter with those from neighbouring ports. As much as 78% of Exeter's post-medieval ceramics collection comes from the poorer areas; nothing is known of the social levels from which the Castle Street deposits at Plymouth are derived, whilst the collections from Southampton are very largely from the rich merchants' quarter.

#### 4. THE IMPORTED POTTERY

It might have been expected that the publication of the major collections of ceramics from Plymouth (Gaskell Brown 1979; Broady 1979) would provide a representative picture of the pattern of pottery imports to be seen in a south Devon port. It is therefore most interesting to see that the Exeter excavations have recovered a very different collection. The Plymouth series contain a great variety of earthenwares but comparatively few stonewares. Surprisingly, Iberian pottery forms the largest component of the Plymouth collections, and they also display impressive collections of Italian wares. By contrast, only 140 of the 1772+ imported vessels from Exeter come from Italy or Spain, and the most numerous imports are stonewares, which make up more than half the total. Dutch tin-glazed wares and porcelain are strongly represented here but there are fewer than a dozen examples of most of the other types.

Exeter also differs in its proportion of imports. The city has not produced as rich a collection as that from Plymouth, or those from Southampton, Hull or Newcastle, where the imports form 30% or more of the total (Gaskell Brown 1979, 21–5; Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 2, 16–32; Watkins 1978, 46; Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 95–9). It has been emphasised that a single overall figure for the proportion of imports in use is of very limited value, since that proportion varies so markedly within the city. Nevertheless, there are few

groups at Exeter in which imports form more than 20% of the total and a crude average for the whole city is 13%. At first sight this is somewhat surprising: by the early 17th century Exeter was the third English port, after London and Hull; its customs revenues exceeded even those of Bristol, and were considerably greater than those of Plymouth and Southampton (Stephens 1958, 8). By the late 17th century Bristol had overtaken both Exeter and Hull, but Exeter still retained its high position, being either the third or fourth English port (*ibid.*, 161–3). Why is the fraction rather low here? Part of the explanation may lie in the comparatively low social levels from which much of the sample is drawn (above). Two further factors may also be significant. The first is the local geography of the port. Until the 1580s at least, Topsham was the effective centre of foreign commerce in the Exe Estuary (MacCaffrey 1958, 126–38). Imports unloaded at Topsham were carried by road to Exeter, adding substantially to the cost of some items (Stephens 1958, 98). With the operation of the Exeter Canal, effective from the 1590s, the city regained much foreign commerce (*ibid.*, xx–xxi), especially after the improvements to the canal and port facilities in 1676 (*ibid.*, 95–9). Nevertheless, even after 1676, imports had to be unloaded into lighters before they were brought to Exeter quay. Since the quantity of imported pottery diminishes rapidly with distance from the ports where it was unloaded, the difficulties and expenses in bringing imported goods to the city may have discouraged the arrival of some wares, particularly the plainer types. In this respect it should be noted that the collection is rich in stonewares and tin-glazed vessels but has noticeably fewer plain earthenwares, notably Low Countries redwares and Merida-type pottery.

Second, the imports faced the competition of good-quality local products. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the South Somerset potters made tablewares which could compete at least with the more ordinary imports, even if not with the maiolicas and elaborate stonewares. They offered much stronger competition to the imports than the Plymouth coarsewares, which consisted almost entirely of crude micaceous kitchenwares.

#### A. THE PORCELAIN

The Exeter porcelain collection falls into two distinct groups: there is a surprisingly large quantity of late Ming porcelain, and a much greater number of the more commonplace wares of the period *c.* 1700–70. The absence of any sherds firmly attributable to the period *c.* 1650–1700 is unexpected in view of the quantity of stratified pottery of that date; all the identifiable vessels in these groups are Wan Li blue-and-white types of the period *c.* 1590–1620. At least 13 such vessels are present in the city; these currently form the largest series of Ming porcelain identified in Britain (Hurst, pers. comm.). In addition to the seven examples from Castle Street, Plymouth (Gaskell Brown 1979, 6), the Kitto Institute well group at Plymouth contains fragments of at least five more, and single sherds of this type are known from Dr. Platt's excavations at Dartington Hall (unpublished) and from Tresco in the Scilly Isles (Miles 1970, 26). These finds suggest that porcelain was not very rare in South-West England in the early 17th century. The early finds at Exeter concentrate in the wealthy areas, the fine group from North Street 1501 being the largest. However single vessels from Friars Gate and Holloway Street and the few sherds from Goldsmith Street sites 1 and 2 show that a few early porcelain vessels also occur in moderately wealthy parts of the city. By contrast there are none from Bartholomew Street or the Rack Street sites which lie in the poorest areas.

There are only a few porcelain vessels in deposits of the period *c.* 1690–1720 and they become common only in the second and third quarters of the century. The bulk of the Exeter finds are dated on stylistic grounds between *c.* 1700 and 1770 (Table 7); in view of both the documentary evidence showing that porcelain was imported in bulk only after *c.* 1720 (below), and the rarity of stratified sherds in the many groups of *c.* 1690–1720, it is probable that many sherds dated stylistically to *c.* 1700–50 belong to the second half of this period. By this time they are present in considerable numbers in all groups, and occur in quantity, for example in Rack Street 1420 and on Goldsmith Street sites 1 and 2; they must have been cheap. The trade seems to have declined very sharply after 1770, and there is no 19th-century porcelain in the collection; this presumably reflects the competition of finewares from Staffordshire. English porcelain is rare at Exeter: only two vessels datable before *c.* 1770 have been recorded.

