UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Placing Pottery: An actor-led approach to the use and perception of medieval pottery in Southampton and its region cAD700-1400

by

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ABSTRACT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
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PLACING POTTERY: AN ACTOR-LED APPROACH TO THE USE AND PERCEPTION OF MEDIEVAL POTTERY IN SOUTHAMPTON AND ITS REGION cAD700-1400
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This study considers the relationship between how we traditionally categorise pottery in archaeological analysis and the ways that it was understood in the past, using a case study from medieval Southampton (Hampshire, UK). In an effort to overcome the chronological fragmentation inherent in the study of medieval archaeology, a long temporal span is considered, from cAD700-1400. Traditionally pottery has been studied from an economic viewpoint and archaeologists have seen it as reflecting patterns of trade and wider economic or social trends. This study takes a non-representative approach to the study of this material. Following work on 'Actor-Network Theory' it is argued that rather than reflecting an over-riding 'social', that engagements with pottery were active in constructing a patchwork of meanings and associations which constructed the medieval 'social'. The study begins with an overview of the state of medieval ceramic studies, demonstrating that the focus on economic issues developed from a need to provenance and date pottery, and that now we are in a position to ask more subtle questions about its role in everyday life. Chapter 2 outlines a history of categorisation studies, both in relation to archaeology and other disciplines, before moving on to introduce the non-representative framework utilised through the remainder of the study. The research questions are posed in chapter 3 and a methodology for answering them is proposed. In chapter 4 the archaeology and history of medieval Southampton is described, the pottery summarised and a résumé of other material evidence is also presented. The next three chapters reconstruct the engagements between people and pottery in medieval Southampton, through exchange, use and deposition. Chapter 8 then takes a regional perspective to these trends, looking at how pottery was exchanged, used and disposed of in Hampshire, other large towns in England and in northern France. Chapter 9 uses these engagements to examine the formation of categories of people through engagements with pottery, before these strands are all brought together in chapter 10, which considers how engagements between people and pottery were active in creating 'the social' in medieval Southampton, with a particular focus on the process of urbanism. Finally the effectiveness of the approaches taken are evaluated and ways forward for future research are outlined.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Ben Patrick Jervis

declare that the thesis entitled

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and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- parts of this work have been published as: Jervis 2009a, forthcoming a, forthcoming b, forthcoming, c, forthcoming d, forthcoming e; Morris and Jervis forthcoming.

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1. The Study of Medieval Pottery

This study considers the relationship between how we categorise medieval pottery in archaeological analysis and the ways that it was used and understood in the past, in order to consider its role in constructing medieval society. In particular, the changing meanings of pottery, both through its use life and in the longer term, are considered. This is a natural step in the development of medieval pottery studies, which have centred around three core themes: production, distribution and consumption, which are considered in turn below.

1.1 Themes in Pottery Studies

A survey of the literature clearly demonstrates that the majority of work relates to production and distribution; including the definition of various types and their chronology (Figure 1). Many of the publications are to be found in the journal *Medieval Ceramics*, first published in 1977. Law (2004) has argued that 'realities' in research are formed by past studies and that these studies are distributed through future research. This is certainly true in medieval pottery studies, with scholars being influenced by past preoccupations with economic and chronological issues, rather than broadening their perspectives to consider the active role of pottery in medieval society. This chapter outlines the history of research, allowing us to consider how medieval pottery studies came to be in their current state and to allow us to explore directions for future research.
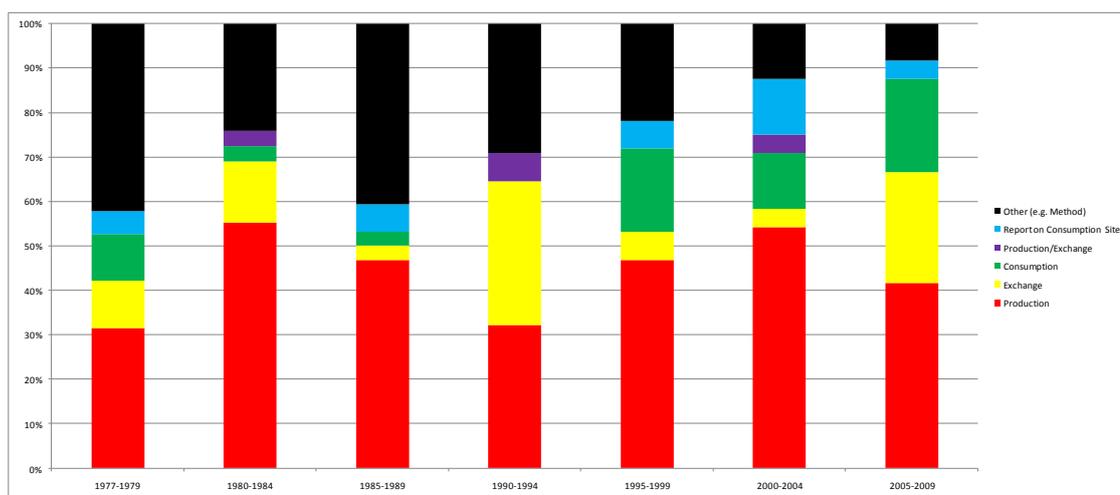
Figure 1: Chart illustrating the themes of papers published in *Medieval Ceramics* 1-31

Here, new questions are asked of the material. Firstly there are simple questions, how was pottery used and thrown away? How did people engage with pottery in everyday life, beyond the snapshots of production and exchange? Secondly, deeper questions will be posed, how did pottery function in medieval society and what was its role in constructing this society? These are questions which have the potential to place pottery studies back at the centre of medieval archaeology, and fit into a wider reaction to the marginalisation of medieval pottery studies (e.g. Mellor 2004; Blinkhorn 1997, 1999a; Brown 1997a, 1997b; Guttierez 2000; Cumberpatch 1997), partly due to the advent of developer funded archaeology. This study continues in this vein, addressing this imbalance, by putting pottery at centre stage in developing an understanding of social life in medieval England.

1.1.1 Production

The study of pottery workshops and their products has been a central theme in medieval archaeology (Mellor 1994, 10). In particular, a barrage of scientific techniques have been applied to material to generate a closer understanding of the organisation of production and the distance over which products were exchanged (Vince 2005). This tradition is not unique to Britain, with European scholars also focussing on pottery technology at the expense of consumption, partly due to the presence of a larger number of known production centres, particularly from the early medieval period (e.g. Thullier 2004).

Antiquarian finds of medieval pottery were not regularly recorded until the mid-19th century (Hurst 1991a, 7). Occasional mentions of pottery occur in the 18th century mintues of The Society of Antiquaries and other antiquarian societies and the first medieval pottery was published in Archaeologia in 1779 (Hurst 1991a, 8). Typically jugs and exotic vessels were the focus of attention. Cooking vessels were barely mentioned, and vessels were often mistaken as Roman. Chaffers's (1850) work on the history of English pottery sums up contemporary attitudes by questioning the prevailing opinion that vessels are individual art pieces, a point not fully appreciated by archaeologists until the 1940s (Hurst 1991a, 18-19). With the exception of Chaffers's insights and Myres's work on Anglo-Saxon pottery (see below) medieval pottery was not the focus of sustained research until after the Second World War. Two individuals, Hurst and Dunning, stand out as the pioneers of medieval pottery studies, and much of their work was largely concerned with understanding the products of particular centres (e.g. Dunning 1957; Hurst 1974). Along with contemporaries such as Barton, Jope and Myres, they played a key role in defining different types of medieval pottery and bringing it to the attention of the wider archaeological community. As well as

identifying the products of centres in the UK and Europe, wider synthetic papers regarding the pottery from specific time periods and regions were also produced. Tischler, Myres Hurst and Dunning's collaborative 1959 synthesis of Anglo-Saxon pottery remains an important work. Jope in particular, played a key role in defining local pottery traditions, primarily in the Thames Valley (e.g. Jope 1947), whilst Dunning, Hurst and Barton all produced important papers on imported pottery, particularly from France (Hurst 1974; Barton 1974), Iberia (Hurst 1978) and Italy (Hurst 1991b). Of these early scholars, Myres (1969; 1977) made the most significant contribution to the theory of ceramic studies. His work on Anglo-Saxon pottery and migrations, which began between the First and Second World Wars, is an important demonstration of what can be achieved from going beyond the cataloguing of pottery. Myre's sought to use pottery to expand our understanding of the invasion and settlement of south-eastern England by charting the date and distribution of pottery types, through the use of data from 19th century cemetery excavations and continental parallels. Such an approach was highly innovative at the time and, although embedded in the culture-historical paradigm, developed approaches (such as the plotting of pottery distributions) which are still in use today.

In depth studies of production centres have continued since this early work, both in the UK (e.g. Hall 2004) and Europe (e.g. Caroscio 2004). Necessarily, these studies initially discuss the range of products in terms of the fabrics and forms produced. Increasingly, where funding and time allow, archaeologists have been able to ask wider questions about the context of pottery production.

Davey and Hodges (1983) used processual theory as a stimulus to develop studies of both production and trade. Following Renfrew (1977), they argue that archaeology is at its strongest when asking questions regarding production and distribution (Davey and Hodges 1983, 2). By integrating the 'new archaeology' with contemporary developments in geography and history, they suggested that pottery production could be studied in a wider socioeconomic context (*ibid*). Whilst they acknowledged the importance of the classification, cataloguing and identification work carried out by early scholars, they claimed our knowledge of the scale of production, both in terms of the quantity of pottery produced and the time span of production, is limited. In the same volume, Verhaege's (1983) contribution, on pottery production in Flanders, exemplifies this approach. He begins by studying the context of pottery finds, isolating large coastal ports from smaller market towns (*ibid* 65). From this position he argues that different settings require the production of different pots and that these settings are suited to different modes of production, for example, in an urban area it is possible to produce pottery more intensively (*ibid* 68). Verhaege then discusses

elements of technology and chronology from a more informed position, eventually relating changes in the pots produced and the production processes, to wider socioeconomic developments (*ibid* 87). This is just one example of the increasingly contextual approach taken by pottery specialists during the 1980s and 90s.

Accompanying the development of a processual approach was the sporadic use of textual sources for understanding pottery (and ceramic building material) production. Le Patourel (1969) was amongst the first to assess the literary evidence, using place names and personal names to isolate potential production centres, and integrating this with existing archaeological evidence. In particular, Le Patourel was able to use this data to understand the economic standing of the potter (*ibid* 106), the duration of potting industries (*ibid* 108-10) and the composition of potting communities. Le Patourel also demonstrates that historical sources can be used to answer questions which we cannot fully answer through archaeology, for example, what restrictions were placed on clay use, the nature and location of kilns and the types of fuel used by potters (*ibid* 113-19).

One case study of the way archaeological and textual evidence can be combined is in the study of pottery from the Saintonge region of France. Early work catalogued the variety of forms produced in this region from the 13th-17th centuries (Barton 1963; Hurst 1974). Chapelot (1983) furthered these studies by identifying production sites and workshops. By using textual evidence Musgrave (1997) was able to develop our understanding of the potters themselves, using evidence such as leases and marriage contracts to discuss the demographics of pottery workshops, in particular studying gender roles and the division of labour (*ibid,* 88).

Those archaeologists with the resources necessary have been able to integrate the kind of contextual approach promoted by Davey and Hodges with the use of historical data, for example Streeton's (1981) study of production and marketing in south east England. This approach allowed Streeton to make comments on the scale of pottery production and the social dynamics of marketing, as well as the identification of particular products and their production centres. A further example is Cotter's (1997) study of the 11th-13th century pottery production site at Pound Lane, Canterbury. He used the pottery and associated evidence to make comments about the potting community and their political and economic associations. Whilst his report starts with the usual detailed study of the kiln structure, the products and their chronology, Cotter then discusses these issues in their continental context. Using stylistic parallels, in both the nature of the pots and the way they were produced, he suggests that the potting community had French origins (*ibid*, 87-88). Using historical evidence he

questioned why this community developed, arguing that it had links to the church in Canterbury which possibly acted as a patron for the workshop (*ibid* 93). Whilst the situation in Canterbury is rare, in regard to the documentation available and the find of a kiln, such an approach adds significantly to our understanding of the technology of pottery production, as well as the social and economic circumstances which allowed it to occur. The integration of archaeological and historical information has great potential for answering questions about the social context of pottery production.

Blinkhorn's (1997) study of *habitus* and Anglo-Saxon pottery production was one of the first to use post-processual theory (see also the discussion of Richard's (1987) work below). Blinkhorn demonstrates that existing studies of Anglo-Saxon pottery production are not relevant to how pottery was actually produced in the past. The use of petrology in determining clay sources for example is questioned, with Blinkhorn arguing that such studies serve only to produce catalogues, which are too subtle for meaningful interpretation (*ibid* 117). Instead he argues that we should study the way Anglo-Saxon pottery was made, in order to understand the social role of pottery in terms of community identity (*ibid* 120). A similar argument is put forward for ceramic forms. There are problems with Blinkhorn's paper; for example the discussion of form is dominated by criticism of a 'functional' viewpoint, suggesting that any relation to *habitus* is through the presence of particular formal aspects. This viewpoint is surely flawed, as it does not account for pots being used in behaviour which is in itself habitual, a theme central to the current study. Despite these problems, the application of post processual theory is clearly demonstrated to be of some use to studies of production.

Production studies have developed from the necessity to understand where and how pots were made. This rose from a theoretical climate of culture history and then processual study, which were suited to studying movement and distribution, as well as the mechanics of production. As pottery studies increasingly took place within an academic context, a range of theoretical frameworks and scientific techniques were developed which have allowed us to begin to consider the social context of pottery production. This has had the effect of studies shifting to understand the potter as well as the pottery, with historical evidence and new theoretical viewpoints being introduced to the study of production. Academic impetus has waned in recent years (Irving 2011, 6) and today many studies are carried out in commercial archaeology. For reasons of time and cost these are often limited to describing and cataloguing the output of specific production centres, although Cotter's (1997) study has demonstrated that work of wider relevance can be produced in the commercial sector. The integration and interpretation of archaeological and historical data has both

greatly enhanced our understanding of pottery production and enabled us to consider the great interpretive potential that pottery has when it is not studied in isolation. Production is not a major theme in this research, largely because many of the products being studied are well understood (Timby 1988; Brown 1994, 2002). However, insights into the scale of, motivations for and influences on manufacture can be related to the contexts of exchange and use which are explored here.

1.1.2 Distribution and Trade

Following the identification of production sites, the movement of ceramics has naturally become an abundant area of research. These have generally studied trade; however other reasons for the movement of pottery have also been considered, and these two themes will be explored further in this study. It is generally accepted that ceramics were traded for two reasons; as containers (e.g. Caroscio 2010) and as commodities in their own right (Mellor 1994, 10). Studying distribution patterns can help to understand marketing at local, national and international scales. These questions also feedback to inform our understanding of the scale of production centres and patterns of consumption (*ibid*).

The first major study of trade was that by Dunning (1968), which outlined the distribution of some imported pottery types. The study considers temporal changes in the source, types and quantities of pottery being traded throughout the North Sea region. The study was amongst the first to highlight the value of distribution maps to medieval ceramic studies. The study also goes on to place the movement of pottery in the context of other trading activity, such as the wool and wine trades (*ibid* 52-3), as well as identifying the major ports through which ceramics were traded.

Davey and Hodges (1983) began to examine the reasons pottery may have been traded, suggesting it moved as a commodity in order for immigrants to carry out particular social practices and as accoutrements to the wine trade, as well as being containers (*ibid*, 10), a notion developed in chapter 10. In critiquing the traditional approaches, these authors highlighted the need for studies of the trade in ceramics to be more sensitive to studies of economic history and theory. It is questionable whether such studies have been carried out in any quantity. Hodges' (1982) important work on early medieval trade was a useful beginning and further studies have critiqued and advanced his conclusions (e.g. Naylor 2004), but rarely do these explicitly discuss the trade in ceramics and their role in medieval economic life. We have a strong understanding of what material was imported into Britain in the middle ages and the

duration of these movements, but our understanding of why they moved is considerably less developed.

Particularly during the early and later medieval periods, imports into Britain came from a number of sources in Europe. Several edited volumes have been published in the last twenty years, providing analyses of trading patterns from historical and archaeological perspectives. Rhenish pottery, for example, has been used to discuss London's role as an early medieval port and the changing rhythms of trading between the Low Countries, northern France and southern England (Gaimster *et al* 1988) (see chapter 8). A similar volume on Iberian pottery (Gerrard *et al* 1995), takes an explicitly interdisciplinary approach to studying the trade between Britain and Iberia. The first section of this volume outlines the historical background to the trade, including specific consideration of the means of trade through archaeological and historical evidence (Friel 1995; James 1995, 43). The regional evidence for trade with Spain is then considered, within the historical and archaeological context. Allan (1995, 304), for example demonstrates that Spanish pottery imported into Exeter and the South West was probably related to the growth of the cloth trade and the fishing routes between Newfoundland, Iberia and England (*ibid*). Such regional studies bring two major benefits to the understanding of imported ceramics. Firstly, they allow the particular types of pottery imported into a specific area to be considered and, secondly, they allow us to consider pottery's role in creating a particular historical and socioeconomic context (see chapter 10).