#### *Documentary evidence*

The picture derived from the archaeological evidence, with the surprisingly large number of early 17th-century finds, is considerably amplified by the documentary evidence, although this presents some difficulties of interpretation. No references to the import of porcelain have been found in the 17th-century Exeter custom records; the evidence comes entirely from probate inventories. It is sometimes listed as 'china', but more commonly described as 'chainy', a corruption which survived until the last century (Laycock 1923, 245). Some of these documents also list *carrick* vessels; Cash (1966, 180) suggested that this denotes 'a kind of

Date of Production	Type	Plates	Small deep dishes	Saucer-dishes	Cups	Large bowls	Large jars	Spoon	Form uncertain	Total No. sherds	Min. No. vc.
c. 1590–1620	blue-and-white	2	1	6	1				3	43	13
c. 1590–1650	blue-and-white	1		1	2				1	5	5
Undated, from late 17th- century pits	blue-and-white	2							3	6	5
	red-glazed								1	1	1
c. 1680–1725	blue-and-white			1	5				1	11	7
c. 1700–50	blue-and-white	3		1	3				6	38	13
c. 1720–50	blue-and-white	3		7	3				5	18	18
c. 1730–80	blue-and-white	4		12	16	1			5	169	38
c. 1700–30	'Chinese Imari'	2				2	1		5	24	10
c. 1700–30	<i>café au lait</i>								1	1	1
c. 1740–65	<i>famille rose</i>			4	3				1	13	8
c. 1740–65	<i>famille verte</i>			1	1					2?	2?
c. 1765	'steatitic'										
	porcelain				1					1	1
Date uncertain	plain white							1		2	1
Date uncertain	blue-and-white								9	9	9
After 1770					1					2	1
Total		17	1	33	36	3	1	1	41	345	133

Table 7: Chinese porcelain at Exeter (Min. No. ve.).

foreign crockery'. An entry in the financial diary of the Exeter merchant John Haynes shows that the term refers to porcelain.<sup>1</sup> In 1640 he writes,

'Paid Mr. White a Londoner 33s. for a parcell of Carricke or Cheny viz a basin and ewre, 11 dishes of severall sizes and a vinegar spowt.'

(Brushfield 1901, 237).

Little evidence regarding the use of the terms 'china' and 'carrick' has been found. As Whitehouse has shown, the word 'porcelain' was used in medieval documents to describe other commodities (Whitehouse 1972, 73); in the 17th century delftware was sometimes described as china.<sup>2</sup> Whilst one cannot be certain, it nevertheless seems probable that many of the vessels described below were actually porcelain. Valuations are variable, and not particularly high, but they are generally greater than those of delftwares and stonewares (below). 'China' was distinguished from 'galley wares' in Port Books, and 'carrick' goods can sometimes be shown to be oriental products (note 3, below). Further, some inventories do seem to distinguish delftware from porcelain. For example in 1626 William Hayne, a fuller, left two carrick dishes and other dishes and saucers of 'painted clome' in his hall. The latter were probably delftwares (OC 153).

Porcelain was seen in South Devon as early as 1587. In that year Drake captured the *San Felipe*, the royal carrack of Philip of Spain. When its cargo was examined at Saltash it was valued at the huge sum of £113,000. Amongst the oriental silks, spices, ebony and calicoes were 1800 pounds of china in three pipes, valued at £100 per pipe (Clifford 1912, 528). This must have been one of the earliest occasions when large quantities of porcelain were seen in northern Europe. Most of the cargo later went to the Crown or was sold in London (CSPD Elizabeth 1587–8, 432).

An Exeter inventory first listed porcelain in 1596 when Thomas Baskerville left six 'carracke' dishes with two stone jugs and one dozen cheese trenchers in his cellar. The total valuation of these items was 5s (Rowe and Trease 1970, 15). In 1597 three 'China dishes' valued at 3s. were listed in the buttery of Walter Horsey (OC 71). In 1598 John Anthonye left nine 'Carrack' dishes valued at 5s. in his little chamber (OC 72). Their households were probably unusual, even among the wealthy, in their possession of porcelain. Horsey and Anthonye were both very rich merchants, leaving estates valued at over £2,000. Baskerville was an apothecary with an evident interest in new oriental products. As has recently been shown, his inventory, amongst the most interesting in the Orphans' Court collection, lists a remarkable range of imported products.



Ten of them were of Far Eastern origin, including benzoin from Sumatra; China root, camphor and rhubarb from China; and musk from China and Tibet (Rowe and Trease 1970, 9). Not all of these items were very costly. The total value of his oriental goods was over £10, a sizeable sum in an estate valued at £324. Baskerville left debts to several grocers in London, from whom he perhaps bought these goods.<sup>3</sup> It therefore seems that oriental goods, including porcelain, were available in Exeter, as elsewhere in Britain, before the capture by the Dutch of the *San Iago* in 1602 and the subsequent activities of the Dutch East India Company (cf. Volker 1954, 21–2).

The first evidence of the possession of sizeable quantities of porcelain in Exeter comes from the inventory of Richard Bevys. On his death in 1603 he left,

‘One Carricke Goblett wth a foote of silver gilte’ valued at 26s. 8d.

‘One other Carricke Goblett wth a silver foote’ valued at £1 and

‘Tenn flatt Carricke Dishes Tenn deep little Carricke dishes, two Basons and Ewers and Two other Carricke Dishes’ valued together at 38s.

(Donaldson 1909, 221–2).

Bevys was also amongst the most wealthy of Exeter merchants, and had been mayor in the year before his death (MacCaffrey 1958, 288). The inventory shows that he had a most sumptuous household. It also reflects his business interests in London, as well as interests in property in various parts of Devon. Again, he may have had opportunities to acquire these new luxuries in London.

Further references to porcelain in the first decade of the 17th century are not plentiful. Three have been found amongst 28 surviving or published Exeter inventories. Two of these are of less substantial estates which suggest comfort but not great wealth. In 1606 eight china dishes valued at 6s. 8d. were listed amongst the plate of Richard Colliskett, whose total estate was valued at £139 (OC 92). In 1608 Richard Priston, a weaver with an estate of similar value, owned three carrick dishes appraised at only 6d. The first valuation is sufficiently high to make its identification as porcelain probable; the second is so low that either the price or the identification may well be wrong. These are the first suggestions that porcelain was becoming available to a wider market.

During the second and third decades of the 17th century ‘china’ becomes a regular feature of Exeter inventories.<sup>4</sup> In the period between 1610 and 1643, 23 inventories amongst a total of 104 list ‘carrick’ or china vessels. These inventories come from all levels of Exeter freemen, perhaps with a bias towards the more wealthy. There is a single example of the ownership of porcelain by a man of small means. Roger Lymmet had broken ‘carrack dishes’ valued at 1d. in his kitchen in 1611 (OC 107); his estate was valued at only £10. The numbers of vessels listed in the households of more substantial citizens are commonly between three and a dozen, but there are indications that some men managed to amass sizeable porcelain collections. Nicholas Chicke, a prosperous brewer who died in 1617, owned 22 carrick dishes valued at 11s. (OC 125). The collection of John Lavellis, a merchant who died in 1626, may well have been more impressive. The ‘carrack dishes’ in his kitchen were valued at 30s. and the two ‘carrack cups’ in his chamber at 10s. (OC 159). Much the highest valuation placed on such a collection is recorded in the inventory of the wine merchant John Blight in 1612 (OC 109). His ‘carrick dishes of all sorts’ were valued at £5. 11s. 6d., a sum which suggests a large collection. No details of these vessels are given.

Too few inventories survive from elsewhere in Devon to suggest how common porcelain was outside the ports of Exeter and Plymouth, but there are indications that it was widely distributed. Several early references are present in Devon inventories. In 1602/3 a ‘cheyney’ cup is listed in the inventory of a clerk at Totnes; in 1607 a rich Hatherleigh man owned a ‘chiney bason’ valued at the low sum of 4d. and in 1609 a gentleman at Plympton owned eleven ‘China dishes’ valued at 11s. (Cash 1966, 19, 23). China vessels were recorded in wealthy households in the 1620s at Heavitree, Chudleigh and Staverton (*ibid.*, 31, 36, 39) and there are later references at Colyton, Honiton, Tiverton and Totnes<sup>5</sup> (Skinner 1906, 200; Brushfield 1902, 244).

As the above examples show, there is considerable variety in the valuations of ‘china’ in inventories. Most dishes are valued at 6d. to 1s., whilst stonewares are generally valued at about 2d., or 4d. for large items, and delftware valuations vary between about 1d. and 4d. The appraisal of John Lavellis’ two cups at 10s. suggests that the larger items were much more expensive, as Volker’s wholesale prices also indicate (Volker 1954, *passim*). The price of rather less than 3s. per item paid by John Haynes (above) is a more reliable guide to their true cost, and suggests that the valuations in inventories may have been too low. As Steer found in Essex, this often seems to have been the case in the appraisal of household goods (Steer 1950, 5) and it may have been a particular problem with novel products whose real value may not have been widely known.<sup>6</sup> If they cost only 6d. or 1s., porcelain vessels were no more expensive than plates of pewter which normally cost about 6d. to 15d. depending on size, or vessels of tin. Even at 3s. per item, a collection will not have been beyond the purse of the majority of Exeter freemen.

The high status of porcelain is reflected in its distribution in the rooms of Exeter houses. Whilst stonewares and earthenwares are found most frequently in kitchens and butteries, porcelain is listed there only twice.

Most commonly it was placed in chambers (twelve occasions) and halls (six examples), and there are others in studies and parlours (three occasions each). Clearly it was on display, and was not stored with the household utensils; even pewter and tin vessels are generally listed in the kitchen, so porcelain does seem to have been regarded with particular favour.

In the period 1596–1620, the forms of 121 items of carrick or china are given. These comprise 110 dishes, including 27 little dishes; six cups; two basins and ewers; two goblets; and a spoon. The more complicated forms are therefore rare. The practice of mounting porcelain in silver is well attested. Seven china or carrick cups tipped or footed with silver are recorded in Devon inventories of 1600–30. In her will of 1627 Jane Potter of Silverton left to a grandchild a china dish footed with silver (Murray n.d., Vol. 26, Potter family), and in 1605 John Trosse left a china dish with a foot of glass valued at 3s. 4d. (OC 86), but these are the only examples of dishes with mounts, and the majority of dishes appear to have remained unmounted.

There is therefore both archaeological and documentary evidence that porcelain was in circulation in Exeter by c. 1600, and that it had ceased to be a rarity by the 1620s. The absence of porcelain from the Exeter Port Books of the 17th century need occasion no surprise: the majority of pieces, whether imported via the Low Countries or brought directly into England, would have come to Exeter from London, and may well have been present amongst the mixed cargoes of pots and glasses regularly sent from the capital.

After the 1640s, with the end of the main series of Orphans' Court inventories, there is little available evidence regarding the use of porcelain. Only in the early 18th century did importation begin on a large enough scale for it to be regularly recorded in Port Books. The evidence is summarised in Table 8.

The Port Books suggest that substantial batches of porcelain began to arrive in the city after c. 1720; the first book in which several boxes are recorded is that of 1717. The inventory of Elizabeth Scudamore of Exeter illustrates both the sizeable collections being acquired by those who were moderately wealthy and some of the new range of forms used in the consumption of novel drinks. On her death in 1721 she owned,

'2 Chainy Dishes 7 Chainy Plates 7 Chainy saucers 7 Chainy Coffee Dishes 4 Chainy Basons 3 Chainy Chocolate Cups (*etc.*)'

(OC 194).

	No. of years examined	Average No. of cargoes sent per year
1670–1700	7	Nil
1700–10	5	0.2
1710–20	3	c. 1.3
1720–30	2	c. 7
1730–40	4	c. 22
1740–50	1	c. 23
1750–60	2½	26

Table 8: Total quantities of porcelain imported into Exeter, c. 1670–1760 (source PRO E.190. Exeter Coastal Port Books).

Note: Some cargoes are of mixed china and glass.

In the 1750s the Port Books sometimes recorded the numbers of pieces<sup>7</sup> imported. In 1752/3 the yearly total was 4305 pieces (PRO E.190.1004/5 and 1004/6). In 1756 the number of pieces is recorded in about half the entries: these comprised 2215 pieces, suggesting a similar total (PRO E.190.1005/3 and 1005/4). The books of these two years are the first recording English china imports, which again came entirely from London; a total of three boxes of Bow china and nine of English china are listed.

In the later years of the century the popularity of porcelain continued to grow, to the detriment of the pewter industry. In a remarkable piece of invective, William Chapple berated his contemporaries for the change in household wares which he had witnessed; the Devon gentry, copied by farmers and squires, were lavishing their income on the 'ridiculous affectation' of collecting porcelain. Tables, sideboards and dressers of 'Damnonian pewter' were being replaced by expensive porcelains with their 'clumsy drawings of unnatural monsters' and offensive vivid colours. Chapple saw that the fashion spread with the adoption of tea-drinking, and found both these fashions false, modish and foolish (Chapple 1785, 97–8).

#### NOTES

1. This is a variation of *carrack*, the Mediterranean trading vessel (*OED*). Similarly in Holland porcelain was described as *kraak-porselein* (Volker 1954, 23).
2. For example, when delftware was bought at Hampton Court in 1695 it was described as 'Dutch China' (de Jonge 1971, 91).