The majority of pottery is discussed in excavation reports or in synthetic volumes on pottery from specific settlements or regions. Necessarily these act as a catalogue of finds, which are then generally used to phase sites and discuss particular features. Many reports do include room for detailed discussion of the trade in pottery. The most detailed volumes are those synthesising the ceramic evidence from a large sample of sites, such as Allan's (1984) work on Exeter and Brown's (2002) on Southampton. Allan, for example, is able to use ceramic evidence alongside historical documents to create a picture of Exeter's development as a port through the early middle ages, as well as discussing the function of imported wares (Allan 1984, 15-18). Trade within England is also considered, linking the movement of East Midlands and Yorkshire wares to the coal trade (*ibid*, 30), whilst demonstrating that it was those highly decorated wares, not produced locally, which were the main types of traded pottery. Evidence of ceramic distribution can also add to our picture of the social networks which a site participated in, however such wide ranging studies within excavation reports are rare. An example of such a study is Cotter's work on the pottery from Town Wall Street, Dover (2006). He considers the movement of pottery beyond trade, using a

quantitative approach, which allows the isolation of pottery types which were probably moved through trade and those moved through other mechanisms. He suggests Norfolk pottery reached the site along east coast fishing routes, for example. Rather than buying and selling pottery for commerce the broken pots were simply rubbish related to this activity, with fishermen buying pots for use on their boats and discarding them once they broke (*ibid*, 410-11). Documentary evidence is also used to highlight the role piracy may have had in bringing rarer pottery to the site (*ibid*, 408). These insights have expanded our understanding of how and why pottery moved and have led to the suggestion of a variety of explanations for the presence of various imported wares in Southampton (chapter 5).

Historical and archaeological evidence have been combined, to suggest other reasons and mechanisms through which pottery moved. Moorhouse (1983a) consulted a variety of documentary sources in order to explain the movement of pottery. Whilst reconising the importance of trade, he also acknowledged the relevance of the means by which pottery moved; water and roads, in understanding its distribution (Moorhouse, 1983a, 48). Different scales of trade, from large households who bought direct from the potter, to the various levels of fair and market, as well as the peddlers who moved around selling small quantities of pottery can be recognised (*ibid*, 55). Moorhouse was able to explain anomalies in some pottery assemblages through a study of tenurial influences (*ibid*, 58), arguing that pottery moved within a particular landlords' holdings around the country. A similar explanation was put forward for interpreting the varied sources of ceramics in urban settings (*ibid*, 51). It is clear from Moorhouse's work that a number of influences determine how and why pottery moves, be it land ownership, topography or the type of consumer. Whilst further influences will no doubt be discovered, what is clear is that to see pottery movement as linked solely to trade and to being easy to interpret on these grounds is short sighted. One aim of this study will be to consider the quantities of different types of pottery present in Southampton and its region, and to consider the mechanisms behind their distribution (chapters 5, 8 and 10).

Three more modern studies have looked in greater detail at some of the themes addressed by Moorhouse. Both Brown (1997a, 1997b, 2003) and Symonds (2003) have studied the means by which pottery moved in order to understand its distribution. Brown argues that water acted as a means for the movement of pottery rather than a barrier, and that in Saxon and medieval Southampton, imported pottery may have been perceived no differently to local pottery. Quantitative analysis of the imported pottery from Southampton (Brown 1997a, 111) has demonstrated that it may not have been seen as particularly special or desirable in the medieval period, with imports simply

offering alternative and complimentary goods (see chapter 6). Symonds studies what she calls 'ceramic landscapes', arguing that route ways and the movement of pottery, for a variety of reasons, caused the development of local territorial identities, based on the production and trade of objects such as pots (Symonds 2003, 223-4). As well as understanding which pots are present and how they came to be at a particular site therefore, the engagements between traders, consumers and vessels can be used to consider how exchange was active in the building of 'the social' in medieval Southampton (chapters 5, 8, 9 and 10).

Trade and distribution are key themes to understanding how people interpreted pottery in the past. Early studies were focussed on using pottery to answer economic questions. More recently, archaeologists have taken more subtle, contextual approaches, as well as producing valuable contributions which combine ceramic distributions with those of other find types (e.g. Naylor 2004). By studying how and why pottery moved, we can better understand its significance, as well as the role that the act of distribution had in creating societies in the past. This study centres on the use of pottery, however it owes a great debt to these previous studies, which make it to possible to identify the types of pottery present and absent from Southampton and its region, and to interpret this patterning. The study addresses a paradox in the study of medieval ceramics. The history of the discipline has advanced in such a way that whilst studies of consumption and use have been neglected, studies of trade and production have been necessary to create a context for such studies.

1.1.3 Ceramic Use and Consumption

The use of ceramics has been less intensively studied than production and distribution, with the majority of studies having been carried out in the last two decades (see Figure 1). Traditionally, medieval ceramicists have examined consumption by studying the quantities of pottery present on consumption sites (Mellor 1994, 10). There is an acknowledgement that this field is an area where much can be achieved, now that a large dataset has been acquired (*ibid*).

There remains only a handful of quantified approaches to the function of ceramic vessels. The most intensive study is that by Moorhouse, of material from Sandal Castle (Yorkshire) (1983b). He presents a quantified analysis of sooting, abrasion and residue patterns on pottery, arguing for a decrease in the amount of pottery used in cooking in the later medieval period (*ibid*, 184-5). Moorhouse also argues that ceramic cooking vessels had a lifespan which could be measured in days rather than months, at least in the context of a castle, and that a number of different cooking methods were used. He

also combined archaeological and historical evidence to identify a wide range of functions for pottery (Moorhouse 1978). Rather than leading to a large number of similar studies however, Moorhouse's work is often quoted, but rarely developed. For example, the analysis of pottery from Ludgershall Castle uses Moorhouse's work to explain observed phenomena (Gerard and King 2000), but no new statistical analysis is carried out to further these findings. One aim of this thesis is to further explore the potential of systematic usewear analysis (chapter 6).

Quantitative approaches tend to focus on the presence of particular pottery types, for example studies by Brown (1997b) and Blinkhorn (1999a). Whilst the focus of Brown's work is marketing, clear differences are drawn between the pottery consumed in different houses, for example a greater number of serving vessels were present in high status, urban households than at rural sites (Brown 1997b), conclusions which are developed here (chapters 8 and 10). Blinkhorn (1999a) focuses on just one site; identifying which types of vessel were used together or as alternatives, using statistical and spatial analysis. Statistical analysis of vessel size, coupled with residue analysis, further informed these conclusions, approaches which are adopted here (chapter 6). Bryant's (2004) study of the pottery consumed in Worcestershire builds upon these themes over a longer timespan, demonstrating that events such as the Black Death had profound effects on pottery manufacture and use. This study will attempt to draw the comparative approach taken in these studies and usewear analysis together, as well as considering the relationship between events such as the Norman Conquest and early medieval urbanism (chapters 6, 8 and 10).

Attempts have also been made to understand the symbolism of pottery and the relation between vessels and their contexts of use. Amongst the first to achieve this was Richards (1987) whose study of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns explored the relationship between certain decorative and formal attributes and the presence of grave goods to suggest that a 'symbolic language' was present. For example, vessel size appears to reflect the age and size of the deceased, whislt further correlations occur between the presence of decorative styles and certain grave goods, with different elements reflecting varying aspects of an individual's identity (Richards 1987, 196-7). Symbolism has also been discussed in relation to later medieval decoration, for example Cumberpatch's (1997) phenomenological study of medieval pottery (see chapter 2) and his study of anthropomorphic decoration, which proposes that medieval 'face jugs' may be related to a link between beards and sexual potency, meaning that these vessels played a clear symbolic role in the context of events such as wedding ceremonies. Similarly, Spavold's (2009) study of religious iconography on later medieval Cistercian Wares argues that the motifs present on vessels are part of a wider

symbolic vocabulary, which relates to iconography on stained glass, wall paintings and in church architecture, giving what we see as simple abstract designs explicit meaning in the medieval context, and relating the rapid decline of this style to the religious reform, principally the persecution of thise who explicitly followed the Catholic faith, in the mid-16th century. One area discussed in this study is the role of pottery in dining and this was one context in which the symbolic nature of pottery has been particularly studied. In a Merovingian context Effros (2002; 2003) has argued that funerary feasts had an important role in cementing relationships between the living and the dead, with engagements with food and drink also mediating connections between Christian and pagan communities. The vessels in which substance used to contain and consume substances have been demonstrated, on the basis of historical evidence, to be of crucial importance in symbolising purity, with vessels being cleansed or broken if polluted (Effros 2003, 222). A later example is provided by the work of Willmott (2005) who argues that pottery and other tablewares, symbolised wealth, status and taste at the Tudor table. That pottery had specific, contextual meanings and was active in communicating messages regarding taste, virtues or identity is not something which is disputed in this study. This study is concerned, however, with going beyond identifying reconstructing a vessels symbolism, to explore how this meaning came about and was distributed through engagements throughout its biography.

A final approach to be used in this study will be a taphonomic one. By understanding how pottery came to be disposed of, it will be possible to gain insight into how it was used and perceived. A similar approach was used to understand the pottery from Barnard Castle (Austin 2007). It is argued that the large number of sherds found with food waste suggests that pottery was disposed of in the same way as food, just as we throw away packaging in our kitchens (*ibid*, 384). By studying the formation of deposits it is argued that, at this site at least, pottery was seen as disposable and had little significant status or meaning. This approach will be furthered here, to study differences in the deposition of pottery over a greater number of sites and longer time period (chapters 7, 8 and 10), to explore how universal conclusions about the disposability of pottery are.

The role of pottery within households is beginning to be considered in more depth, for example Gutierrez (2000) has argued that Mediterranean pottery must be seen alongside other items as a component of a 'set of coded attributes' (*ibid*, 199). These attributes were both material (clothes, ornaments etc.) and less tangible (manners and habits). Pottery can be studied using a circular approach, with pottery forms informing us about manners and habits (see also Brown 2005). Other sources also inform us about these and thus develop our interpretations of the pottery. The idea of household

context has also been developed by Mellor (2004), who has used pottery, coupled with documentary evidence, architecture and other portable artefacts, to study gendered space and the role of pottery in creating the concept of the 'household'. The active role of pottery and other objects in constructing social space is discussed in chapter 10.

There is clearly scope for further research into pottery consumption. It is, of course, important to understand how various pottery types and forms were used, but in order for us to understand the role of pottery in medieval society this knowledge must be interpreted within a wider context. As studies of medieval pottery consumption are relatively young, it is worth briefly considering how this issue has been studied in archaeology and anthropology as a whole.

1.2 Pottery Consumption in Archaeology

In general, studies of pottery use and consumption are less well established than studies of pottery production and exchange. Two approaches can be outlined, a functional approach (studying how pots were used) and more theoretically developed approaches, understanding consumption as a social phenomenon.

1.2.1 Functional Approaches

Many studies of pottery consumption are ethnoarchaeological in nature. One example is that by Deal (1998), who studied pottery consumption in Mexico. His study focussed on how pottery entered the household and how its life developed through use within the household unit, an approach adapted in this study. Deal (1998, 81-82) isolated exchanges which caused pots to move, some were economic whilst others were reciprocal or simple borrowing. He was also able to study how pots became instigated in social practices and 'use cycles', related to specific areas, such as food preparation and water collection. From this standpoint, Deal was able to identify different patterns in the consumption of pottery, in terms of storage, exchange, breakage and the substances the pots contained. It is only from this basic understanding of how pots' use lives develop (chapters 5, 6 and 7), that we can go on to question how and why they follow these trajectories (chapters 8 and 10).

Archaeometric techniques can further develop our understanding of vessel use. In his classic study, Braun (1983), was able to relate changes in ceramic technology to developments in vessel use (Braun 1983, 117). The study goes beyond simply producing data, as Braun had adequate environmental and social information to make

interpretations about the relationship between pottery technology and use (*ibid* 126). Braun highlighted in particular that our typologies, used to demonstrate stylistic change, trade and chronology, can also be seen as a source of data for interpreting technological change and from this inferring differences in consumption and the demands placed on pottery. Similar work by Hally (1986) created a generalised classification of Mississippian assemblages based on form and usewear analysis. Although useful from a methodological perspective, the processual approach taken does mask the subtlety and fluidity inherent in vessel use. These insights, particularly in relation to vessel size and tempering choices, are considered throughout this study (chapters 6, 8 and 10).

Studies of assemblage formation are another means through which ceramic consumption has been studied. A range of factors such as vessel breakage can be examined, allowing us to consider how assemblages were formed. Foster (1960), for example, demonstrated that a range of factors from the exposure to heat, to vessel size, frequency of use and the presence of children and animals, affect breakage rates. By using such data in our interpretations of ceramics from household contexts, we are able to infer some of the factors behind vessel breakage and in turn how they were used, and the context of this use, in the past (chapters 6 and 10).

1.2.2 Theoretically Developed Approaches

Theoretically developed approaches can allow us to better understand the social role of pottery. In her study of prehistoric ceramic use, Morris (2002) demonstrates that potters chose materials in order to address specific challenges within the social constraints placed upon them (*ibid*, 55). She also criticises archaeologists for not integrating ethnographic studies into interpretations of ceramic consumption more readily (*ibid,* 57). In her review, Morris demonstrates that understanding the physical properties of pottery and carrying out detailed quantitative studies, can allow us to explore the subsistence and social practices in which pots were embedded through their use. The current study takes this one step further by arguing that pottery had an active role in producing and maintaining these practices.

The social role of consumption has only recently become a major concern for archaeologists. An early study is Sillar's (2000) investigation of pottery production and use in the Andes. He argues that the practices through which pottery is consumed are central to social life, and that these practices are embedded in others which do not use pottery. He argues, for example, that pottery consumption acts to structure the household as a domestic space (*ibid*, 123). These practices cause an emotional bond

with the household structure, as it is in the house where the family's wealth and security, both tangible and intangible, is stored (*ibid*). These domestic practices are of course structured by age and gender and hence pottery consumption acts to maintain this division of roles through the household and reproduce the household structure (*ibid*). Following Sillar, this study explores the role of ceramics in constructing the household and by reconstructing pottery use within a household context (chapter 10).

Dellino-Musgrave (2005) argues that pottery served to create social differentiation on an 18th century British naval ship, emphasising the role of those in military authority by creating bonds between the officers on the ship (*ibid*, 226). It was not the pottery itself which caused this differentiation but the practices in which it was used, such as the refined consumption of tea from 'proper' vessels with these practices also marking out practice on the ship as 'British' in nature (*ibid*, 228). Pottery consumption was demonstrated as being active in the creation of a multitude of identities on the ship, some internal, in terms of the power structure and the routine on board, others in terms of a collective British identity; using British pottery and remembering home; giving a sense of familiarity in a foreign situation (*ibid* 239). The plurality of meaning generated through engagements with pottery is a key theme to this thesis (chapters 9 and 10).

More widely in anthropology and archaeology, consumption is increasingly becoming a field of enquiry in its own right. Miller (1994) considers consumption as a form of objectification of social meaning and values (*ibid*, 30), but the current study takes a subtly different approach, arguing that consumption constructs and maintains these values, as part of a particular process of social assembly (chapter 2; see also Thrift 2008, 42). In order to understand consumption we must link consumption practices to production and distribution, to understand the entire life of an object, how it generates meaning as it is used (consumed) in the negotiation of identities and relationships (Miller 1994, 26). This perspective is influenced by the work of Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) into object biographies, which charted how an objects' value and meaning change through its life, an approach discussed in chapter 3.

Studies of pottery consumption are young and are still developing. A balance needs to be struck between functional studies, understanding how objects were used, and theoretical approaches, understanding the social role of ceramic use. Whilst some may argue that pottery had little or no social meaning beyond that carried in its function before the 15th century (see Courtney 1997, 102), it must be understood that it is through the utility of its functional qualities, the consumption of these properties, that pottery not only developed functional meaning but potentially became active in the

construction of the household and the settlement as an economic and social entity (ibid, 104).

1.3 The Impetus for this Study and the Analytical Approach

This review has demonstrated that studies of medieval pottery use are underdeveloped in relation to studies of production and distribution. Despite this, it has been necessary to study production and distribution in order to understand the pottery that was used and how it came to be in the household. The themes studied relate in part to contemporary paradigms in medieval archaeology and to the contexts of commercial and academic archaeology, in which the majority of research is undertaken.

This study will take a biographical approach coupled with a data heavy analysis to understand how the meaning of pottery changed and was active in the creation of multiple 'social realities'. Previous studies have largely been anecdotal, generally stressing that there are few 'high status' ceramics and that they were largely functional. Austin (2007), for example, stresses the ambiguity of pottery, arguing it was always a temporary container, and whilst he is correct in asserting that it gained and lost meaning in relation to practice, context and contents, he implies that pottery should largely be considered as an homogenous group. This study will acknowledge that meaning is transient, in some cases it is more important than in others. Rather than seeing pottery as a medieval constant, it will be studied as a group of unequal entities which gained and lost meaning, in relation to each other, other objects, and the people who used it.

2. Categorising People, Categorising Things

How do we categorise the world around us and how does this relate to the way that we categorise archaeological materials? The two, some would argue, are at odds. One is about experience, social context and culture; the other is a purely analytical construct. Take pottery for example, archaeologists see a "slender baluster jug" (MPRG 1998) or a "Dressel 20 type amphora" (Peacock and Williams 1986). These are analytical terms; to those using these vessels they are classified amongst the tools of everyday life. Both sets of classifications are constructed and maintained through a particular set of interactions, interactions through which they themselves become constituents of a particular 'social reality' (Whatmore 2002, 26-7). The aim of this chapter is to review how this issue has been addressed in archaeology and other disciplines and to outline a framework through which we can consider how objects gained meaning (ie were classified) through their active role in the construction of 'social realities' in the past.

In discussing categorisation it is easy to become bogged down in arguments over typology, whether certain methods lead to types which are more "culturally salient" than others (e.g. Read 2007), or to initiate a debate over emic and etic types (see David and Kramer 2001, 157), but typology is a method, not an interpretation, not even a description. It focuses on metrical or formal similarity, capturing attributes which may, or may not, have been relevant at particular points in a vessel's life. Whilst we infer from form or decoration that a vessel may have been used for cooking, storage or serving, our typologies are not equipped to consider this fully. To reconstruct function we must consider the traces use leaves, rather than the form of a vessel itself (Herva *et al* 2004, 15). Yes, typology is important, it is, in many ways, a necessary evil, required as a starting point from which to establish similarity and difference within an assemblage, but it is the means, not the end of archaeological analysis. The questions here focus more on the processes of categorisation, *how* were these vessels categorised throughout their lives and *how* did they relate to human actors? *How* were ceramic vessels (and other objects, substances and people) active in the creation of social assemblages? How, in short, did they build society?