3. For example, the London merchant Mr. Middleton recorded quantities of 'carrack goods' including spices and silks in his ledger in the 1590s. He benefited from the capture of the *Madre de Dios* in 1592 (Dodd 1961, 257).
4. For evidence of their growing importation to London see Millard 1956, III, *passim*.
5. I am grateful to Mr. M. Laithwaite for the last two references. The first comes from the inventory of John West of Tiverton, made in 1630 (DRO Carew documents, unlisted). The second, a reference to 'china basons and dishes', is in the inventory of John Brooking of 1679 (DRO 24612).
6. For similar evidence that the values of goods listed in inventories are too low, see Youngs 1968, 72.
7. This presumably means the actual number of vessels imported but clear evidence to show that 'pieces' were not merely notional quantities has not been found.

## B. THE ITALIAN WARES

The collection is not rich in Italian finds. There is a scatter of exceptional items such as the Florentine sherd (2725), two Ligurian wares (2270, 2515) and an unusual vessel from QS 314 with all-over yellow tin glaze (not illustrated), but the more common Montelupo types are represented by only ten vessels, considerably fewer than at Plymouth, Southampton or Poole. There are no north Italian sgraffito wares at Exeter, but this may in part reflect the sparsity of groups of the end of the 16th century and early 17th, together with the predominance of groups from poorer parts of the city. The marbled wares are also uncommon here, with only one mid 17th-century find (2734) and four in contexts of the period *c.* 1690–1720 (2448, 2461 and further sherds in CC 19 and RS 703). These late finds seem too numerous to be residual, and suggest that importation of red-and-white marbled wares continued into the early 18th century.

Only a single reference in Exeter's Port Books appears to record the arrival of Italian ceramics at Exeter: in 1680 a small shipment of earthenware was made from Majorca to the city (PRO E.190.961/5). Since the island sometimes served as a redistribution centre of Italian goods to English ports, it is more probable that the pottery was Italian than made locally on the island, although it might have been Spanish.

	Florentine, 15th-century	Tuscan, 16th-century	Ligurian or Venetian, 16th-century	Ligurian tin-glazed, 17th-century	Marbled red-and-white	Marbled, four-colour	Montelupo	Tin-glazed, probably Italian	Oil jars, 18th-century and later	Total
<i>c.</i> 1500–50										
<i>c.</i> 1550–1600	1	1					1	1		4
<i>c.</i> 1590–1625							2	1		3
<i>c.</i> 1600–50							2			2
<i>c.</i> 1640–70						1	1			2
<i>c.</i> 1670–1700				1						1
<i>c.</i> 1690–1720				1	4					5
<i>c.</i> 1720–50										
Unstrat., undated			1		2		4		4	11
Total	1	1	1	2	6	1	10	2	4	28

Table 9: Italian wares at Exeter (actual No. of vessels).

## C. THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE WARES

The quantity of Iberian pottery in medieval deposits at Exeter is very small. There is, however, growing evidence for the importation of mid and late 15th-century Valencian wares at Exeter; the 13 vessels of this type identified to date make up one of the larger collections of such wares in England. One from Polsloe Priory (1533) and another from Trichay Street (1713) are in deposits dating to *c.* 1500 or earlier, but several examples are in groups of later date: four are associated with early 16th-century wares (1547, 1785, 1841 and a further sherd in PS 402) and two are in mid or late 16th-century deposits (1883 and a sherd in Bowhill 349).

The problems of dating the English finds of this type have been noted elsewhere (Hurst 1977a, 87), and their presence in late contexts perhaps reflects the care with which they were treated.

A series of early 16th-century finds is probably of Sevillian origin. There is a concentration of 16th-century *cuenca* tiles in South-West England (report by B. Williams forthcoming) and two examples are now known from Exeter (2933–4). In addition there are three plates in *cuerda seca* technique, the first examples recognised in England (Hurst, pers. comm.), a Yayal blue-on-white sherd, and three 'Columbia plain' wares. These form a notable series of rather rare types, perhaps indicative of a specific trade connection with the Seville area. Such a connection is also suggested by the considerable number of olive jars found in Exeter; these also are probably Sevillian. At least 86 are present in the collection; the true figure is probably well over 100, as it is often hard to isolate individual vessels among a group of sherds. The single sherd of 'early style' form from St Nicholas Priory is the only olive jar in a deposit of the first half of the 16th century, but they are common thereafter. If the coin (E.15) from GS 33–8 is not residual, 'middle style' olive jars were in circulation by the 1560s; this appears to be the earliest recorded instance of the type (cf. Martin 1979, 282).

There seems to have been a fairly constant supply of olive jars throughout the late 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries, with the large number of finds at the end of this period reflecting the great quantity of stratified pottery of that date in the collection (Table 10; cf. Fig. 60). Importation seems to have declined rapidly after c. 1720: there are only two stratified sherds amongst over 3,000 in groups belonging to the period c. 1720–70.

It has been evident for some time that the chronology and classification of olive jars proposed by Goggin (1960) are unsatisfactory (Fanning and Hurst 1975), and the Exeter evidence supports the conclusion that the tall carrot-shaped forms and globular jars were in use concurrently; this was evidently the case at Exeter from the mid 17th century to the early 18th. One example of an 'early style' rim (2130) is present in a mid 17th-century context, admittedly a group with earlier pottery, and both this example and another of the same type from the St Nicholas Priory Dissolution group are of 'early style' form, but are not in the red fabric characteristic of this class (Goggin 1960, 8–10).

	Olive jars	Valencian tin-glazed	Isabela polychrome	Yayal blue-on-white	<i>Cuerda seca</i>	Columbia plain	Lustreware, 16th/17th-century	Green-glazed flanged bowl	Lead-glazed	Unclass. Spanish tin-glazed	Merida-type	Portuguese tin-glazed, 17th-century	Total
c. 1450–1500		2				1				1	2		6
c. 1500–50	1	5			1	1					12		20
c. 1550–1600	6+	2				1				2	13+		24+
c. 1600–50	9										1		10
c. 1640–70	9	1								2		5	17
c. 1670–1700	13+									1	1	2	17
c. 1690–1720	18+	1						1		1	3		24
c. 1720–40					1						1		2
c. 1740–70	2												2
Unstrat., undated	28+	2	2	1	1		1		1	4	7	4	51
Total	86+	13	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	11	40	11	173

Table 10: Post-medieval Iberian wares at Exeter (Min. No. ve.).

Some of the 16 sites which have produced olive jars are in poor areas and have poor assemblages of pottery (e.g. Bartholomew Street West and the Rack Street sites). On these sites stonewares, delftware, and olive jars are the only types of import represented by more than an occasional vessel.