2.1 Categorisation and Archaeology

Categorisation, through methods such as typology, is central to the archaeological process. It is only through categorising artefacts and monuments that we can label them and understand how they relate to other artefacts, monuments and people. This study is, initially, an exploration of the different ways pottery can be categorised

through engagements throughout its use life. These engagements will then be examined further, to consider how these processes of categorisation were active in creating medieval society. It is necessary to understand the evolution of categorisation studies in archaeology to situate this research and understand how it fits into a trend, which has seen a shift from the imposition of types onto the past to the asking of more subtle questions about the processes of categorisation.

2.1.1 Culture Historical Approaches

Initially archaeologists, working in a culture historical paradigm, saw artefacts as passive reflectors of cultures, with groupings of artefacts being used to define these cultures. Perhaps the most influential archaeologist of this school was Gordon Childe (e.g. Childe 1956). He realised that the typologies archaeologists create are abstract, but did not see this as a serious handicap to the reconstruction of past human behaviour (*ibid*, 9). He argued that cultures were groupings of people with a shared conceptual framework and therefore used similar artefacts (*ibid*, 9-10). He also argued that types were formed hierarchically; firstly we identify artefacts by function, these can then be arranged by chronology and finally by association. It is these groupings which enable us to define culture (*ibid*, 11). This work demonstrates the centrality of categorisation to archaeology from its conception as an academic discipline. In many ways we still see artefacts and groupings of people as related, although we have questioned the nature of this relationship, to consider the active role of material culture in constituting social groups.

2.1.2 Processual Approaches

From the 1960s processual archaeologists started to question the relationship between people and objects by considering how types reflect human behaviour (Hicks 2010, 38). Central to these approaches was the use of ethnographic information (for example Peacock's (1983) and Arnold's (1985) ethnographic studies of pottery production and exchange) and the development of statistical approaches and scientific methods (for example Hodder's (1974) reconstruction of trade patterns using regression analysis) to develop explanatory models. Functional studies rose to prominence and artefacts were seen as the result of behavioural adaptation (e.g. Binford 1962; Clarke 1968). Processual approaches saw a boom in the variety of typological methods used as archaeologists tried to reconcile their analysis with the place of these objects in past systems. These ranged from naturalistic models which attempted to identify common functional types between cultures, based on attributes recorded from ethnographic examples (e.g. Henrickson and McDonald 1983), to mathematical approaches (e.g.

Read 2007) and more pragmatic coded systems, aimed at recording the presence and absence of particular characteristics (e.g. Richards 1987). These types are analytical constructs but are based on considering how the objects may reflect human behaviour, rather than reflecting cultural groupings. In *'Analytical Archaeology'* Clarke suggests that artefacts are formed with their intended function in mind and this acts to condition future human behaviour within a cultural system (Clarke 1968, 153). He argues that in artefact analysis we must isolate the attributes of the material which have this effect on human behaviour and that these cannot be imposed upon the analysis, but must be generated by it (*ibid*, 155). For example, we must identify the attributes which *make something* a cooking pot, rather than saying because a vessel has certain attributes *it is* a cooking pot. Analysing in this manner creates clear similarities and differences between objects, which allow us to produce typologies of objects with similar attributes (*ibid*, 158). He also recognised that functionally similar artefacts can vary within set parameters, but be classed as the same type (*ibid*, 161). A key point made by Clarke is that function may not be the definitive criteria used by past populations to categorise objects as they have numerous and changing uses (*ibid*, 207). Instead, he suggests categories are groups of objects linked by similar and arbitrary groups of physical attributes, with these features mixing to form objects and categories (*ibid*, 207). Clarke's model is generalised and fairly static. We must, however, take some of his points on board in studying material culture today. We must come up with ways of determining function based on more than arbitrary, pre-determined morphological characteristics and of acknowledging the fact that artefacts are classed differently through their life. Here this will be achieved through attempting to reconstruct the engagements between people and artefacts which led to the generation of categories.

2.1.3 Artefacts as Categories: Towards Post-Processualism

Questions about the process of categorisation started to interest archaeologists in the 1980s. In critiquing the approach of processual scholars, archaeologists questioned functional interpretations and the biological analogies inherent in systems based approaches (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 118). Instead, aretfacts came to be seen as meaningless in the present, requiring decoding (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 132). They were seen as acting as signs, a method of non-verbal communication, which had to be contextualised to be understood (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 132). Studies of pottery played a key role in the development of such approaches, possibly as a reaction to their central place in processual studies, as reflections of particular adaptive strategies. The manufacture and use of objects such as pottery was argued to have taken place within a social context and repetitive action served to maintain these structures

(Hodder 1987, 8; Hodder 1989, 71; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 137). By being interpreted as symbols, to be read, the analogy for understanding objects switched, from the ecological systems of the processualists to being texts, to be read and understood (Holten 1997, 184). Decoration has been one area where such approaches were particular popular, with motifs being studied as a symbolic grammer to be interpreted against a particular contextual background, through which meaning was dispersed In the case of studies of decoration this could be in a literal sense, for example the contextual analysis of medieval anthropomorphic vessels (Cumberpatch 2006). In other cases, decoration can underly less obvious symbology. Braithwaite (1982) for example demonstrates that amongst the Azande of Sudan decorated pots are used in areas and actions of 'symbolic ambiguity and concern' (ibid, 85), for example those involved in transformative processes, such as from raw to cooked or those which involve interaction between men and women. Braithwaite links the use of decoration to the maintainance of wider structures within Azande society, principally the maintainance of gender roles, arguing that it is only used in areas where such relationships may become contested (ibid, 86). Other attributes, such as the size and shape of vessels, also had specific meanings attached to them however, which were reproduced through reoccurring action, which in turn served to re-create a specific social context (Thomas 1992, 85). Similarly, Hodder's (1982a) examination of structural change in the Dutch Neolithic sets changes in the form and decoration of pottery agains other developments, in the form and decoration of stone axes and in mortuary practice. Hodder proposes that in certain contexts variability served to create distinct categories through the production and use of objects, with a decrease in contrasts demonstrating that existing boundaries were dissolved in the latter part of the period, in relation to changes in settlement patterns. Hodder is at pains to stress that, unlike processual interpretations, this interpretation of the data is highly contextual and related to the reading and interpretation of pottery form and decoration in a particular setting and cannot be a model which is universally applied across Neolithic Europe (ibid, 176). In all of these cases the meaning of attributes (as symbols) is dispersed through the context which these objects are placed into and play a role in maintaining.

Objects were not only a materialisation of the past, but acted as metaphors, standing for past social dynamics which can be inferred through their study (Holten 1997, 185; Tilley 1999) as well as allowing us to demonstrate that these metaphors can be interpreted in a plurality of ways, meaning that an object's meaning is not static (Tilley 1999, 9). One study of particular relevance to the current research is Miller's *'Artefacts as Categories'* (1985), which studied pottery production, circulation and use within one Indian village. Miller's main intention was to understand systems of classification, why

artefacts vary. He sees categories as being created during vessel manufacture, suggesting that vessels can be categorised in a number of ways; stylistically, functionally and technologically, depending upon the attributes used (*ibid*, 37-8). Rather than creating types arbitrarily, Miller considers the process of categorisation as defining how different vessels relate to one another and to people within the particular context of the study. Miller's central argument in relation to the production process is that it builds categories (variability in pottery) which reflects the creation of social order through the caste system. As such, rather than focussing on analytically definable attributes, pots are categorised through their place in relation to other vessels and to people (*ibid*, 50). This study owes much to Miller's work, though the relationships between vessels (of pottery and other materials), people, architecture and food will be seen as constructing 'the social', rather than maintaining a pre-determined system (see below). By considering how vessels were used, Miller's study fits into a wider questioning of existing anthropological and archaeological methods, considering that whilst function and form are related, generalisations cannot be drawn, as this relationship changes depending upon who used a vessel and in what context (*ibid*, 53; Hodder 1987, 8). Here, I examine engagements between people and particular vessels to consider how types which can be classed differently based on production traits may have come to be used in the same way, whilst typologically similar vessels may have had different functions (chapters 6 and 10).

Miller also questioned behavioural interpretations based on the functional efficiency of vessels (1985, 56-7). Morphological variation is more complex than simply being related to function. The context of use is central to it, as the form and decoration of vessels are seen as symbols, carrying messages related to the status of users and relating ceramic use to other areas of life, causing categories to be created through varying contexts of use (*ibid*, 148-50). Pottery is also categorised in relation to food; to what is cooked, how and by whom (*ibid*, 152). Miller related the categorisation of pottery to the categorisation of people by considering how vessels reflect, and were active in maintaining, the wider class system through their contexts of use. This approach is expanded here to explicitly consider how engagements with pottery construct contexts themselves.

Miller's study and the work of contemporary scholars such as Hodder (1982b) and Shanks and Tilley (1992) marks a watershed in material culture studies, with the emphasis shifting from what categories of objects can be identified and what these may reflect, to understanding the process of categorisation in relation to the wider social context (see Hicks 2010, 53 for further discussion of this). This was a major

shift in archaeological theory, but one that is grounded in other disciplines. Modern[1] material culture studies are characterised by an ever diversifying plethora of approaches, often utilising 'practice theory', taken from Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979), as a means through which to overcome the dichotomy between agency and structure, which caused tension in earlier work, including Miller's study (Hicks 2010, 53).

For example, A. Jones (1997) considered developments in pottery morphology and use, in relation to wider changes in the economy and society of Neolithic Orkney. He argued that pottery was categorised, or placed, in relation to yearly activities, such as the storage of the harvest (*ibid*, 72). The practices of using these vessels situated people within society and simultaneously structured it, causing vessels to be categorised in relation to the specific social context. Using material from early modern Anglo-American households, Yentsch (1996) explored how vessels were categorised in relation to space and gender roles, as engagements with vessels were active in defining these roles through practices such as formal dining. By utilising a methodology based around space and gender in order to reconstruct the associations a vessel had during consumption, Yentsch is able to put forward a contextually relevant and highly complex theory, both of how ceramics were placed, and how their use acted to place people and reinforce their identities. It is only possible to consider these processes of categorisation by being able to reconstruct the engagements, through practice, at all points in a vessels life and relating these engagements to other material actors, such as food, space and other vessels (see below). A range of methodological techniques are used here to achieve as full an understanding as possible of the engagements which people had with pottery in the medieval period (chapter 3) and, therefore, to consider the active role of pottery in creating medieval society.

These approaches have been expanded to consider how the experience of a vessel was active in the way it was perceived (or categorised) through the use of phenomenological approaches. Cumberpatch (1997) has attempted to apply this thinking to the study of medieval pottery through the analysis of the 'perception' of its colour and feel. It is suggested that rather than the main limit on pottery colour being technological possibilities, it was deliberately chosen, possibly to conform to the *habitus* of the potter's community (ibid, 126-7). Using an example from medieval Yorkshire, Cumberpatch shows how the form, decoration, colour and texture of pottery are correlated to suggest potential functions. He uses these distinctions to stress

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[1] By which I mean post the initial impetus, termed by Hicks (2010) as the 'Material-Culture turn'.

binary oppositions between fabrics, forms and decoration. This application of structuralist theory does little to progress interpretation of the material, merely reinforcing our preconceived (yet potentially correct) ideas about coarse and fineware pottery. There are attempts to explain colour symbolism using medieval written sources, however one is immediately aware of an attempt to use colour to promote a universal symbolism, which contradicts the very idea of phenomenology and the individual's experience. Phenomenological approaches must instead adopt a subtlety, a personalisation (e.g. Thomas 1996). This however privileges the human experience, providing a reflective view of the world centred on humans, meaning that the more detailed a phenomenological study gets, the more distanced the objects themselves become, leaving us instead with a modern individuals commentary on their perceptions of the object (see also Olsen 2010, 28). For this reason phenomenological approaches have not been explicitly adopted in this study, although the identification of entangled networks of human and non-human actors does share some similarities with the phenomenology of Heidigger and Merleau-Ponty (*ibid*, 67). Comment will be passed however on the effect of sensory experience during engagements with vessels, in order to animate descriptions of these engagements and thus to consider how experiences mediated processes of social assembly and distinction (chapter 10).

The focus in archaeological research has shifted from identifying categories to understanding the processes through which objects were categorised and the active role of these processes in creating a particular culture or 'social reality'. This study is situated within this context, reconstructing the engagements through which pottery was categorised and considering how they were active in creating the multiple realities of social life in medieval Southampton.

2.2 Categorisation in Other Disciplines

The development of categorisation theories in archaeology did not occur in isolation and relates to developments in the fields of sociology, psychology and linguistics, amongst others. Early works on classification are of little direct relevance to this study, however they will be briefly mentioned as they played a major role in shaping anthropological thought on the issue. The first major study is that by Durkheim and Mauss (1903/1963), who took a cross-cultural approach to studying the ordering of society. They argue that societies are organised around the ways they order (categorise) the world around them, for example, the environment may be understood in relation to a clan system (Durkheim and Mauss 1903/1963, 82). It is important for the future direction of this study to recognise that the agency in creating society is

solely with the human agents, organising the world around them, rather than acknowledging the role that the world has in organising them.

2.2.1 Structuralist Approaches

It was not until the development of structuralist theory in sociology and anthropology that categorisation studies were revisited, partly due to their influences being drawn from the work of Durkheim and Mauss (Gosden 1999, 111). It is these, as well as early semiotic studies, which in part stimulated the developments observed in archaeological material culture studies (Hicks 2010, 45). The seminal works are those by Levi-Strauss. For example, in *'The Savage Mind'* (1962) the classification systems of a number of societies are examined and it is suggested that they are based on a series of oppositions and contrasts (*ibid*, 139). Levi-Strauss argues that this classificatory system is cross cultural, however the exact nature of the system varies between societies (*ibid*, 154). Such an approach at first seems logical and simple to understand. It has certainly had a profound impact on archaeological theory (Hicks 2010), particularly the work of processualists.

Scholars did critique these approaches however, in particular Levi-Strauss' focus on arbitrariness and the definite nature of categories, as there is no room for an 'in between'. Douglas (1966) addressed the 'in between', discussing how people class the natural world as 'pure' and 'dirty', suggesting that unclassifiable animals are seen as dangerous and inedible (*ibid*, 54-5). Crucially, Douglas argues that the categories used to classify animals are contextual and culturally constructed (*ibid*, 22), being re-enforced through ritual practice, such as set meals (see also Douglas 1975). Those things which fall between categories are therefore seen as disruptive to the existing structure, challenging order and organisation (Douglas 1966, 94).

These insights are important here, although may be viewed in a different light. The study of a long temporal perspective in this research allows us to consider change and, therefore, these 'disruptions' can be contextualised to consider how the emergence of new categories both relates to, and was active in, wider processes of social change. The maintenance of categories, both of people and objects, through practice, is also of key importance, although our understanding of how social durability occurs has developed since Douglas' work (see below).

Structuralism provided a framework of how the world was organised based on dualisms, which when translated into archaeology have had the effect of blocking a full appreciation of material culture (Thomas 1996, 18). Many scholars also drew on the

work of Saussure (1972), seeing categorisation systems as a grammar and objects as arbitrary, gaining meaning through their use in context (see Miller 1982). Archaeologists, most notably Hodder and Miller, took inspiration from different elements of these approaches, leading to the divergent viewpoints which characterise post-processual material culture studies (Hicks 2010, 55). The exact nature of these routes need not concern us here, the key point to be taken is that a paradigm shift took place, whereby it became possible to examine the ways that people categorised and perceived their world, rather than using categories as a tool for inferring 'cultures' or function. Recently, textual approaches have been critiqued, for example Boast (2002) questioned the use of arbitrary analysis to create a 'sign system' by which archaeologists have attempted to recreate identities from the formal analysis of prehistoric beakers (*ibid*, 97). Boast criticises the use of the single term 'beaker' (*ibid*, 100) which implies homogeneity in what is actually a heterogeneous class of material culture, which do not have a single set of design rules (or grammar), arguing instead that variation is the result of varying responses to a need for this kind of pot, over a long period of time and wide area (*ibid*, 104).

2.2.2 Cognitive and Ethnoscientific Approaches

As anthropological and psychological studies developed, so the objectivist paradigm in which symbols are the centre of all interpretation, became increasingly challenged. Two approaches in particular were taken, cognitive anthropology and ethnoscience (Jahoda 1982, 239). Cognitive anthropologists are so labelled due to their contrast to those working within a symbolic framework, rather than being explicitly psychological in their approach (*ibid*, 243). Scholars such as Wittgenstein, Austin and Lounsbury, worked within the linguistic framework to question the traditional approach. Wittgenstein, for example, questioned the ways in which we use similarity to categorise things. He used a study of the category 'game' to show not all members of the group shared the same characteristics and suggested that categories are created through the presence of a family of resemblances (discussed in Lakoff 1987, 16-22). This assertion clearly has relevance to this study, as functional types may translate between materials (chapter 4), meaning that we need to consider the categorisation of pottery in relation to other objects, to understand the engagements which led to objects being categorised in a particular way.

Ethnoscientists also used language data but their focus was a cross cultural comparison of classificatory systems, studying how people linguistically code their environment (Jahoda 1982, 243). For example, Berlin (1978) studied how cultures categorise the animals and plants in their environment. He identified a hierarchy of

classification and argued that organisms are generally categorised by their genus (e.g. oak), rather than their exact species, or the less exact life form (tree) levels. They suggest that this basic category is psychologically relevant and it is only shifted where a person has specialist knowledge (for example a biologist) or is not familiar with the genus (for example town dwellers are more likely to simply refer to a 'tree'). The same can be said of the pottery studied here. Whilst vessel forms may be identified as similar, intricacies of form or source may only be understood by a few, leading to the emergence of multiple understandings through engagements with pottery conditioned by previous experience. Whilst all humans have the ability to work at these different levels, it is the context which determines the capacity at which this perception works (Lakoff 1987, 31-7).