Merida-type wares are less common at Exeter than olive jars (Table 10). Table 10 also shows the marked predominance of 16th-century examples, and this must presumably have been the major period of their import here. The large number of Merida-type wares in the early 17th-century Kitto Institute group from Plymouth indicates, however, that they continued to arrive elsewhere in Devon at a later date. The collection of early 17th-century imported pottery at Exeter is not large enough to show whether the apparent sparsity of Merida-type wares is due to a real decline in the numbers arriving, but their paucity in the late 17th century strongly suggests that there was by then a considerable diminution in the quantities imported. The Merida-type wares at Exeter are noticeably different in fabric from most of the Plymouth finds; the latter nearly all have a very fine red fabric, in contrast with the much rougher texture of many Exeter finds. Most Exeter vessels are represented by single sherds; only a few forms are recognisable, but these include bowls, lids and small closed forms in addition to the costrels which are widely distributed elsewhere in Britain. The green-glazed Merida-type bodysherds in GS L.16–19 are exceptional finds on an English site.

Of the other earthenwares, there is only one example of a green-glazed flanged bowl (in CC 19), but a few vessels whose production centres are unknown may perhaps prove to be Iberian (e.g. **1840**, **1939–41**), and there are 11 Spanish and Portuguese tin-glazed vessels of the 17th century.

There are interesting differences between the collection of Iberian wares from Exeter and the series from Plymouth. Many sites in Exeter have a higher proportion of olive jars than any Plymouth site. All of the other types occur much less frequently at Exeter, and the smaller quantity of Merida-type sherds and Iberian tin-glazed vessels is particularly striking. The Exeter collection serves to underline the exceptional nature of the Plymouth assemblages, even amongst the ports with major commercial interests in Iberia.

#### *Documentary evidence*

Olive oil and olives were measured in large units such as hogsheads and barrels when entered in the Exeter customs accounts, so no reference was made to the jars which contained them. Only a single Port Book mentions the import of pottery from Iberia: in 1647 earthenware was sent from Oporto (PRO E.190.952/1). This reference is of little value, as the Portuguese ports commonly re-exported Italian wares to England and the production centre of the cargo is therefore uncertain.

## D. THE FRENCH WARES

### *Saintonge*

The proportion of Exeter's pottery which was supplied from Saintonge diminished steadily from the 14th to the 18th century. In the 14th century as much as 7% of all Exeter's ceramics were Saintonge imports; by the 15th century the figure had fallen to about 5%, and by the 16th century Saintonge wares formed only 1.2% of the total assemblage. The continuing decline in the proportion of these wares in the post-medieval period is summarised in Table 11. The post-medieval collection of Saintonge products is dominated by fragments of plain unglazed jugs which were imported throughout the 16th century; there is only one later example (**2176**). The chafing dishes and polychrome wares of the late 16th and 17th centuries are rare at Exeter; the number of examples from Plymouth, Poole and Southampton is considerably larger. This is somewhat surprising since the city maintained a lively commerce with the western French coast; during the 16th and 17th centuries the import of Bay salt was a major aspect of this trade (Stephens 1958, 9, 168; MacCaffrey 1958, 167). The only Saintonge type of the 17th century which is at all common is marbled slipware; the 18th-century wares comprise only a few fragments but include examples of vessels decorated with blotchy slip (e.g. **2774**), the first to be recognised in English excavations (Hurst, pers. comm.).

### *Beauvais*

The finds of Beauvais wares at Exeter belong almost entirely to the end of the 15th century and the 16th. As Table 2 shows, the most common type is the small drinking jug, glazed either yellow or green. The 34 vessels of this class come from 18 sites in the city (cf. 24 examples known in Britain in 1970 (Hurst 1971b, 7–8)); most of the Exeter finds are represented only by one or two sherds. These jugs are common finds in South Devon; examples have been published from Hole (*ibid.*, 8), Plymouth (Broady 1979, No. 446) and Exmouth (Allan 1980, 105), and further sherds are present in collections from Newton Abbot and Harberton (unpublished). At Exeter, as elsewhere in England, the yellow-glazed jugs are the more common type, and 26 vessels are so

	Unglazed jugs	C.I chafing dishes	C.II chafing dishes	C.V chafing dishes	C.VI chafing dishes	Unclass. chafing dishes	Green-glazed bowl	Late polychrome wares	Marbled wares	Saintonge as % of Min. No. imports	Min. No. Saintonge ve.
c. 1500–50	10	1?				1				8	12?
c. 1550–1600	16									9	16
c. 1600–50	1				1	1				4	3
c. 1640–70		1					1	1	2.5	3	
c. 1670–1700								3	1.3	3	
c. 1690–1720								1	0.3	1	
c. 1720–50								1	0.3	2	
Unstrat., undated	4		1	1		4		3	2	15	
Total	31	2?	1	1	1	6	1	4	8	55?	

Table 11: Post-medieval Saintonge wares at Exeter (Min. No. ve.).

glazed. The pronounced cluster of stratified examples in contexts of the first half of the century, together with the recovery of many examples in Dissolution deposits, serves to confirm Hurst's dating (Hurst 1971b, 8) but a number of these wares appear still to have been in use in the mid and late 16th century. The other Beauvais wares are much less common than the jugs. As expected, they also occur in the 16th-century deposits; there seem to be rather too many late 16th-century finds for these to be dismissed as residual, but their numbers are too small to indicate their main period of use. Both the stonewares, drinking jugs and combed earthenware plates however were arriving in the city by c. 1500, as the group from Polsloe Priory shows (1536–8).

### Martincamp

The flasks from Martincamp are scattered quite evenly through groups dating from c. 1500 (e.g. PP 1582) to the late 16th century (Table 12). There are no finds in 17th-century contexts and the collection contains no type III flasks, which also seem very rare in Plymouth. The documentary evidence, however, shows that the flasks arrived in Exeter as late as the 1620s (below).

	Beauvais drinking jugs	Beauvais combed, unslipped	Beauvais single slip, sgraffito	Beauvais double slip, sgraffito	Beauvais stoneware	Martincamp type I	Martincamp type II	Normandy stoneware	Total No. north French	Beauvais as % imports	Martincamp as % imports
c. 1450–1500	2	1			2		3+		8+	3	2
c. 1500–50	14		1		2	3	3		23	12	4
c. 1550–1600	6	1	2	2	1	4	5		21	7	5
c. 1600–50	1								1	1	
c. 1650–1700											
c. 1690–1720								1	1		
Unstrat., undated	11		2	1	4	1	3		22		
Total	34	2	5	3	9	8	14+	1	76+		

Table 12: Post-medieval north French wares at Exeter (Min. No. ve.).