A move away from a structuralist paradigm allowed scholars to consider the processes of categorisation. A common theme to both approaches is that engagements are understood within a cultural framework, which determine which physical experiences, or engagements, are relevant in categorisation and define the taxonomic level at which this occurs.

2.2.3 Fuzzy Sets and Prototypes

A further approach, fuzzy set theory, questions the hard boundaries and the equal status given to category members (Lakoff 1987, 21). Research into fuzzy sets and scalar categorisation has created a number of conflicting theories of how we create categories. Some focus on the contents of sets, whereas others focus on the boundaries between them. A building for example may be categorised in a scalar manner, in regard to the ratio between width and height (Figure 2). Alternatively, the building may be characterised in comparison with other buildings, this places the emphasis on the contents of each set (Figure 3). Each of these can either be defined as global summary (i.e. an unquestionable set of criteria) or as a set of piecemeal components (i.e. saying something is more like a than b) (Kruschke 2005, 184-5). These differences in how categories are constructed varies contextually, for example in thinking about pottery, typological approaches focus on a scalar approach, whilst contextual approaches relate more to the study of the associations between vessels.

Figure 2: Categorising buildings in a scalar manner. Photographs: Author.

Figure 3: Categorising buildings by function. Photographs: Author.
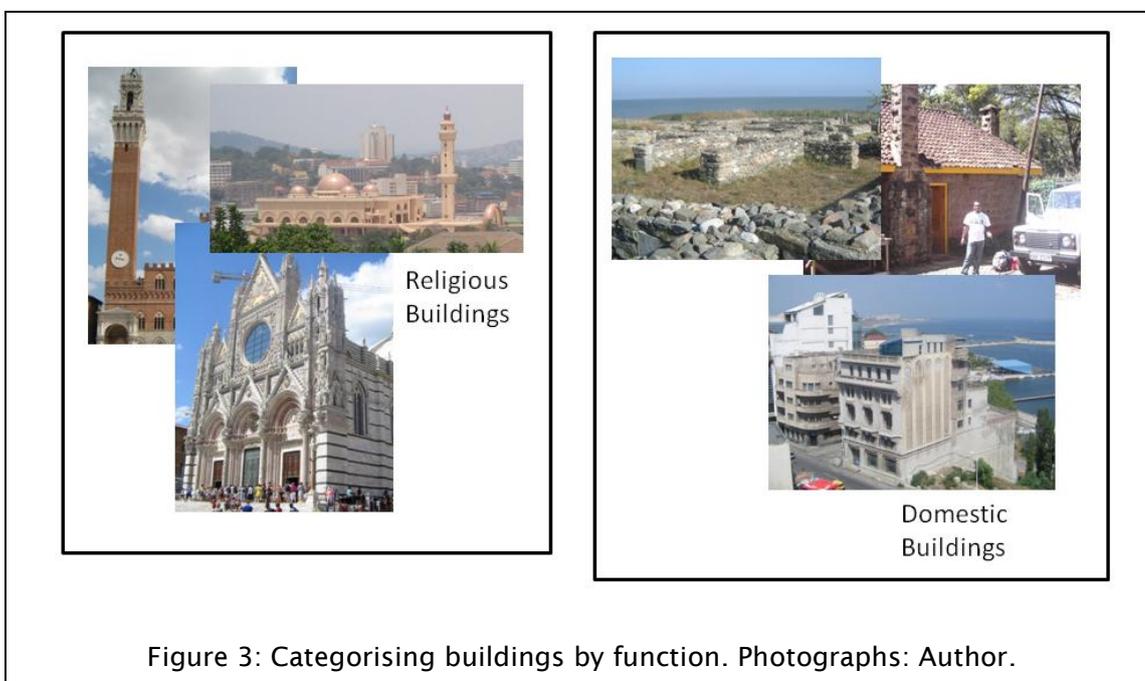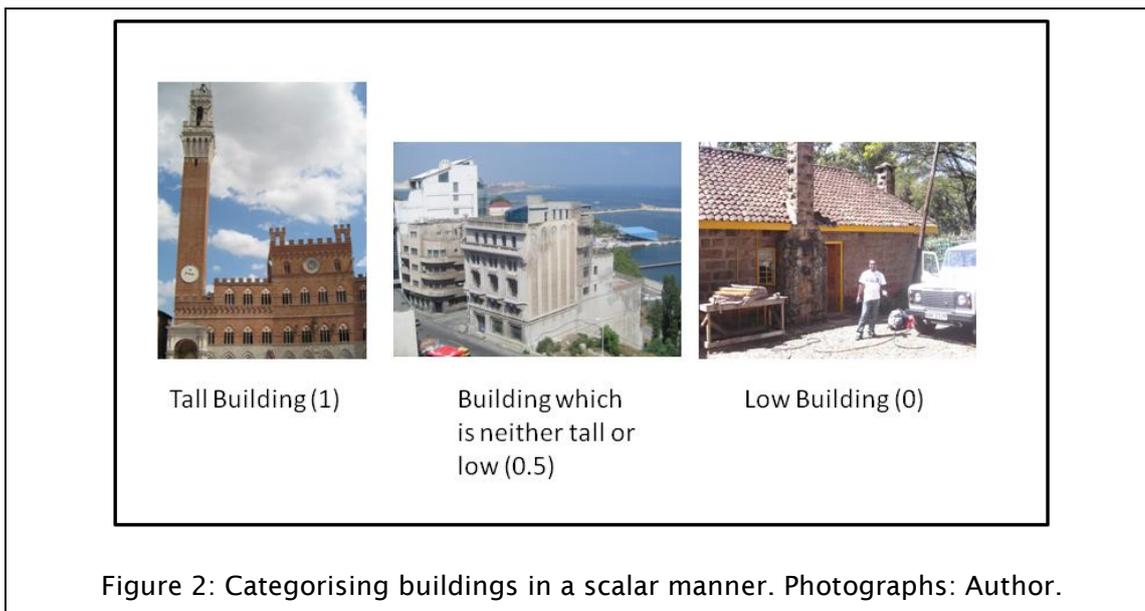
The categories defined here are fuzzy in two senses. Firstly, vessels move between categories through their life based on how people relate to them and, secondly, categories are defined in relation to other objects in an assemblage, meaning that whilst distinctive serving vessels may emerge in some homes (for example), in others a more fuzzy boundary exists between serving and other vessels (chapters 6 and 10).

One relevant application of fuzzy set theory is that of Kempton (1978), who studied how people categorise and label ceramic vessels. Informants were asked to categorise vessels as either a 'typical...', 'type of...' or 'definitely not a...'. He demonstrates that fuzzy set theory is a highly relevant approach when defining vessels such as cups and

mugs, which are very similar. When defining something as a pitcher or a drinking vessel the definition is much clearer and a definite boundary can be drawn. Whereas the distinctions between a functional group may be defined on metrical grounds, functional classes are grouped based on associations (drinking, serving, etc.). Kempton argues that fuzzy set theory allows us not only to assess the extent to which an object fits into a category but also the way in which categories are related to one another in a graded manner (Figure 4), based on metrical characteristics and associations. The study demonstrates that people understand the same vessels in different ways, depending upon how they experience them, a process which introduces fuzziness to the process of categorisation.

Figure 4: Kempton's division of ceramic vessels, demonstrating the range of members of particular groups. Redrawn from Kempton 1978.
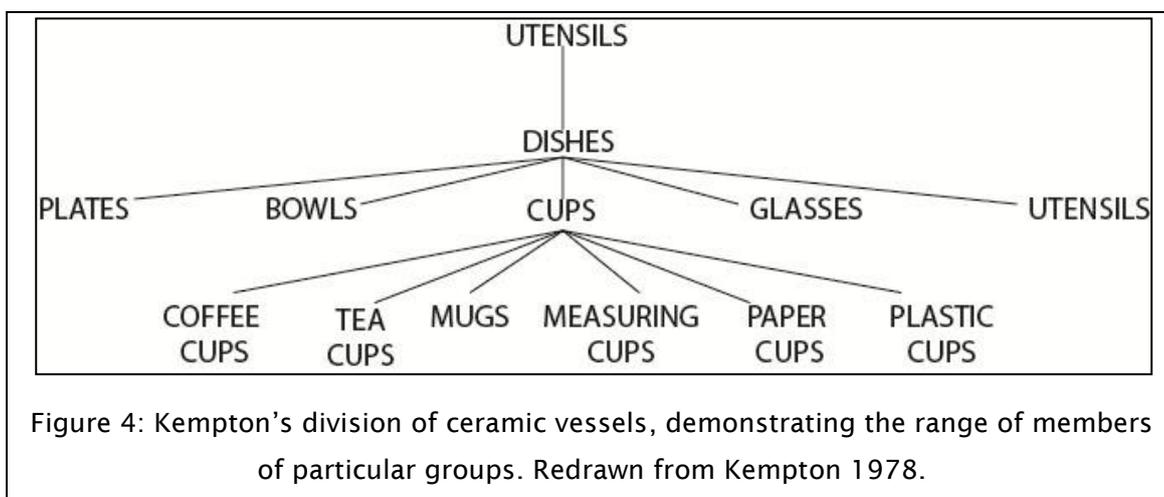
Increasingly cognitive anthropologists turned to ethnoscience for their more empirical methods, whilst ethnoscientists turned to cognitive anthropology to interpret and understand their data (Jahoda 1982, 247). Rosch (1978) made the most significant breakthrough in bringing these two approaches together through her prototype theory. She believed boundaries between categories are fuzzy, but at the core of the category is a firm prototype, which can come to stand for the whole group (Figure 5). Rosch used replicable experiments to develop her theory, which places prototypes as cognitive reference points for categories which were created, depending upon how we experienced the world. By generating differing mental prototypes people related to the same vessel in different ways, a process which can particularly be seen in relation to imported pottery and at times of change in medieval Southampton (chapter 10).

Lakoff argues that a central prototype can have radial categories – versions of the prototype which are similar, but do not meet all the criteria set out by it. An example is that of the mother (the central prototype) (Figure 6). There are a number of different types of mother, all of whom are recognised as mothers, but do not exactly match the central prototype. The process through which this recognition occurs is a cognitive

one. The central mother is linked to the radial forms of mother through the experiential domain, because we observe and interact with them in the same way as we do with the central prototype (Lakoff 1987, 91-6). The links (or associations) between the central and radial subjects can vary in nature, perhaps being based on a set of idealised models (e.g. myths) or specific knowledge (knowing that two things are essentially the same). Such an approach has a clear application to pottery studies, as we can question the extent to which 'different' types may have been perceived as the same through engagements such as use and deposition (chapter 7).

Figure 5: A fuzzy set of telephones. Photographs: Author.

Those inside the dashed rectangle closely match the prototype, those on the edge belong to the same set but are less similar. Those in the bottom left hand corner overlap with the set of computer.

Figure 6: Examples of radial categories of 'mother'.
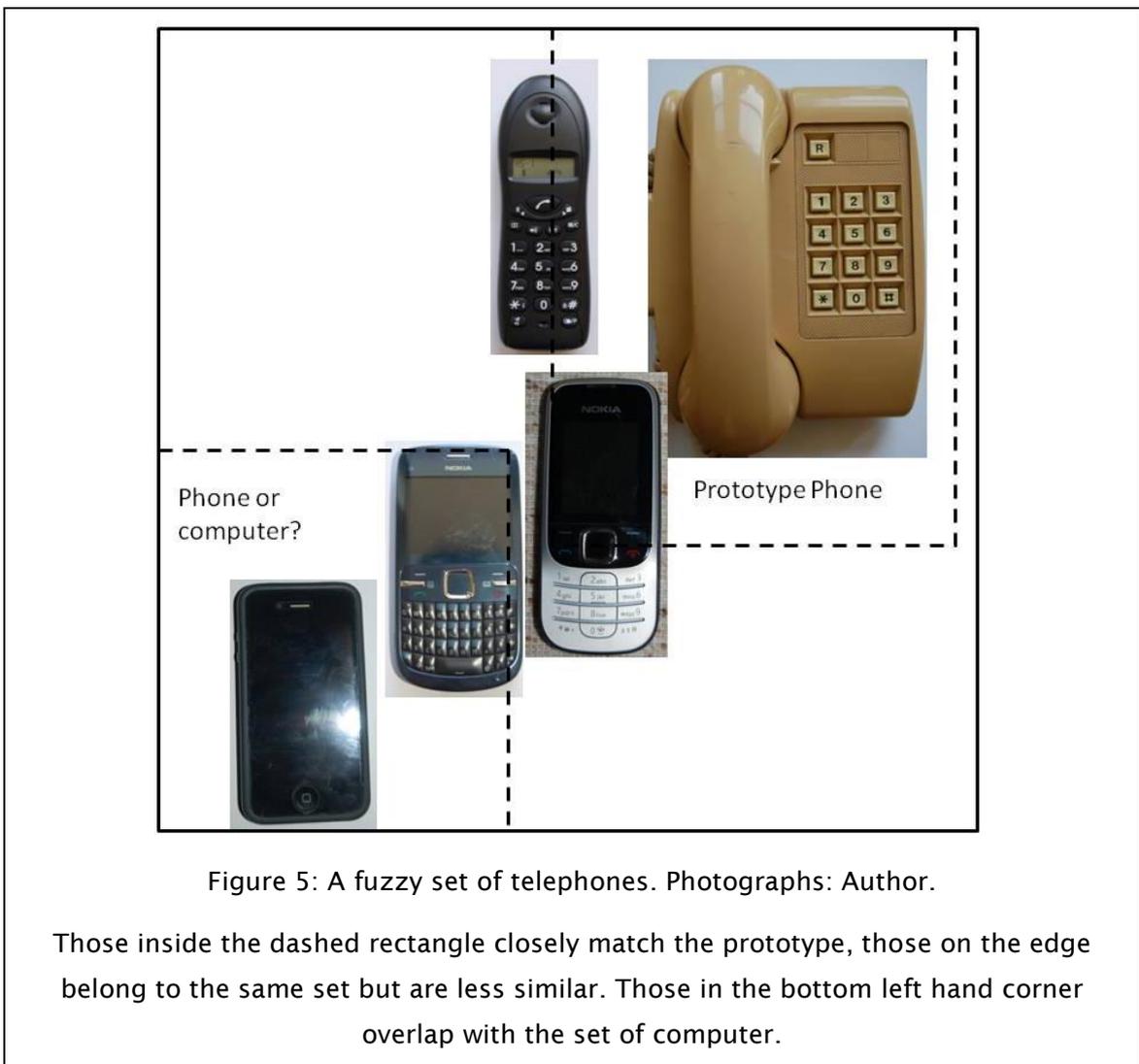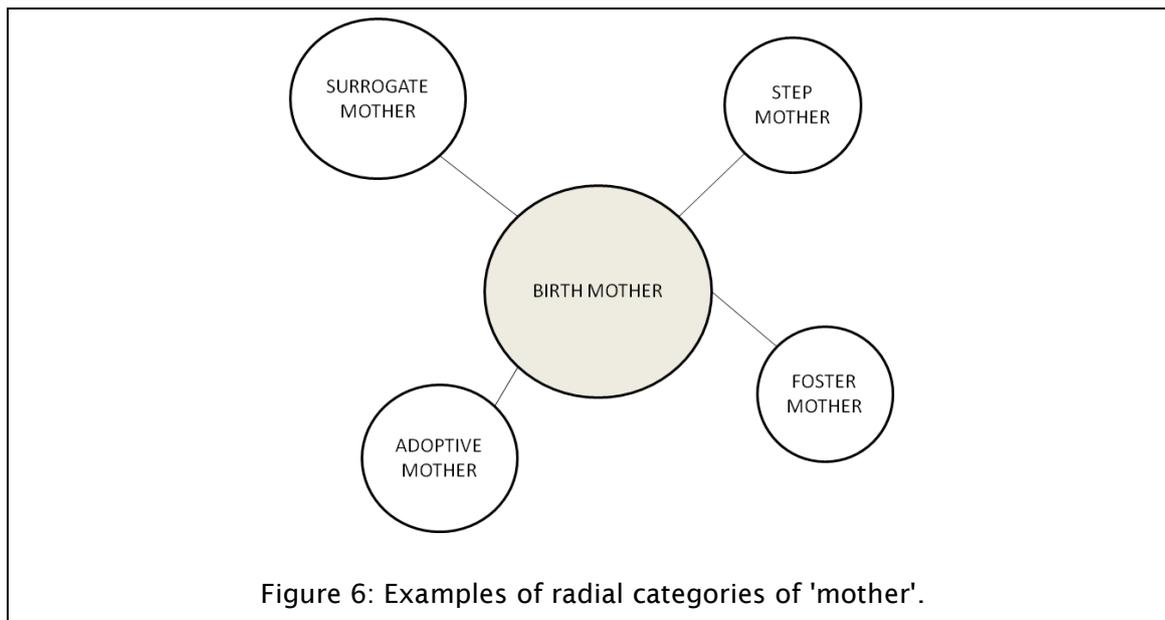
As in archaeology, there has been a shift towards explaining processes of categorisation and relating these to particular contexts. The focus so far has largely been on categorising objects but we also need to consider how people categorise themselves in relation to each other and their material environment.

2.3 Categorising People: Critiquing Studies of Identity in Archaeology

Identity studies have a long history in archaeology (see Fowler 2010). The study of identity became less important during the processual years, though in the last two decades it has again become a central theme in archaeological theory. There is not space here to review every work on identity produced in archaeology, instead a few examples will be used to critique such an approach and, in particular, how many studies have failed to bring together the human and object worlds. The fact that in this study a different approach is taken, that is the following of actors and the understanding of group formation processes, means that it may be necessary to dwell on weaknesses, but this should not be seen as detracting from the strengths of the studies cited.

Two critiques can be levied at studies of identity. The first has already been well versed within the archaeological literature, that is that formulations of identity can often be static or one dimensional. In recent years the plurality and changing nature of identities has been recognised and addressed, with an acknowledgement being made

that identities are fluid, through both space and time (e.g. Shennan 1989, 20; S. Jones 1997, 122; Conlin Casella and Fowler 2004, 8).

The second is more subtle and that is that we tend to set out to identify a known group (such as an ethnicity) or perceived group (such as a particular type of craftsmen; e.g. Jervis 2008) and to identify how they expressed or developed this identity in a particular context (Meskell and Preucell 2004, 122; Croucher 2008, 304). Furthermore, objects have often been limited to a passive role of reflecting meta-level ethnic or gender based identities (Meskell and Preucell 2001, 127; Pikirayi 2008). There are however some successful attempts at addressing this, where archaeologists have studied how elements of material culture have been used to socialise individuals into particular groups (Meskell and Preucell 2004, 130).

2.3.1 Studies of Identity in Medieval Archaeology

Studies of identity have become increasingly common in medieval archaeology through the last twenty years. Studies of ethnicity in particular are embedded within medieval archaeology however, being present from its culture historical roots (see Curta 2007). Historical documents can help to add vital context to our understanding of identities (e.g. Sayer 2009) but can also be a hinderance as we set out to search for pre-existing named groups, particularly ethnic groups (see Hinton 2009) rather than allowing groups to materialise from the data. Early studies suggested that the people of early medieval Britain were culturally homogenous, with variation largely being due to the presence of different ethnic groups. More nuanced approaches however have allowed us to explore how identities emerge through practice, to consider identities to be plural and not pre-determined (Frazer 2000, 3; Williams and Sayer 2009, 1). Ethnicity remains a key area of research, but new approaches also allow us to consider how identities relating to elements of the self such as gender, age and status are also reflected in the material record.

Early studies of ethnicity created a particular kind of history, where a direct relationship could be drawn between ethnicity and material culture, where ethnic groups existed as discrete entities, with gradual coallesence into larger groups, such as 'the English' (Moreland 2000, 29). More subtle reading of the material evidence however allows us to consider how identities were much more local in scale (ibid, 36) and that material culture was used in an active manner to construct, maintain and reproduce relationships, which linked to ethnicity, but also other areas of identity such as gender and status (ibid, 42; Curta 2007, 175; see also S. Jones 1997; Härke 2007). Burial archaeology has been a key area for the development of discussions of ethnicity as a cultural construction based upon the presence of grave goods and the undertaking of particular burial practices (see Williams and Sayer 2009, 8). Studies have also taken a more holistic approach however, drawing upon settlement evidence as well as historical sources to discuss ethnicity. Hadley's (2002) investigation of identities in the Danelaw, for example, critiques the notion of Dane and Saxon as concrete, unchanging identities, instead exporing the fluid nature of ethnicity. Church sculpture, for example, is demonstrated to have been created in an environment where Christian and Scandinavian values could be exchanged, rather than simply acting as a passive indicator of ethnicity. Similarly, Johnson (2004) has explored how a Norman indeitites were negotiated in different ways in Normandy and Italy, creating a specific form of ethnicity in this particular context. The current study draws upon some of these concepts, principally the role of material culture in negotiating ethnic identity,

through a consideration of how consumption activity served to maintain or develop such identities in medieval Southampton.

Central to the research presented here is a consideration of identies relating to status and urbanism. Whereas ethnicity has principally been a focus of early medieval archaeology, studies of class and power extend throughout the medieval period. Saunders (2000) for example explores how 'feudal' identities were negotiated through the use of space, arguing that a move to nucleated settlements reflects the formation of new social relationships. The agency of objects in this process is considered to a degree, acknowledging that settlement structure and new technologies (such as the plough) played a role in the maintenance of these relatiionships (*ibid*, 222). Similarly the regulated layout of towns acted as arenas where people could display their class and power, through conspicuous consumption (ibid, 229). Whilst towns were produced by feudalism, Saunders argues that these settlements produced new social relationships and conditions, reflected in the rise of a particularly urban material culture (ibid, 231). Here these conclusions are taken a step further, to argue that this material cultre possessed some of the agency for urban communities to develop and surive (chapter 10). Astill (2006) also considers the development of urban identies, contrasting urban settlements with their rural hinterlands, focussing on how their role as economic and administrative centres cemented the position of towns in some areas, but how in others, where 'urban' functions were distributed between several centres, they were less defined. Both studies focus on the economic and political nature of early medieval towns, exploring how identities were bound in economic and political activity. The current study, whilst acknowledging the importance of such activity, focuses on the process by which urban identities developed from living in towns, particularly through domestic activity, in an attempt to provide a more balanced picture of life in these settlements. Dealing with later medieval evidence, Giles (2000) explores the maintainance of civic identies through a study of guildhalls, arguing that habitual activity in these spaces maintained and structured relationships and therefore civic society. Giles's considerations of the active role of space are furthered in chapter 10 of this study, when the role of space and objects is brought together to explore how power relationships were negotiated through activities such as formal dining. Identities related to power relationships in rural settlements have also been considered for the later medieval period. Smith (2009), for example, explores how peasants used dress accessories to create an identity which contrasts that reflected in contemporary attitudes as displayed in art work, characterising the identies created through this consumption as 'resistant' to the imposed social order.

A final area to be reviewed briefly is the emerging literature on the development of identities related to gender and the lifecourse. This is not explicitly dealt with in this study as it was felt that the necessary contextual information was not available. However, the approach to domestic practices taken in this study could offer exciting possibilities for the development of studies in this area. Burial practices and religious contexts are the principal areas where these themes have been explored (for example Richards' study discussed in chapter 1). Härke's (1990) study demonstrated that 'gendered' grave goods were related to status as well as biological sex and has provided a starting point for studies of masculinity through burial evidence (see Hadley 2004 for a review). Through the Anglo-Saxon period a shift can be seen to occur between commemoration based around individual identities to a focus on family status (ibid). Focussing on the post-conquest period, Gilchrist (2009a) argues that burial evidence reflects the construction of conflicting masculinities, between the clerical and secular elites through elements of burial practice and commemoration, arguing that the staging of the body was central to creating and communicating these contrasting identities (ibid, 252). Gilchrist (1994a) has also explored how gendered identities were created in life, through an analysis of female religious houses. She demonstrates that the use of space within these settings contrasts with that in male houses, creating distinctive female experiences of religious life. These were partly prescribed by wider conceptualisations of femininity, which meant that whilst houses were luminal they were still reliant on other institutions from both economic and liturgical perspectives. Nunneries were often connected to parish churches, meaning that religious women were more connected to the secular community that religious men. The division and use of space, particular within the northern cloister, was active in allowing women to negotiate and construct their own belief, for example through the use of explicitly female symbolism. The architecture and organisation of these houses shared much in common with secular gentry houses, with these links forming a female habitus and concept of femininity which transcended the religious and secular boundary, in contrast to male houses which were distinct in their organisation from secular homes. Such analysis has demonstrated how males and females of different social status experienced life in different ways, introducing a level of variability and subtlety to our understanding of medieval life. Exploration of these themes through a combination of archaeological evidence and historical sources in relation to the domestic sphere could prove rewarding in the identification of multiple concepts of masculintity and femininity, within wealthy households and between rich and poor, as well as through time, however the relelvant contextual information is not present for this agenda to be advanced in this study. Age as well as gender has been an important area for study, again, principally through burial remains, for examples Crawford's (2000) study into childhood in Anglo-Saxon England which demonstrates how material culture, in the

form of grave goods, was used to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. Gilchrist (1999) has demonstrated how the lifecourse is represented in the layout of the medieval parish church, for example with the placing of the font and infant burials at the west end, to denote both the entry to the church and the start of the lifecourse.

As in material culture studies, practice theory has become a common frame for discussions of identity (Conlin Casella and Fowler 2004, 8). Medieval archaeologists have taken this approach forward in a variety of directions, to explore how practice brought about identities particularly based around ethnicity, status, gender and age. Whilst some have used material culture to explore how identities prescribed in historical sources are reflected archaeology, others have explored how objects reflect the formation of alternative identities and even considered their active role in their creation. This study expands upon this body of research, exploring how identities emerged and were maintained through practice, following the actors at play to identify which groups emerge and how they were maintained, rather than focussing on how material culture reflects these processes.

2.3.2 New Perspectives

Critiques of identity studies have led to new perspectives being explored. One has been the adoption of dynamic nominalist approaches to identity. The central tenant of this approach is that:

"categories of people come into existence at the same time as kinds of people come into being to fit those categories, and there is a two-way interaction in that process"
(Hacking 1995, 247).

The process of group formation and categorisation would appear to be actor led, with action and associations causing categories to form, as individuals participate in particular activities. Once these associations no longer exist, that group dissolves. Two fundamental issues remain; that a division between the natural and social worlds is retained by Hacking (1995, 243) and that there is no explicit acknowledgement of material agency. This is evident in Blake's (1999) study of the Sardinian Bronze Age, which takes such an approach. Blake acknowledges that this approach constructs, rather than allows an actor to weave through, structure. This is achieved through producing architecture, trading obsidian and producing and using a similar suite of ceramics. Blake has made a first step in an actor led identity theory, moving from the simple identification of a group from its material culture, to identifying a group as existing through shared practice, which both brings the category of people into

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existence, at the same time as generating the people (pottery using, obsidian trading, tomb building individuals) to populate this group (Blake 1999, 46). This is subtly different from the studies of identity outlined above, which move in the opposite direction, *first* identifying a group and *then* their practices, rather than allowing groups to materialise from the evidence. The next step is to consider the associations between these material manifestations of the culture, the wider environment and the people themselves, which can only be achieved by asking the questions of the material which allow us trace these associations. This is why much of this thesis concentrates on reconstructing the human-object relations which formed these associations and with them groups of people (chapter 9).

Of course, to say that it is not until recently that archaeologists have not wholly accounted for material agency is somewhat dismissive of the work of many archaeologists, not least Hodder, who wrote on the subject as early as 1982 (Hodder 1982). Medieval archaeologists too have accounted for the agency of objects (e.g. Gilchrist 1994a; Saunders 2000; Smith 2009), although their conceptualisation of agency is typically as secondary to human agency. The seeds for an actor led approach, acknowledging the role of active objects have been sewn, the question is how can we construct a framework in which to take such an approach? This, I contend, can be achieved through the actor led approach described below.

2.4 To Actor-Network Theory (and beyond!)...

In a paper urging archaeologists to consider issues of identity and to utilise practice theory and *habitus*, Blinkhorn (1997) calls on us to continue to ask questions of our material, rather than using it to confirm what we already know. The tracing of known groups, and even the use of *habitus* or 'the social' as a catch all explanation, has this effect, of creating a circular argument. As demonstrated by Latour (2005) in his introduction to Actor-Network Theory (ANT), a similar trend has developed in sociology. He argues that social explanations have been used to distinguish from other domains such as economics and biology, becoming a universal meta-level explanation for unexplained phenomena. The term 'social' has had a causality attached to it, meaning that it becomes the explanation for, rather than what is explained by, sociology. Hodder (2001, 38) has made a similar comment in regard to archaeology, claiming that "everything is infused with the social", demonstrating how it becomes an explanation for things, *rather than being constructed by them*. Instead, Latour promotes an actor-led approach, based on tracing the associations which create 'the social'. Similar reactions against this conceptualisation of 'the social' have also

occurred in geography (e.g. Thrift 2008; Whatmore 2002), leading to a distinctive set of theories, drawing on ANT scholars and others, which are suited to the particular questions posed in this discipline. Within archaeology this is a development which allow us to go beyond the post-processual contextualisation of artefacts to consider their role in creating these contexts. It is hoped that an exploration of the potential of such non-representational thinking here will contribute to this development in archaeological study, in particular in relation to the interpretation of archaeological artefacts.[2]

2.4.1 Defining ANT

Rather than being a theory, ANT is an approach, which sees 'the social' as a network of associations between actors, including humans and non-humans, where a social context emerges as the result of these assocations (Thrift 2008, 12; Gregson and Rose 2000,441; Whatmore 2002, 67). It is a methodology which can be used to reconstruct, explain and understand 'the social' (Callon 1999, 194). 'The social' is ever changing as these associations are maintained, remade or dissolved over time. Actor-Network Theory is a misleading term, we have already stated that it is not a theory and the use of the terms network and actor require definition. 'Network' is not meant in the sense of a collection of connected nodes between which information passes without deformation, it is the exact opposite. A network is defined here as a series of translations (Latour 1999, 15). The network consists of actors joined by associations which leave traces. It is through these traces that we reconstruct the network and thus 'the social'. Actors can be 'intermediaries', whereby they index past associations or 'mediators' where they transfer, distort and modify meaning, through building associations with other actors (Latour 2005, 37). Because actors can be non-human anyone and anything can posses the agency to mediate continuity or change. It is the mediatory role of artefacts, their role in building, maintaining and changing medieval society, which is being investigated here. By studying these engagements we can consider how actors are joined and how meaning comes to be distributed through the network.

Actors themselves are built through associations, their role being distributed through the other actors with which they are connected (Callon 1999, 181; Dewsbury 2000, 480). A core concept of ANT is that we should "analyse the great in exactly the same way that we would anybody else" (Law 1992, 1; Latour 2005, 187); the British

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[2] It must be stressed that this is not the first time that ANT has been applied to medieval archaeological material. Sindbæk (2007) has discussed Viking age towns, using ANT to demonstrate the complex networks in place between trading sites of different type.

government is built up of associations in exactly the same way as the local knitting group; no actor is 'bigger' than any other, just more connected. Rather than seeing all local action as set into an over-riding social context, all action is connected. As there is no global framework, 'local' interactions cannot be shaped by over-riding global conditions. Instead, because everything is connected, what is acting at some moment, in some place, is coming from many other places; from far away action and associations between many different material and human agents.

In relation to our discussion of categorisation Latour's statement (2005, 27) that there is "no group, only group formation" is of importance. It is Latour's (*ibid*) contention that common practice is to fit people into existing groups, or to study these groups, as discussed above. These groups are seen as relevant within a 'context' because they have 'social' explanations, meaning that within an ANT framework they do not compute. Instead it is proposed that we should study the associations which lead to group formation, in which connections are made between individuals. This process leaves traces, which can be followed to identify a group, or a process of assembly, allowing us to identify difference and define groups in relation to each other. It is these traces, left through engagements with pottery, which are being studied here. Most crucially for an ANT approach, groups are constantly made and remade in tandem with the making and remaking of associations between agents; should this process stop, the group ceases to exist (*ibid*, 35).

Another important element is the collapsing of the dichotomy between human and material actors. Rather than people being separate to objects, people and objects form part of a single assemblage of associations, where humans act on objects and objects on humans, to create a social assemblage consisting of both (Latour 2005, 80). By including objects as actors networks are able to become durable. A network consisting of humans talking to one another will last as long as the conversation. Material durability gives associations the potential to last for longer, meaning that 'the social' can become durable, but only for as long as associations continue to be made with that object (Law 1992, 6). To quote Latour "durability is achieved through the power exerted through entities that don't sleep and don't break down" (2005, 70). Once these associations cease to exist the object comes to stand for past associations and networks, rather than being actively engaged within them (although, of course, it can be drawn into a new network of associations). As we shall see, a medieval pot, as part of medieval life, was active in the preservation of a particular domestic network. Some objects (e.g. buildings) have a high level of material durability, meaning that continued engagements with them act to make 'the social' durable. Many objects are more ephemeral, as they are used episodically. Past action is indexed in use, evoking

memory and, in the process, creating a network of meaning in which particular categories, or understandings, are created and maintained. For associations to be made durable they must be continually remade (see Jones 2007, 84).

Objects can outlive their connections and power can only be exerted for as long as the object is in a network where it can act (see Law and Mol 1995, 279). This need not always be the same network. By being durable, the objects of the past still act, becoming enmeshed in new associations; by being studied as part of this thesis pottery becomes active in constructing ideas about the past (Witmore 2007, 557; Webmoor 2007, 571; Thrift 2008, 9). In other words, whilst indexing past associations new meaning is created, as objects are drawn into new networks of associations. Even modern objects are gatherings of achievements from various times and places (Witmore 2007, 557), demonstrating the continuous making and remaking of associations and the varying levels of material and associative durability.[3] Meaning flows between contexts, as past associations are indexed in the making, or remaking, of new ones (Jones 2007, 79). It is the associations, not the object themselves, which generate meaning and, therefore, meaning can flow between objects and through contexts; meaning is constructed, reconstructed and made durable through links. Objects are active in constructing a context through associations and act as mediators on the same level as any actor within the network. As within any assemblage we can argue that objects have a distinct social role, acting as a mediator for continued behaviour and relations (that is making the associations durable) (Knorr Cetina 1997, 9; Dant 2006, 290) and setting an emotional context (or atmosphere), which may stimulate particular kinds of associations (Knorr Cetina 1997, 9).

Our networks are fluid and consist of mediators joined by connections, which can be physical or metaphysical, which gather and assemble a collective. Our study will weave us along a particular route, following the human and material agents we identify. Does this not lead to an incomplete picture? The answer is no, everything else is still there, outside of the network as we have framed it, but with the potential to be connected to it. The network, rather than being embedded in a social context, is submerged in 'plasma', defined as that which is not yet socialised or engaged with, a reserve for tracing further connections (Latour 2005, 258). It can only be brought into a network if there is evidence of connection or association. Through the lens of pottery we will only be able to study the formation of particular parts of the 'medieval social' (chapter 10), but clearly other associations were made, which cannot be studied through this

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[3] For example, a car consists of ancient technology (the wheel) but also new technology (electronics).

medium. We may, however, discover 'externalities', defined as "everything which the agents do not take into account, but which acts upon them" (Callon 1999, 188). The original network can be seen as being 'framed', the addition of externalities to it can be termed 'overflowing', that is the network expands outside of its frame. In particular we will be able to observe this phenomenon in relation to the 'overflow' created by immigrants reconstructing their native practices in the context of Southampton, which has an effect on the way that local pottery came to be categorised and understood (chapter 10). Although our network must be framed, containing those actors directly linked within the network, we must also acknowledge the agency of those externalities which tend to be unexpected. Rather than filling in the blanks with 'the social' we let the agents act and follow their lead through the network we have chosen to trace.