### Documentary evidence

Exeter's custom accounts, like those of several English ports, make no mention of pottery imported from South-West France. However they do provide useful evidence about ceramics imported from northern France. The long lists of miscellaneous household goods imported from Normandy form one of the most distinctive features of Exeter's customs documents of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The cargoes of a single ship serve to illustrate their variety: in 1509–10 the *Margaret of Rouen* brought bits, beds, knives, brushes, hats, boxes, inkhorns, trenchers, lace, belts, paper, pots, glass and daggers to Exeter; these were ancillary to the major items of trade, cloth and canvas (PRO E.122.201/4). The trade in pots, which are commonly described as *cruses*, has first been firmly identified in rolls of the first decade of the 16th century, and many subsequent early 16th-century customs accounts refer to the import of a few hundred of these vessels; unfortunately the quantities are not listed often enough to enable a more precise estimate of the volume of pottery arriving. A total of at least 2000 pots recorded in six months during 1515 was the highest total encountered (PRO E.122.201/5). This trade must have collapsed by the 1560s or 70s, since the fine series of accounts of the reign of Elizabeth makes no reference to such imports, nor do subsequent accounts. The recognition that the majority of Beauvais wares imported into Britain arrived in the first half of the 16th century (Hurst 1971b, 7–8) is thus supported by documentary evidence.

After the 1570s, the only pottery trade from Normandy which was regularly mentioned in customs documents was that in earthenware or stoneware bottles, which were often described as being 'covered with wicker'. They came principally from Dieppe, but others were sent via Rouen or Elboeuf. These are readily identifiable as Martincamp flasks. The evidence for their importation is surprisingly plentiful. Hooker lists them amongst the commodities on which duties were to be paid when they were sold in the city: they paid  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per dozen (Harte *et al.* 1919–47, III, 554). Eighty dozen came from Rouen in 1572–3 (PRO E.190.298/8), 50 dozen in 1575–6, 40 dozen in 1579–80, 40 dozen in 1601, 46 dozen in 1603 and further batches of unspecified size are recorded in four accounts in the 1580s (TCA). The trade continued well into the next century; the last reference to their arrival at Exeter is that of ten dozen in 1624 (PRO E.190.945/8) but at London they were still imported in large numbers throughout the 1630s (Millard 1956, III, *passim*).

Only one 17th-century reference to the arrival of other earthenwares from Normandy has been found: in 1647, 60 cast of uncovered pots were brought from Rouen (PRO E.190.952/9). These may perhaps have been of the same type as the six *Roane* dishes listed in the study of Roger Yeo in 1620 (OC 131) and the *Rouen* basin in the fore-hall of Roger Webber in 1626 (OC 157). Such items are rarities in Exeter inventories.

Documentary references to ceramic imports from other parts of France are rare. In 1666 earthenwares valued at the large sum of £21 were brought from Morlaix in Brittany (PRO E.190.954/7). Small cargoes of both stone bottles and earthenware were sent from Nantes and Le Croisic in 1676 (PRO E.190.956/14). They suggest a minor export trade from the Loire Valley, perhaps from the centres which sent the 17th-century Loire Valley jugs to England (e.g. Gaskell Brown 1979, 31, No. 144).

## E. THE GERMAN AND LOW COUNTRIES WARES

Throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries mixed cargoes of household goods were sent to Exeter from the Low Countries. MacCaffrey (1958, 167) considered that this trade began only in the 1590s but there is evidence of its existence throughout the reign of Elizabeth (below), and the records of Flemish ships carrying cargoes typical of that area in the Town Customs Accounts of the late 15th and early 16th centuries show that the trade is considerably older. Before the middle of the 17th century, however, the direct trade to the Low Countries was of little commercial importance to Exeter in comparison with its interests in France, Spain and Portugal. Stephens has demonstrated the remarkable growth of this trade after the 1660s, and throughout the late 17th and early 18th centuries the export of woollens to the Low Countries was the prime commercial interest of the city (Stephens 1958, *passim*; Hoskins 1935, 70–4). The staple commodities of the return trade were madder, timber, paper, metals, hops, wine, pitch and tar. In the 17th century clover seed, lamp-black and whalefins were commonly imported and in the 18th century Dutch linen was the most important return cargo. A variety of minor items came with these goods, including 'seahorse teeth' (whalebone), hair buttons, dogs' bells and 'babies' (toys). Ceramics commonly formed a component of these cargoes; indeed an examination of the Port Books suggests that after the mid 16th century this was the only trade in foreign ceramics which was regarded as being of any commercial significance at Exeter.

### Stonewares

Stonewares make their appearance amongst Exeter's imports only in the very latest medieval deposits. Since the collection of 14th- and 15th-century wares is a large one, it is clear that Exeter did not receive medieval stonewares in the quantities sent to east-coast ports (e.g. Clarke and Carter 1977, 228–32; Watkins 1978,