If we are to use an ANT approach to reconstruct the social assemblages which our medieval pottery was a part of, then we must treat the vessels as actors and study these processes in turn, to determine how they acted, on whom and what. These actors are constituted of partial connections meaning that objects can be looked at in different ways, leading to us uncovering different connections and different meanings. We could conceptualize this as a patchwork of meaning (Law and Mol 1995), whereby different interactions with an object create multiple realities (Law 2004, 64; Thrift 2008, 201). By understanding the physical engagements between pottery and people in the past, we can identify the actors at play and use the engagements between them to reconstruct this patchwork of meaning. Using an ANT framework we can trace the agency of the people, pottery and other objects and substances through these activities, to consider how pottery use was active in creating 'the social', rather than attempting to place known and unknown groups into the ether of the medieval 'social context'.

2.4.2 Adopting a Biographical Approach

As a brief aside it is important to consider how frameworks for stringing together the engagements between people and pottery have developed in archaeology and anthropology. Such 'biographical' approaches have become increasingly common in archaeology in the last decade, following the work of Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986). The key advantage of such approaches is that they allow us to consider the fluidity of meaning in objects and relate them to the human life course. Appadurai's contribution was to argue, in a discussion of the nature of commodities, that objects do not have inherent value, but gain this through economic exchange. Therefore, commoditisation can be seen as a phase in an object's life history as it negotiates contexts where it gains value. In other words, an objects properties are defined by the

associations it has with other objects and people. Kopytoff developed the idea of biography by considering how these relationships were joined in a narrative and also identifying that, as in studies of identity, biographies can have different aspects. It is through these varying biographical trajectories that cultural categories develop and meanings emerge and dissolve (Kopytoff 1986, 70). By moving beyond production, this study will allow us to consider the biography of pottery, the associations which it was drawn into and, therefore, the multiple roles a vessel may have played in the formation of 'the social'.

The life histories of objects, people and places are entwined with each other (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 169; Mytum 2010, 244). By taking an approach to 'the social' grounded in ANT we can consider how these moments of entwinement distribute agency and generate, make durable and change an object's meaning. As well as considering the biography of objects, an area of further interest is the biography of archaeological deposits, with an argument developing that meaning is also generated through the entanglement of people, objects and physical context (e.g. Jones 2002, 140; Morris forthcoming). Such entanglement means that artefact biographies need not follow simple, linear trajectories; time is manipulated and experienced through interactions with objects (Gosden 1994, 17). Things are caught in cycles of use and are drawn into a series of engagements which means that, like humans, their life history consists of a patchwork of relationships, associations and meanings, which need not directly relate to one another and which manipulate time in a number of ways, be it through cycles of daily use or longer processes of decay (Joy 2010, 12; Mytum 2010, 245). By tracking the engagements a vessel had, how it may have gained and lost meaning through associations with people, places and things, we can begin to stitch this patchwork together to gain a richer understanding of 'the medieval social'.

A further element to consider is the changing trajectories of biographies whereby following exchange an object's meaning may be involved in entirely different kinds of relationship than it had been previously. One example is silver beakers, which change from being simple commodities when in the hands of one Romanian ethnic group, to increasingly becoming fetishised objects and symbols of identity for another group, as the object develops what has been termed a 'social career' (Berta 2009, 194). We can imagine similar changes in the trajectories of objects as they move between households in a medieval town, in which their role in building and maintaining social assemblages alters (chapter 10). One limitation of the approach is a tendency to study generalised life histories (Jones 2002, 85; Tilley 1996, 248), rather than examining the history of an individual artefact. This is necessary when dealing with pottery as the evidence may not be present in a single sherd to reconstruct the biography of an

individual pot and is the approach followed here. Instead, we can generalise, based on the occurrence of certain traces on vessels of a given type (however this is chosen to be defined), in a particular context.

Pottery is a relatively ephemeral artefact, vessels typically have a short lifespan (see DeBoer and Lathrap 1979, 127), limiting their material durability (Jones 2007, 83). At a given time vessels may be present in a household which are at varying points in their linear lives, meaning that engagements with objects generate a variety of temporal flows. Therefore, whilst an individual object may be ephemeral, a degree of durability is introduced by people interacting with different objects at different points in their lives (Jones 2007, 83; chapter 2). Whilst this can act to introduce durability we also need to account for developments both in production and use. Urry (2000) has argued that recursive action can bring about change, exacerbating a development to breaking point; even though action may be *perceived* as being the same, the actions may in fact be different. Therefore, although elements in a network may be made durable, it is possible that change can still be brought about through this process. Such changes are likely to be brought about through the nature of the connections between particular actors, for example changes in the foodstuffs available may subtly alter cooking techniques, which could eventually lead to developments in pottery manufacture. Therefore, in considering the construction of a social assemblage the introduction of a new pottery type need not be indicative of a contextual shift, but be the result of action which would appear on the surface to make and remake a context or assemblage. Such processes may of course change at different rates, or not occur at all in some households, meaning that 'the social' cannot be seen as homogenous across the town, but instead be conceptualised as a patchwork of associations.

A further area where the biographical framework has been central to the methodological philosophy is the study of technology, through the study of technological choices and the chaîne opératoire (e.g. Lemmonier 1993; Sillar and Tite 2000; Dobres 2000). A technological process can be seen as a series of connected choices, each informed by the previous choices and set into the social context of manufacture. Such a biographical approach is attractive because it allows us to contextualise each component of a process. By studying pottery in context we can reconstruct the choices made in technologies of use and deposition and consider not only what choices were made, but the considerations, material and otherwise, which affected them and the effect of these choices on the building and maintenance of a social assemblage. If we are to translate this approach into our framework, we need to consider that rather than being set into the context, that choices are active in the construction of it. Each stage in the process can be seen as a network of actors coming

together and being mobilised. Every engagement in an artefact's life can be broken down and inspected in detail to determine the actors present and the links between them and, through these links, we can consider how social assemblages were formed. This is the aim of the analysis and interpretation taken in the following chapters.

2.4.3 On Materiality and Material Agency

To trace an actor's agency we must define what we mean by the term and the relationship between humans and the material world, termed in recent debates in material culture studies as 'materiality'. The term was coined by Miller (2005), partly in response to issues raised by ANT studies in sociology and science and technology studies (Hicks 2010, 76). Miller's central concept is that of objectification, that objects are physical manifestations of human action and society (see Miller 2005, 7-10). Miller (2005, 10) proposes that a dichotomy between subject/object exists in "the wake... of objectification"; because people consider themselves to be using objects the dichotomy must exist in reality. All forms have meaning imbued upon them through interaction and Miller argues that an object is nothing without this process.
This approach has been critiqued by Ingold (2007), who argues against ignoring the material qualities of objects and instead focussing wholly on human led interaction. Materiality becomes an abstract concept, by which objects merely hover beneath the cultural, and meanings come to be attached to things (Ingold 2000a), illustrating, rather than constructing the social system. Ingold prefers humans to be guided by the material properties of objects and substances. Rather than imposing meaning on objects things are made cultural rather than culture making things (Ingold 2007, 6). Take for example Ingold's classic example of the basket, whereas some would see the basket as a materialisation of the context of the object (in terms of required form, etc.), Ingold treats the form as a metaphor for the unfolding of the material world, guiding the weaver in his task (Ingold 2000b). The term materiality has become loaded towards a human led object world, countered by an object led (or at least object guided) perspective.

There is an emerging school of thought, that such debates about the nature (or indeed the usefulness) of the term materiality are becoming moot. Indeed, in the ANT literature materiality and sociality have been successfully conflated, due to the approach not separating the material from 'the social' (Law and Mol 1995, 274). It is through material engagements that a process of materialisation can be seen to occur, making history, memory and meaning (DeMarrais 2004, 13; Rowlands 2005, 73). Rather than objectifying the global or the social context, they make durable associations. Objects are also effectors; practice (or engagement) does not just enact

things but creates people (or groups of people) rather than representing or enabling them, just as objects are created through this process (Dewsbury 2003, 1915; Whatmore 2002, 26).

We have reached a point where we need to define the form that agency may take, for now concentrating on material agency, in order to understand the genealogy of the term. It is widely acknowledged (e.g. Miller 2005, Jones and Boivin 2010) that the concept of material agency was first brought to the archaeologists' attention by the work of Gell (1998), who argued that objects (in this case art) acted as an index for social agency. He argued that art could not be a primary agent as it lacks intentionality. Instead, as a secondary agent, it acts as a medium for human agency, an approach which has since been transferred onto objects as seeing them as having 'embedded human agency' (including by this author; Jervis 2007; see also Gosden 2005). The term agency itself is widely attributed to Giddens (1979), who set the concept up in opposition to structure in his structuration theory, arguing that the material conditions both enable and are reproduced by social (ie human) agents. This inadvertly gives a notion of material agency, as material contexts enable the reproduction of a social structure by humans.

We can question though if objects do more than this; they have the power to act on humans, a statement explored by Jones and Boivin (2010) through a discussion of animism and fetishism. If, as ANT scholars, particularly Latour (2005), state, things and people are enfolded in one another, action and thus agency must be distributed through both, it is not possible to only see objects as secondary agents. Therefore, intentionality cannot be a property of a 'primary' agent, instead it is a property of the relationship *between* humans and things; it is distributed through the two and 'spun' as they come together (Jones and Boivin 2010, 341; Whatmore 1999, 27). In order to be able to study this redistribution of agency we need to return to the arguments over the nature of materiality and particularly the point that an objectification approach, as defined by Miller, leads to things simply reflecting the social system, rather than being active in its construction. This re-enforces, rather than bridges the divide between social and material (see Malafouris 2004, 53). We need an approach which combines the study of the material properties of objects with their role in social practice, they need to be both material and cultural, substance and concept (Boivin 2004; Malafouris 2004; Jones and Boivin 2010, 350). Examples could be the way that Boivin (2000) studies the remaking of structures in Rajhasthan in relation to the cultural calendar, or the links between agriculture, landscape and pottery studied by A. Jones (1997; see above).

ANT requires us to see human and material actors as equal, with intentionality distributed between them. This requires us to rethink both material and human agency and, therefore, the concept of agency itself. Latour (2005, 46) states that "an actor is what is made to act by many others". Therefore, agency is not a property of an actor but the result of action. Knappett (2004) explores this further, using Gibson's concept of affordances. An object's affordances (which could be translated into its agency in the sense of guiding human action) are not a property of the object itself but are the result of an interaction between an object (or objects) and a human actor (or actors).[4] Therefore, objects or humans do not have agency, it is produced through performance and action (Jones and Boivin 2010, 351; Witmore 2007, 552; Olsen 2007, 584; Law 2004, 134). Agency is therefore present in these associations as a potential energy until the actors begin to act, the network is mobilised and 'the social' constructed.

We have constructed a model of interaction whereby actors are human and non-human, they are mediators and cause each other to act by acting themselves. We have created what Latour calls a symmetry; material and culture are one. Such an approach has recently been termed 'symmetrical archaeology' (e.g. Witmore 2007; Shanks 2007; Olsen 2007; Webmoor 2007). It is important to emphasise that such an approach does not call for objects and humans to be seen as equivalents, or that we wish to see the world as undifferentiated, just that the two are considered together, as equals in terms of analytical attention, to allow us to study how distributed collectives negotiate the world (Witmore 2007, 547).

2.5 Summary

This study fits into a trend in archaeological research towards explaining the way people created the world around them and defined themselves in relation to objects. ANT allows us to consider how objects were active in constructing these various 'social realities', seeing the agency to construct them and the meaning (or categories) which the process of assembly creates, as distributed through material and human actors. Medieval archaeologists have generally been slow to adopt such approaches (Gilchrist 2009b, 394-5), but by adopting it we are able to consider how engagements with pottery and other domestic material culture were active in creating the medieval 'social', rather than seeing wider 'social' explanations as guiding our understanding of the material remains of the past.

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[4] For example, the agency to sit is distributed through a person and a chair in the form of knowledge generated through previous engagements with similar objects. Without this knowledge the chair could have any number of uses (e.g. as a step, a doorstop).

3. Research Questions and Methodology

The previous chapters have situated this study within medieval pottery studies (chapter 1) and outlined a theoretical approach which will allow us to place pottery at the centre of a study of medieval society (chapter 2). Rather than uncritically applying the typical methodologies associated with ceramic analysis, we must select techniques which will allow us to answer the questions we are posing and cement these into a framework in which we can interpret the findings. This framework will be to follow a biographical approach, allowing us to string together the findings of research into ceramic distribution, use and deposition. Analytical methods were chosen to permit the identification of engagements between actors at any point in a vessel's biography, so that we can understand the role of pottery in the creation of social assemblages.

3.1 Research Questions

Before we discuss the methodology it is necessary to define the questions which the research will address.

The first of these is to ask how did the way that pottery was categorised change through its life? We generally classify pottery based on production based attributes (chapter 1). We can question how these categories merge and dissolve as a vessel moves through its life, with vessels being categorised instead in relation to how they are acquired, used and thrown away (chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Secondly, how do these processes of categorisation and recategorisation vary through time and in different areas of a town? By taking a long term perspective we can study trends in ceramic exchange, use and deposition and, therefore, contextualise developments, as well as consider how defined ceramic types within a particular phase were understood, categorised and recategorised by different members of a community (chapters 5, 6 and 7). This temporal perspective will also allow us to overcome the traditional fragmentation which occurs between the study of early and later medieval archaeology, which diminishes our ability to understand how contexts are created, changed and dissolved over the long term (Gilchrist 2007, Olsen 2010, 111).

Finally, how were the engagements which created these categories active in a process of social assembly? By considering how people engaged with pottery in different ways we can reconstruct the processes of social assembly; the development of relationships

between actors. This will be studied in two ways; the first being the development of categories of people which can then be translated into a single actor in a network (chapter 9), the second being to consider how actors, human and otherwise, came together to form these networks (chapter 10).

These questions will be considered within a single case study, that of the pottery assemblage from Southampton, the specifics of this being outlined in chapter 4. The assemblage is also considered in its regional context, with a large quantity of material from elsewhere in Hampshire also having been studied. The Southampton assemblage has been chosen because it has already been well defined (Timby 1988; Brown 2002) and can be set into a relatively well understood archaeological context. The time span of c700-1400 covers a long lived local ceramic tradition. The start point has been chosen to co-incide with the foundation of *Hamwic* (mid-Saxon Southampton), although some earlier sites are discussed in chapter 8, to put Hamwic into its wider context. The end of the study is effectively marked by the French raid of 1338, when there appears to be a hiatus in depositional activity. The effects of the raid and the subsequent Black Death, which marks the end of the high medieval ceramic phase (Brown 2002, 111) are not considered due to the limitations imposed by doctoral study. The genealogy of the high medieval pottery from Southampton can be traced back to the mid-Saxon period, although a number of developments occurred during this time. The study of such a long time period also allows us to explore the development of Southampton as an urban settlement from its proto-urban origins (chapter 4). The categories identified through previous analysis (based largely on production attributes) will provide a solid starting point for further investigation.

3.2 Analytical Methods

To progress the non-representational perspective outlined in chapter 2 we need to develop a creative methodology, which allows us to "follow people and objects in action as they move" (Lorimer 2005, 89). This will be achieved by reconstructing the biography of vessels, using a number of techniques. The study has three major components, each designed to answer these research questions in different ways. These are:
- The study of distribution.
- Usewear analysis.
- The study of deposition.

In order for these to be successful it was necessary to establish a rigorous means of selecting sites and features for analysis. Previous studies of medieval Southampton have been biased by an emphasis on material excavated in the south west of the town

(see Brown 2002; Jervis 2009a) and this needed to be overcome here. A number of assemblages from eastern Southampton have been recorded to broaden the studies' spatial coverage. For each period sites have been selected on the following grounds:

Quality of the record: Many of the projects were carried out before computers were widespread in archaeological analysis and, therefore, recording errors are common. Where there are discrepancies between archived sources, sites or features have not been used.

Phasing: In *Hamwic* (mid-Saxon Southampton), there is very little stratigraphy so sites have simply been assigned to the mid-Saxon period. For the later town, features have been phased to the late Saxon, Anglo-Norman or high medieval periods. Sites have been chosen based on the presence of such information. Some unphased sites were selected as they have large assemblages and are from areas of the town with no other suitable excavations.

Residuality/intrusiveness: Where features have been heavily disturbed by later activity they are not included in analysis as their contents were deemed unreliable. More tolerance was made for layers than features as residuality and intrusiveness is directly related to the way such deposits accumulate.

Assemblage Size: Where possible, small or heavily fragmented assemblages have not been considered, however in some cases they are included where they are the only available groups.

In considering comparable assemblages from outside of Southampton a similar range of criteria was used, although for some areas of Hampshire the only collections available were unstratified groups from museum 'old collections'. Assemblages were recorded to an assessment level (MPRG 2001), with form and fabric being recorded, a process which has produced an interim fabric type series for the county. Assemblages were quantified using sherd count, sherd weight, estimated vessel equivalent and maximum vessel count, following the minimum standards defined by the Medieval Pottery Research Group (*ibid*). Where possible wares were named according to terminology used in Southampton. Usewear analysis was not undertaken as many of the assemblages were highly fragmented, meaning they are unsuitable for such analysis. Details of the assemblages studied are found in appendices 1 and 2.

3.2.1 The Study of Distribution

The first engagement which will be studied is the moment of exchange, considering how pottery entered the home. Previous analysis, based on production based traits, has led to the bulk of the pottery being assigned to a known or postulated production centre (Timby 1988; Brown 1994; Brown 2002; Jervis 2009a). The aim of this analysis is to consider how these types came to be distributed through the town. The proportions of types at different sites and their spread through Southampton have been mapped (using sherd weight).[5] By considering how widespread and abundant particular types are we can consider whether they were exchanged through a settlement wide or localised market, or hypothesise that they were acquired through other means. Once the pottery has been categorised according to its distribution, it will be possible to explore how these engagements simultaneously created and maintained categories of producer, trader and consumer. Economic transactions are a key component of the process of social assembly which constructed medieval Southampton and by better understanding the range and scale of these engagements, we can consider how the creation of sociality was distributed through them.

3.2.2 Analysis of Use

The next stage in a vessel's biography is use. Methods have been chosen which will allow us to reconstruct the engagements between people, pottery and, in some cases, other utensils and foodstuffs. Faunal, environmental and other artefactual evidence is considered, to investigate how pottery came to be recategorised through these engagements and how the agency to create categories of user, individual households and the wider social assemblage of Southampton, was distributed through them. The methodology used is outlined below.

Usewear Analysis

Two analytical methods were used; studies of surface attrition and carbon deposition (sooting). Because these methods rely on the study of attrition, sherds and vessels were selected from deposits where they are unlikely to have received significant post-depositional attrition, for example from rubbish pits rather than from layers. Sherds were recorded by sherd count, sherd weight and maximum vessel count. Discussions

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[5] Estimated vessel equivalent and vessel counts were not routinely recorded by previous researchers. Weight was preferred to sherd count as it is less affected by differential rates of fragmentation (Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 168-71).

of use utilise maximum vessel count, as it is most appropriate to discuss use by number of vessels. Rim diameter (mm) was recorded as a measure of vessel size, which is important in considering potential function, as processing or storage vessels are likely to have a larger mouth than a cooking vessel (see Hally 1986, 275; Blinkhorn 1999a). Detailed morphological analysis could not be carried out due to the fragmented nature of the assemblage, meaning that the focus of analysis is on use traces. Usewear is quantified by vessel form and fabric however, allowing a consideration of the variability in the use of typologically identical vessels. By recording pottery in a quantitative and standardised manner, statistical analysis could be carried out and use types be determined.

The most comprehensive methodology for this analysis is laid out by Skibo (1992) and was followed here. In terms of surface attrition, two types are studied; abrasive and non-abrasive processes. The location and type of usewear indicator (abrasion, attrition and sooting) were recorded. Studies of abrasion (e.g. scratching) allow us to reconstruct how people engaged with vessels directly, but also to consider the other artefacts through which the emergence of 'the social' was distributed, such as spoons or lids. Non-abrasive attrition includes indicators such as cracking due to thermal shock, salt erosion or the pitting of the vessel wall due to a chemical reaction between the contents and the fabric.

Sooting can occur on the inside and outside of the vessel (Skibo 1992, 148). The location and type of sooting were recorded. In selecting sherds for this analysis care had to be taken to select fragments with minimal post-depositional abrasion (Beck *et al* 2002, 6) and also to avoid those from deposits such as house fires, where sooting may not relate to use. When coupled with a study of attrition indicators and vessel form, it is possible to determine differences in cooking practices. Cooking is a learnt process, meaning that by understanding the engagements between people and cooking utensils, we can consider how the durability of domestic networks was distributed through repeated cooking activity. By plotting differences in these practices through time and space we can study how these engagements mediated relationships between households both within and outside of the town, and therefore how these domestic engagements were active in the process of social assembly which constructed them.

Residue Analysis

A small number of sherds were submitted for GC-MS residue analysis at KU Leuven (appendix 5).[6] The technique uses gas-chromatography mass spectroscopy to separate the organic residues from the ceramic body and solvents are used to separate the various substances present. These are then matched with reference samples to identify the contents of a vessel (Evershed *et al* 1992).

Sherds from vessels identified as cooking pots were studied. Although only limited in scope, this study provides direct evidence of the food cooked or prepared in vessels, giving us information on a further actor involved in these engagements and providing further details on the nuances of them (see chapter 6), which cannot be provided by a study of the sherds alone.

3.2.3 The Analysis of Deposition

By studying pottery from discrete deposits, it is possible to consider differences in the disposal of different ceramic types and in depositional practices through space and time. Waste disposal practices were studied using fragmentation analysis (e.g. Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 189; Hill 1995; Brudenell and Cooper 2008), study of residuality (e.g. Sørensen 1996; Vince 1987, 202) and identification of cross fits (e.g. Brown 1985). Fragmentation was studied using the mean average sherd weight. Some analysis had been undertaken by previous researchers (Brown 1985) and this data has been integrated into the discussion.

By reconstructing waste disposal practices we can build deposit biographies (see Morris forthcoming), to consider the engagements behind a deposit. By studying how pottery became recategorised as waste we can consider their perception of waste; was it a resource for reuse or rubbish to be cleared? This process of recategorisation also creates categories of disposer (see Crane 2000, 24; Reno 2009, 35), an identity distributed through a range of other domestic and economic engagements (chapters 9 and 10). Waste deposits were an active part of the urban landscape, which mediated relationships between occupants of the town and with those living in the wider region. Their formation played a role in the process of social assembly and only by studying how deposits were formed can we fully understand these engagements, through which 'the social' of medieval Southampton flowed.

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[6] This analysis was generously funded by the Society for Medieval Archaeology, The University of Southampton and KU Leuven.

3.3   Summary

In order to effectively overcome a potential divide between method and interpretation, a methodology has been adopted which is set into a biographical approach to ceramic analysis. Each stage of the methodology is designed to identify the actors present and to reconstruct the engagements between them. This begins with an analysis of pottery distribution which will allow us to consider the means by which different types of pottery were exchanged; how this created categories of consumer, trader and producer and how the agency to create and maintain Southampton as a social assemblage was partly distributed through these recursive engagements. The second stage is designed to reconstruct the ways that people engaged with pottery through use; reconstructing cooking practices and identifying patterning relating to the processing of foodstuffs. As a social assemblage Southampton is constructed of a web of localised interactions which created and maintained households. This analysis in particular will allow us to investigate the myriad of ways that pottery was engaged with in these domestic settings and how these engagements can be stitched together to view Southampton as a patchwork of connections between human and non-human actors. Finally, analysis of deposition will allow us to consider how waste was created and perceived, its active role in constructing and maintaining the urban landscape and its role in mediating personal relationships, both within and outside of Southampton. The following chapters describe the patterns observed in Southampton and its region, whilst chapter 9 considers how these engagements created categories of person. Although sequential within the life of an individual vessel, these engagements occurred simultaneously as people acquired, used and threw away pots in day to day life. Therefore, chapter 10 will draw these connections together, to consider how these engagements, rather than reflecting social life in medieval Southampton, were active in creating it.

4. Defining the Actors: Introducing Saxon and Medieval Southampton

This chapter defines the actors present in our study, beginning with an overview of the historical and archaeological evidence for Southampton, before moving on to characterise the pottery assemblages. Vessels and utensils produced in other materials are briefly discussed, as is the faunal and environmental evidence, within the context of wider studies of medieval diet.

4.1 The History and Archaeology of Southampton

Southampton is located at the mouth of two rivers, the Test and the Itchen, providing sheltered harbours (Figure 7). It was its role as a port which made Southampton an important town, a function stretching back to at least the Roman period (Morton 1992, 1). The earliest settlement discussed in this study is *Hamwic*, the mid-Saxon town.

Hamwic developed in the 7th century (Morton 1992, 26) but its origins are unclear. One suggestion is that it developed from a royal centre (or Villa regalis) (Yorke 1982, 80; Morton 1992, 28). By the 8th century, when this study begins, *Hamwic* had developed into a trading, administrative and craft centre, forming part of a network of trading sites including the *wic* centres at London (*Lundenwic*) and Ipswich (*Gippeswic*), as well as continental towns such as Dorestad (Netherlands) and *Quentovic* (France) (Figure 8). The town appears to have been planned but the street layout suggests that the settlement grew through its life rather than being built in one event (*ibid*, 38). The buildings are generally rectangular timber structures, ranging in size from small sheds to larger houses, whilst pits are the most abundant feature (Morton 1992, 41-2; Birbeck and Smith 2005, 90). Properties were demarcated by fence lines and pit alignments (Morton 1992, 46; Andrews 1997), however the redeposition of waste means that we are not able to securely talk about objects related to individual households. Several cemeteries have been excavated which provide useful information on the diet of the settlement (see below). St Mary's Church most likely has mid-Saxon origins and the presence of other churches has been suggested, based on burial evidence. This is important to our study given that it has been suggested that trade was controlled by royal and ecclesiastical elites (e.g. Hodges 1982).
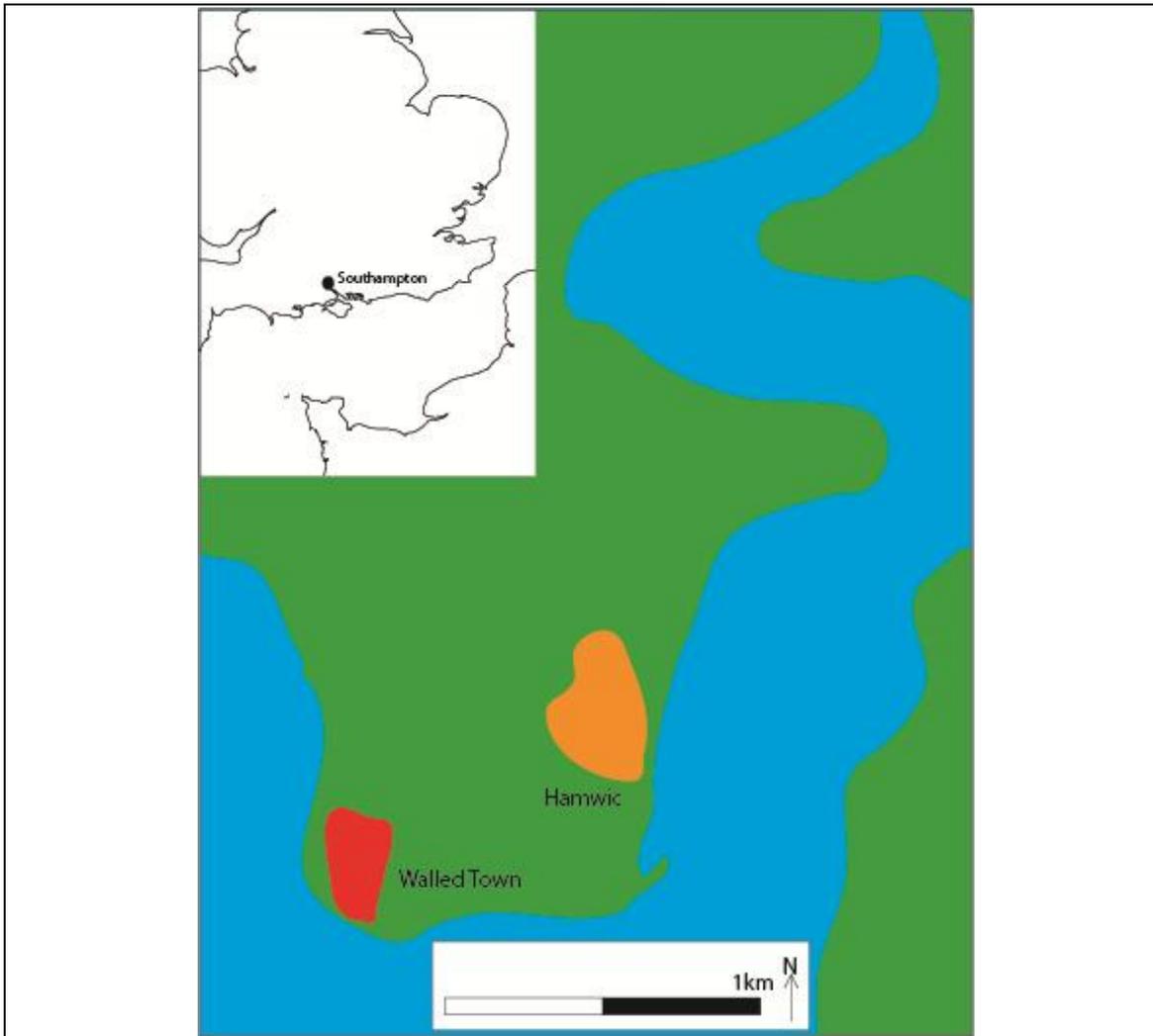
Figure 7: The location of Southampton and the relationship between *Hamwic* and the medieval town.
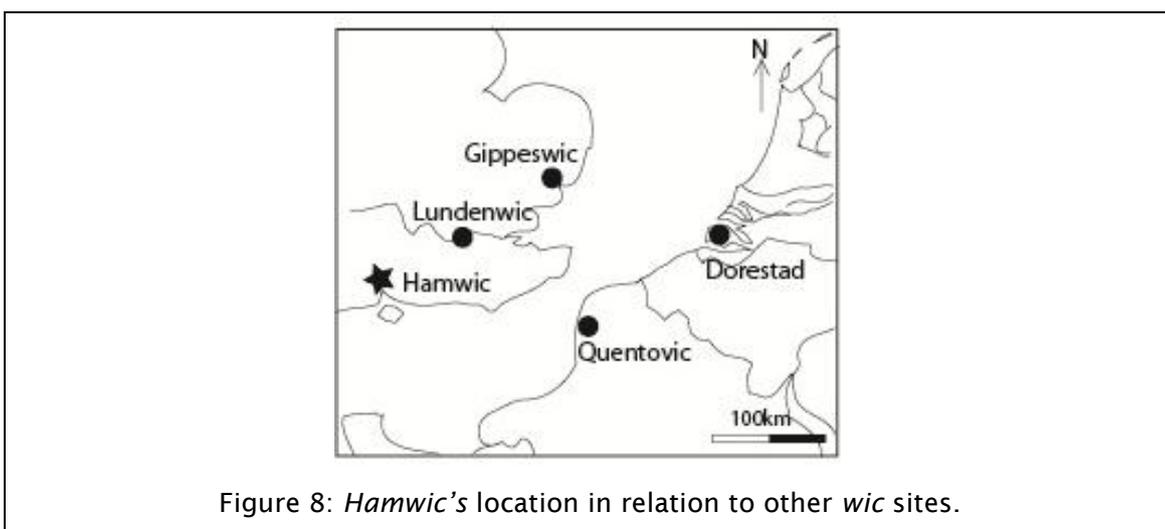
Figure 8: *Hamwic's* location in relation to other *wic* sites.

The objects recovered from *Hamwic* demonstrate a wide craft base, providing evidence of metal working, bone and antler working and textile manufacture (Addyman and Hill 1969; Morton 1992, 56). There is no concrete evidence of potting, although pot stamps have been recovered (Timby 1988, 107). There appears to be a degree of zoning in craft activity within the settlement, for example evidence of animal processing (bone and leather working) is present at several sites along Chapel Road (Morton 1992, 57) (Figure 9). *Hamwic* acted as a centre for specialised craft production, the objects perhaps being produced under patronage, for export both to local and international markets. Other objects are likely to have been produced purely to service the *wic*, or the ships which visited (Hodges 1982, 148; Palmer 2003, 60).

Figure 9: Location of the *Hamwic* sites discussed in this thesis.
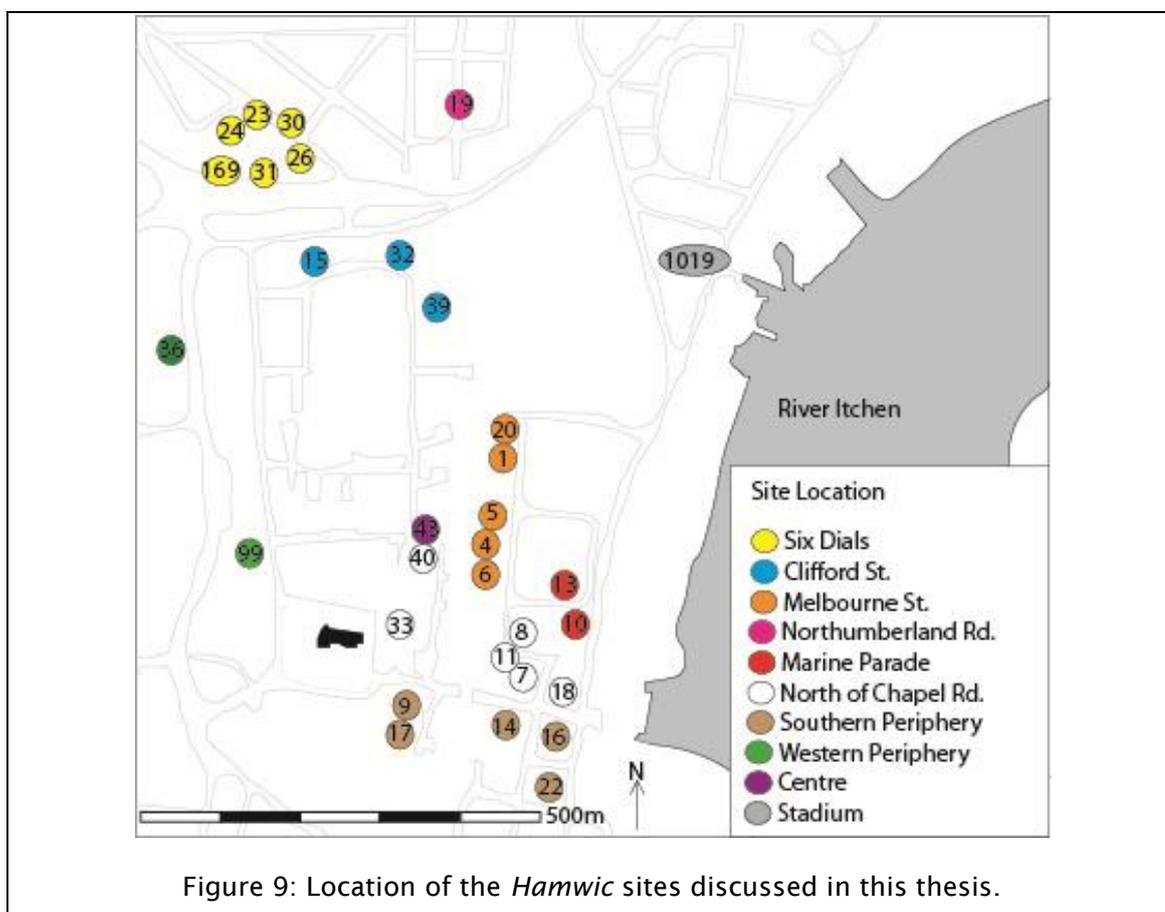
Hamwic's role as a trading centre is attested through the presence of imported goods such as pottery (Timby 1988), glass (Hunter and Heyworth, 1998) and quern stones (Morton, 1992: 66), indexing a trading network stretching from Ireland to Germany and beyond. The nature of this trade has been much debated. Hodges (1982) has argued that settlements such as *Hamwic* acted as trading enclaves, proposing that trade was supported by court or monastic agents. Recent studies of mid-Saxon trade have questioned this conclusion; Naylor (2004), for example, argues against a centralised and controlled economy, suggesting that trade was more dispersed and

that a single model cannot be imposed, whilst Blinkhorn (1999b) has argued for the presence of internal trade networks on the basis of the distribution of Ipswich Ware and quern stones in East Anglia (see also Hinton 1996, 100). Current thinking is that rather than acting as centres for sponsored trading activity, *wics* were toll stations, where duty could be collected and the exchange of goods controlled (Cowie and Blackmore, 2008: 158), as well as providing a safe haven for merchants and craft specialists.