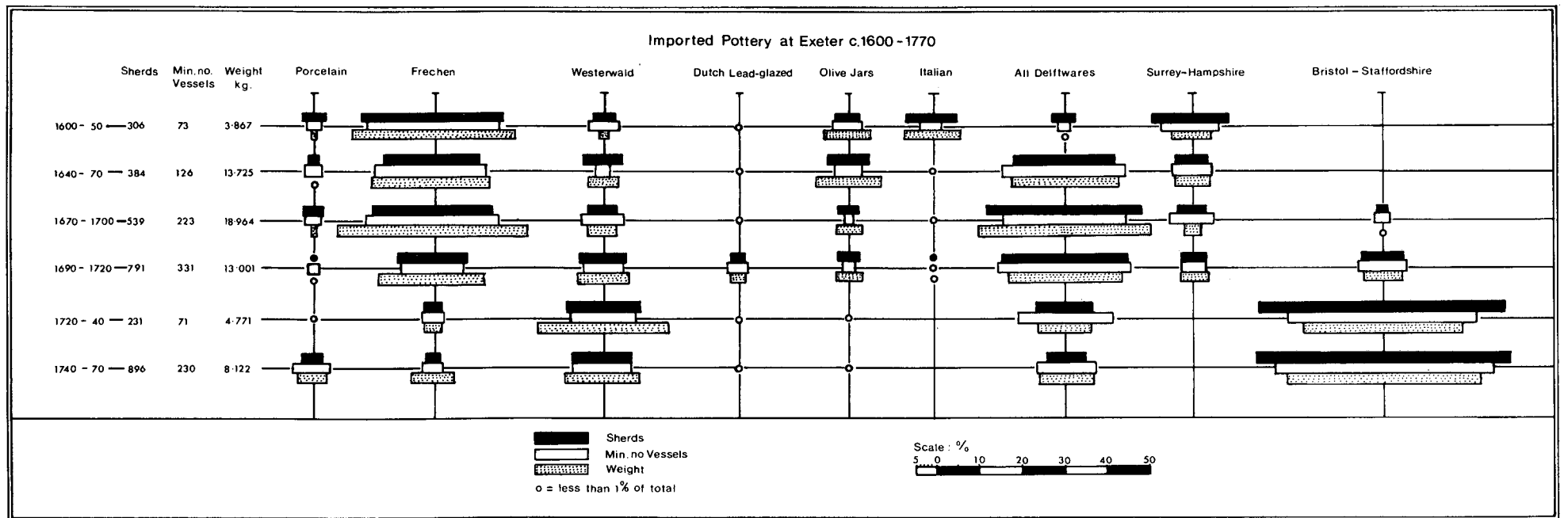


Fig. 56. Foreign and regional imports of pottery, c. 1600-1770. The totals include all delftwares and regional imports from Bristol and Staffordshire.



44–6). South-coast ports lying to the east of the city have a scatter of medieval stonewares in their collections (Allan 1983b, 203), so some finds might be expected at Exeter in the future, although their number will probably be small.

This position is reversed strikingly at the end of the 15th century. As the documentary evidence shows (below), stonewares were coming into the city in considerable numbers at least by the 1490s. Thereafter they are much the most common class of imported pottery at Exeter: the 2566 sherds of this type from the excavations make up 65% of the city's post-medieval imports. The types present in 16th-century contexts are shown in Table 13.

As expected (Hurst in Moorhouse 1971a, 46–7), Raeren sherds are by far the most common type of the early 16th century, at least four times more numerous than those of Cologne, and about fifty times more plentiful than Beauvais stonewares (see also Table 6). The rarity of Langerwehe and Siegburg sherds here (represented by totals of only seven and three vessels respectively, compared to 275 Raeren wares) perhaps suggests that by the time Exeter was importing stonewares on a large scale at the end of the 15th century, these wares were no longer arriving in large quantities on English sites.

The change to the import of Frechen stonewares in the years around 1550 (cf. Hurst 1964b, 142–3) is usefully documented at Exeter. There are no Frechen sherds amongst more than 15 stoneware vessels in the large Dissolution group from St Nicholas Priory, nor amongst the 30 stonewares in GS 228, with its leather dated *c.* 1520–50. By contrast, in the group GS 33–8, dated to 1556–*c.* 1580, Frechen drinking jugs are already present in quantity (1892–5) and the Frechen/Cologne sherds outnumber Raeren wares by about two to one. None of the large late 16th-century groups contains sherds from the small Cologne jugs decorated with rosettes or oak leaves, whilst the Frechen/Cologne jugs with acanthus leaves and inscribed bands are fairly common in these groups (five examples); this adds a little to the evidence that the former types had gone out of circulation by *c.* 1550 (Hurst 1974a, 281–3).

Expressed as a proportion of all imports, the quantity of stoneware falls in the early 17th century (*c.* 51% of foreign sherds compared to 67% in the 16th century) but this simply reflects the arrival of Dutch delftwares and oriental porcelain. Late 16th-century Raeren panel jugs and early 17th-century Westerwald wares are quite common finds (9 and 18 examples) but in stratified groups they are heavily outnumbered by Frechen stonewares, which are about six times more plentiful than Westerwald vessels in early and mid 17th-century deposits (Fig. 56). In the last third of the 17th century Frechen sherds are still three or four times more common, and their dominance over Westerwald wares remains a consistent feature of the large groups of *c.* 1690–1720. Thereafter the volume of Frechen wares declines rapidly and by *c.* 1740–70 Westerwald wares outnumber them by about five to one.

The changes in the types of stoneware imported in the 17th and 18th centuries are shown in Fig. 56 (details in MF 47). It appears that the plain Frechen jugs (e.g. 2447) were still in use, albeit in smaller numbers, into the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Westerwald chamber pots occur in seven groups associated with clay pipes of *c.* 1690–1720; in view of the supporting evidence provided by the porcelain, glass and delftwares for the date of some of these groups (CC 19; RS 20, 47; GS L. 13 and 14) it seems that chamber pots were arriving at Exeter by *c.* 1700 or 1710, a little earlier than has hitherto been thought probable. After *c.* 1720, Westerwald stoneware is the only common class of continental pottery in any Exeter deposit: 80% of such sherds are of this type.

	All imports		Frechen		Raeren		Cologne		Langerwehe		Siegburg		Beauvais	
	Sh.	Ve.	Sh.	Ve.	Sh.	Ve.	Sh.	Ve.	Sh.	Ve.	Sh.	Ve.	Sh.	Ve.
1500–1550	411	146	–	–	50%	47%	14%	11%	3%	2%	3%	2%	1%	1%
1550–1600	317	181	36%	41%	18%	13%	10%	6%	–	–	–	–	1%	1%

Table 13: Sources of imported stoneware in stratified groups at Exeter, *c.* 1500–1600 (percentage of all imports).

#### *South Netherlands maiolica*

The collection of South Netherlands maiolica consists of 18 vessels of which the identifiable forms are five flower vases, one jug and four bowls. Two sherds from unstratified vessels have all-over-blue exteriors; all the others are painted blue, or blue, orange and yellow. Three vessels (1540, 1548, 1549) were stratified in late 15th-century deposits; with two exceptions (1962, 2758) the other stratified sherds have early 16th-century

associations. The rarity of finds of this type in late 16th-century contexts (2 examples amongst 181 imported vessels compared with 7 amongst 146 imported wares in early 16th-century deposits) adds a little to the indications that South Netherlands maiolica ceased to arrive in England after the mid 16th century (cf. Hurst 1971a, *passim*). The bowls (1548–9, 2757–8) are the first examples recognised in Britain (Hurst, pers. comm.).

#### *Dutch tin-glazed wares*

Dutch tin-glazed vessels form about 70% of the series of post-medieval earthenwares imported from the Low Countries to Exeter. There are approximately equal numbers of early and late 17th-century finds. By contrast, the documentary evidence records few shipments in the early 17th century and a pronounced growth in direct imports during the late 17th century (below). The probable explanation is that the second half of the century saw a change from indirect trade via London, which cannot be distinguished among the references to pottery imports from the capital, to direct importation recorded in the Foreign Port Books (below).

In the early 17th century, delftwares attributed to the Netherlands far outnumber those which are believed to have been made in London. The situation changes in the second half of the century, the English factories taking over 40% of the market (Table 6). Indeed, the success of the English delftware producers is probably under-estimated in the table. The majority of elaborate painted wares are Dutch. Bodysherds of these vessels can often be attributed to particular sources. However the plain white wares seem largely to be English; bodysherds of this sort have not been ascribed to production centres.

The documentary evidence records sharp fluctuations in the fortunes of the Dutch pottery trade at Exeter (below). There was a boom by the late 1670s, followed by restrictions after 1677; a slow recovery in the 1680s growing to a second boom period *c.* 1700; and a subsequent decline. In an attempt to see whether these changes can be distinguished from archaeological evidence, the total number of more closely datable pieces is listed below:

	Dutch	English
<i>c.</i> 1660–70	–	2
<i>c.</i> 1670–80	6	–
<i>c.</i> 1680	8	–
<i>c.</i> 1680–90	2	11
<i>c.</i> 1690–1700	5	14
<i>c.</i> 1700	8	3
<i>c.</i> 1700–20	8	17
<i>c.</i> 1720–40	5	13
<i>c.</i> 1740	2	–
<i>c.</i> 1740–60	–	4

Table 14: Comparison of the quantities of Dutch and English delftwares at Exeter, *c.* 1660–1760 (Min. No. ve.). Note that only decorated pieces have been listed.

Perhaps inevitably, the archaeological evidence does not reveal these fluctuations with great clarity, although the peaks in the Dutch trade during the 1670s and *c.* 1700 are perhaps discernible. However, the archaeological evidence does show the steady trend towards the use of English wares after 1700. No Dutch wares made after 1740 are present in the collection.

These attractive products quite commonly survived long after their manufacture. Examples made in the early 17th century are present in groups dating to the late 17th century (2432–3) and even to *c.* 1700 or later (2474). One of the late 17th century is present in a group of *c.* 1740–60 (2650) and another of *c.* 1700 must have been well over a century old when eventually discarded (2832). In each case it is unlikely that the vessels are residual, since there are hardly any residual coarsewares in these groups.

#### *Other Low Countries and German earthenwares*

Recognition of Low Countries redwares in early 16th-century deposits is complicated by the discovery of Goldsmith Street wares; there are no definite imported sherds of this type in early 16th-century contexts and only two vessels of the second half of the century can be suggested as Low Countries imports (1983 and in GS L.16–18). Further examples could be represented by unrecognised bodysherds, but distinctive fragments of this type are absent and the total number imported must have been small.

The imports of the 17th and 18th centuries are summarised in Table 15. Most stratified examples of North Holland slipware belong to the period 1670–1720, as do the majority of the other examples of Low Countries earthenwares. Whilst this may in part reflect the larger sample of imported sherds of this date (Fig. 60) it is probable that this was their greatest period of importation, reflecting the boom in the Dutch trade in the years

	Redwares	North Holland slipwares	White wares	South Netherlands maiolica	Sgraffito-decorated slipware	Weser slipware	Cologne encrusted wares
c. 1450–1500				3			
c. 1500–50				7			
c. 1550–1600				2	2		
c. 1600–20		1				1	
c. 1620–50		2					2
c. 1640–70		1					
c. 1670–1700		5					
c. 1690–1720	2	6+	1/2				
c. 1720–40	1	1					
c. 1740–70		1					
Undated, unstrat.	1	9		8			
Total	4	26	1/2	18	2	1	2

Table 15: Low Countries and German earthenware imports at Exeter, c. 1450–1770 (Min. No. ve.).

from c. 1670 to 1714. After c. 1720, the only example comes from a group (RS 1420) dated after 1760 and this could well be residual.

All the other Low Countries and German earthenwares are rare at Exeter. Weser slipwares are represented only by a single sherd, and no Werra-type wares have been found. This is surprising in view of the large quantities of Dutch tin-glazed wares and Rhenish stonewares of the early 17th century in the collection. In this respect the collection differs strikingly from that of Plymouth (Gaskell Brown 1979, 8, 39–40, 45–7; Broady 1979, 52, 74–6) which received large quantities of plain Low Countries coarsewares and German slipwares. The reason for their rarity at Exeter is unknown.

## F. DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE REGARDING THE LOW COUNTRIES TRADES

### *Stoneware importation before 1565*

The growth in the trade in late medieval stonewares to the ports of East and South-East England may be seen in the rising number of stonewares listed in the customs documents of Newcastle, Hull, King's Lynn, London and Southampton (Le Patourel 1983, *passim*). By contrast, none of the late 14th- or early or mid 15th-century accounts of Exeter translated by Touchard makes mention of stoneware imports (Touchard 1967). It appears therefore that the archaeological evidence that Exeter received very few late medieval stoneware imports is supported by documentary evidence.

The city's Town Customs Accounts of the late 1470s and 1480s contain occasional references to the arrival of *cruses* or *crusking* (i.e. pots: *OED*), which may have been stonewares, but the earliest unambiguous reference to these pots has been noted in the Exchequer roll for 1493–4, when three maunds' of stone cruses were brought with other Low Countries products in the *Flower of Calais* (PRO E.122.201/1). Most of the annual Exchequer accounts of the following 70 years contain a small number of entries recording the arrival of stonewares in batches of between 50 and 1000 pots. It is unfortunately impossible to give precise figures of the volume of stoneware imports listed in these documents: in no instance is the origin of a ship stated, so the sources of many cargoes are uncertain. Moreover the number of pots in each batch is quite frequently omitted. The largest annual total of imports was noted in the roll of 1509–10 when 1,700 stonewares were sent, very probably from the Low Countries (PRO E.122.201/4); in six months of 1515 about 1000 such pots arrived here. In other years a few hundred were recorded.