Hamwic is one of the most extensively excavated Anglo-Saxon sites in the country. The evidence for the late Saxon town is less abundant. The archaeological evidence indicates that *Hamwic* declined in the 9th century (Morton 1992, 70). It is likely that many of its administrative functions moved to Winchester, whilst the trading and craft centre moved from the bank of the River Itchen, to that of the River Test. *Hamwic* declined for several reasons including disruption to trade by civil wars in Europe and Viking raids (*ibid*, 76). Numismatic evidence suggests that the nature of trading activity changed, rather than it ceasing altogether, and this is evidenced by a continued supply of imported goods into the new town of Southampton (Hall, 2000: 131). The ceramic evidence does suggest a general decrease in the movement of goods between England and the continent, as well as some change in the types of pottery exchanged (Blackmore 2001, 40).

The evidence for late Saxon Southampton is considerably more ephemeral than that for *Hamwic*. The settlement is likely to be the site of the burgh (defensive town), which may, in part, account for the movement of the town to higher ground (Platt 1973, 9; Brown 1994, 128). A large (possibly defensive) ditch has been observed in the southern part of Southampton. The presence of imported pottery attests to the continuation of international trade and a large collection from Bargate Street has been suggested to represent a merchant's warehouse (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a, 154) (Figure 10). The densest evidence of late Saxon structures comes from the northern part of the town, in particular from York Buildings (SOU 175) and at sites excavated in advance of the building of West Quay Shopping Centre (Russel in prep.). The settlement is of a different nature to *Hamwic*, being more dispersed and with the street plan being less prescribed, a suggestion supported by documentary evidence (Platt 1973, 6). It is likely that in its role as a port the settlement continued to act as a centre for toll collection and craft production (e.g. Riddler and Trzaska-Nortowski 2003). The foundation of churches suggests that late Saxon Southampton was established on a wider base, fulfilling economic, defensive, ecclesiastical and administrative functions. The emergence of burghs across Wessex drew Southampton into a local as well as international urban network.
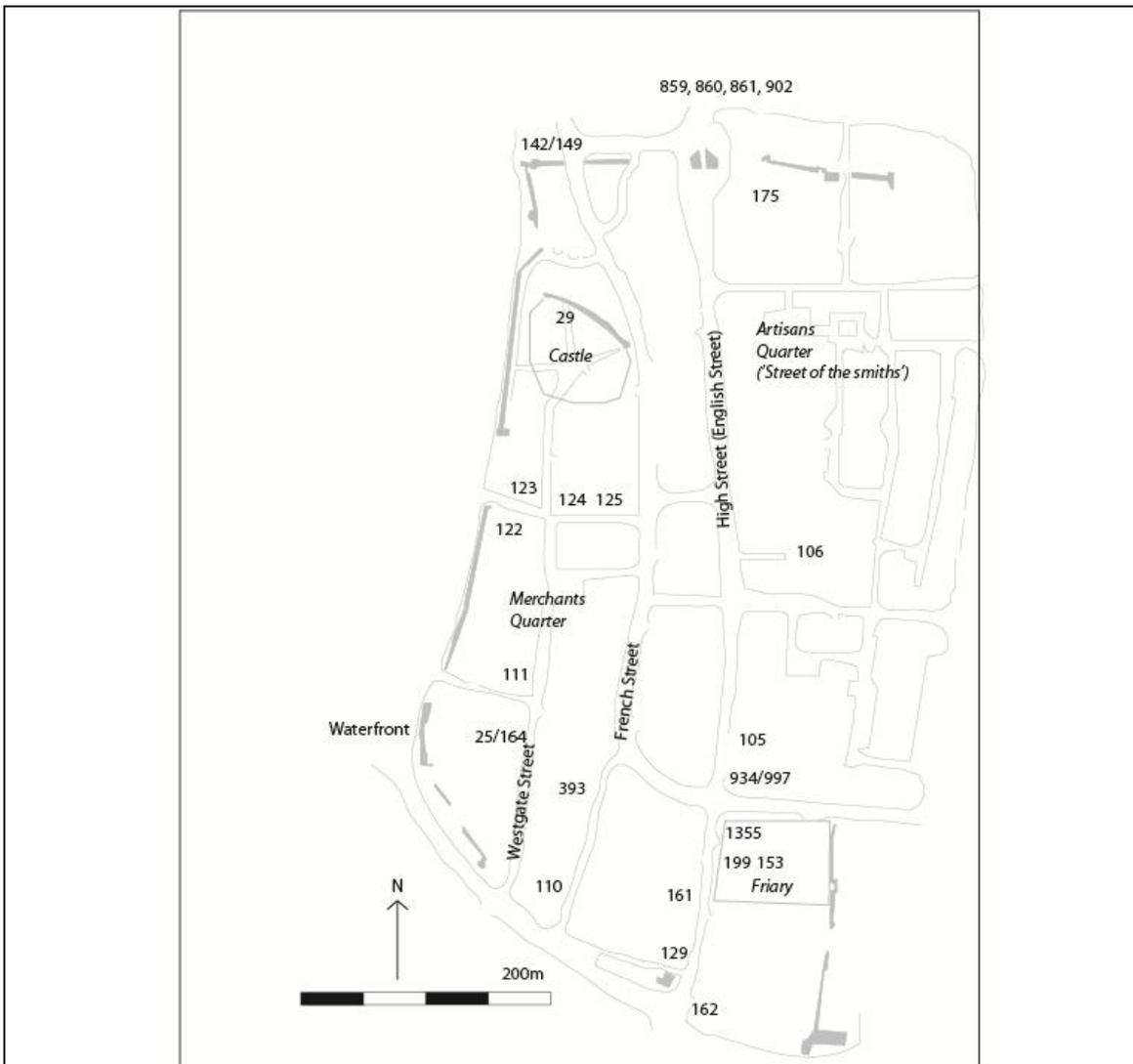
Figure 10: The location of sites in the medieval town discussed in this thesis.

Following the Norman conquest the town developed, although the pace of change is questionable (Platt 1973, 9). A castle was constructed in the north west corner of the town, being imposed onto existing Saxon houses (Oxley 1986). Domesday Book records 96 newcomers in Southampton, with two thirds of these being French, including merchants. The French population generally settled in the west of the town (still known as French Street), where St. Michael's church was founded, dedicated to the patron saint of Normandy (Platt 1973, 7). The English population continued to occupy the east of the town (Morgan 1961, 27). This division was not clear cut and some local people would have been more cosmopolitan than others, perhaps themselves being merchants. The town developed as a port, initially under royal control (Platt 1973, 13). By the thirteenth century mercantile activity was organised through the guild, which may have had Saxon origins. The relationships built through guild membership built a sense of community and corporate spirit (*ibid*, 19), with it

eventually taking over the governance of the town. One reason for the guilds rise to prominence was the town's reliance on mercantile activity, with the settlement seemingly not having any industrial base, save for ship building and small scale crafts (*ibid*, 20). Southampton acted as an entry point for wine, exotic foodstuffs and building materials imported through Normandy. Wool and cloth were exported, along with provisions for the Kings' fortresses (*ibid*, 21).

Southampton's heyday was the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During the thirteenth century the town defences were constructed, initially as an earthen rampart (Platt 1973, 36). This was strengthened in stone following a French raid in 1338, which effectively marks the end of this study. Excavations (SOUs 153, 199 and 1355) have uncovered the remains of Southampton Friary, founded in 1233, as well as the associated graveyard. The north eastern quarter was known as the 'street of the smiths' (*ibid*, 52) and evidence from excavations at York Buildings (SOU 175) (Kavanagh unpub.) illustrates the presence of craft specialists in this area. Lay subsidies of the mid-fourteenth century suggest that these craftsmen were amongst the poorest members of Southampton's population (Platt 1973, 264). East Street was lined with shops (Morgan 1961, 29; Platt 1973, 44) and the main street acted as a market place. There were also shops and markets in the south west quarter, including a fish market by St. Michael's Church (Platt 1973, 46). This area continued to be occupied by wealthier members of the town's population, including merchants. Historical evidence demonstrates that some properties here were owned by English merchants and rented out, probably to foreign visitors (Brown 2002, 164). The society of the town was highly stratified (Platt 1973, 95), but certain households found themselves in a position of relative wealth and had the desire to emulate imported social practices (*ibid*, 69). Certainly by the fourteenth century there was co-operation in the running of the town and personal relationships between foreign and English merchants, as well as other wealthy members of the community such as skilled artisans, developed (*ibid*, 57;69).

4.1.1 A Note on the Nature of Urban Archaeology

The history of archaeology in Southampton is typical of studies of medieval urban archaeology in Britain. The majority of excavations were carried out in rescue conditions (See Schofield and Vince 2003, 4-5) and interpretations have generally focussed on 'big questions' relating to town foundation, the economy (including the relationship between towns and their hinterlands) and religion (Astill 2009, 257), rather than looking at the minutiae of everyday life, considering what it was to 'be urban'. Approaches typically take a top-down approach, for example, studies of

topography have focussed on issues surrounding town planning and the imposition of town walls and castles as expressions of power. Recent studies (e.g. Creighton and Higham 2005; Lilley 2009) have begun to develop these approaches, to consider the agency of town plans, for example, in regard to identity creation. Similarly, studies such as Giles' (2005) examination of public and private buildings have allowed us to move away from simply reconstructing architecture or seeing them as reflecting social structure, to consider the experience of living in and using medieval buildings. There remains though a feeling that urban life exists prior to a planned urban structure and that changes to topography simply reflect social trends, rather than participating in processes of change (Schofield and Vince 2003, 77), a point perhaps illustrated by our inability to fully understand the pheonomena of failed towns (Astill 2009, 260). This study contributes to a wider challenging of traditional perspectives (see Dyer 2005, Astill 2009, 267), in particular by integrating a study of material culture into a wider study of urbanism, rather than simply focussing on reconstructing trade patterns or production techniques as reflections of human action. Instead these are seen as constituting a series of engagements through which urbanism emerged and the urban person was formed.

4.2 The Objects

Large quantities of pottery and other objects have been recovered from Southampton and other similar settlements. Although this study focuses on pottery, it is important to consider the vessels and tools of other materials which were used alongside it, and therefore played a role in the generation of 'the social' in Southampton.

4.2.1 The Pottery

The pottery from *Hamwic* and medieval Southampton has been well studied. The *Hamwic* pottery has been characterised in two major studies; by Hodges (1981), who focussed on the imported wares, and Timby (1988), who defined the local wares. The late Saxon pottery and medieval wares have been defined by Brown (1994; 2002). Their classifications will form the general scheme for discussing the pottery in this study, although one aim is to test the validity of their categories.

4.2.1.1 The Mid-Saxon Period (cAD 650-900)

A large assemblage of pottery has been recovered from excavations in *Hamwic*. Whilst the various wares and fabrics have been well studied, the forms present have received little attention. In this study a detailed analysis of form will not be undertaken,

however, samples will be used to give some quantitative basis to the vessel types encountered here (appendix 3).

4.2.1.1.1 The Local Wares

Timby (1988) identified five main types of locally produced pottery, all of which were handmade. Three loose ceramic phases can be defined. The first phase relates to the foundation of the wic, the second to the height of its occupation in the 8th-9th centuries and the third to its decline. The absence of intercutting sequences and absolute dates makes further definition impossible at this time. The earliest are Organic-tempered Wares (Figure 11). The high level of variability in the fabrics is suggestive of the presence of small, localised workshops, or perhaps domestic scale manufacture, within wider traditions. These are ubiquitous across southern England in mid-Saxon contexts (chapter 8).

The second phase is characterised by Sandy Wares (Figure 11), which appear something of an anomaly within the local context. Whilst wheelthrown sandy wares were produced and used in eastern England (Blinkhorn 1999b), similar wares are not known from local sites (chapter 8). The majority are in fabric 10, which is made from Reading Clay, suggesting manufacture close to Southampton (Timby 1988, 82). Also dated to this second ceramic phase are Chalk-tempered Wares (figure 8). These are present at most sites and seem to be a precursor to a late Saxon tradition. They have abundant inclusions of chalk and shell, and were probably produced in the Winchester area.

The final ceramic phase is marked by the introduction of Flint- and Mixed-grit-tempered Wares (Figure 11). Like the Organic-tempered Wares, these form part of a wide tradition, which stretches across Hampshire and Sussex and further northwards and westwards. These form the basis for the late Saxon ceramic tradition.

Figure 11: Examples of local pottery from *Hamwic*.
Redrawn from Timby (1988).
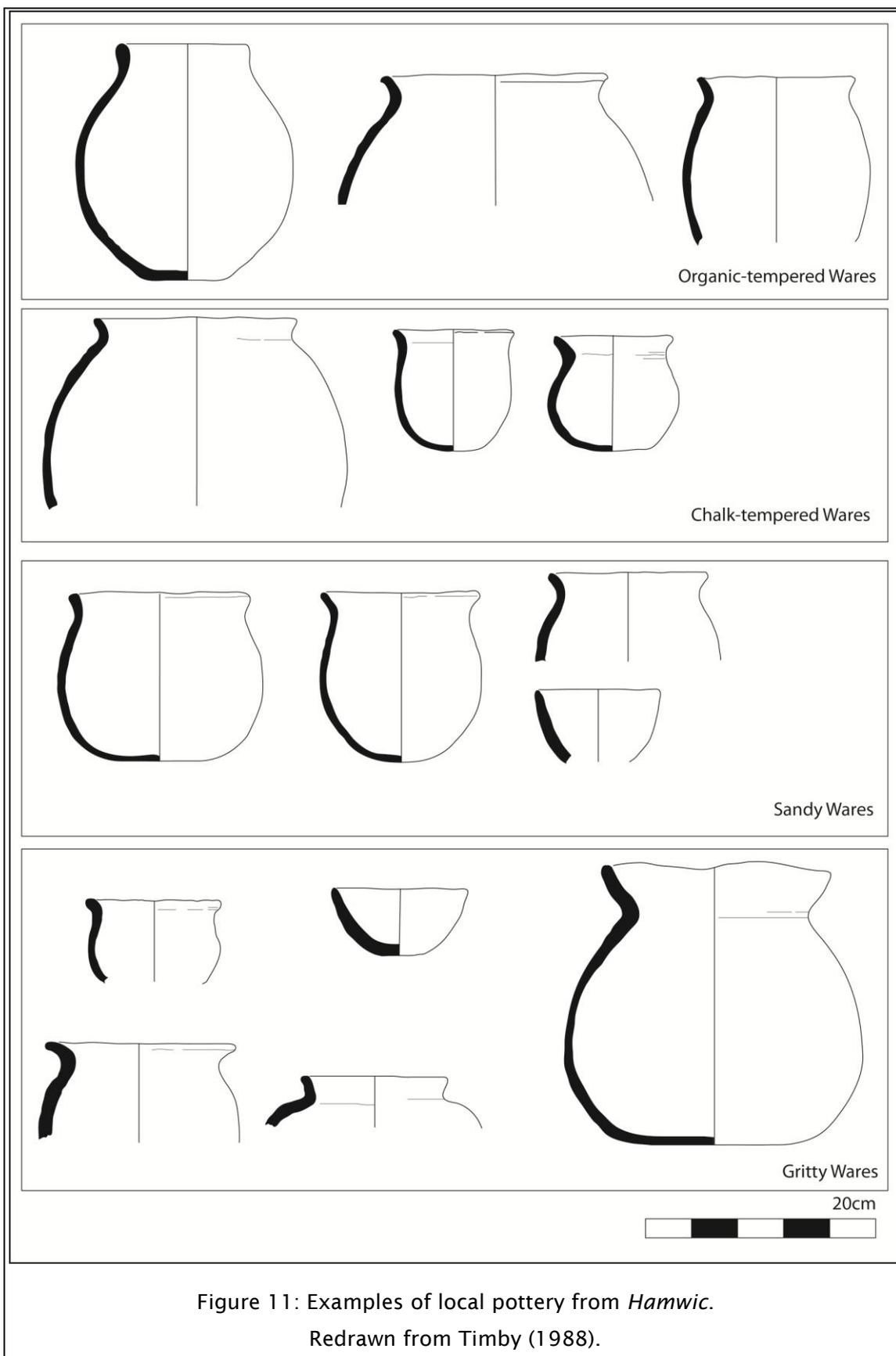
The vessels present in these local wares are overwhelmingly jars/cooking pots (Figure 11; Appendix 3). Small dishes or bowls were produced in Organic-tempered Wares, whilst there appears to be wider variability within the Chalk-tempered Wares, with a lamp and two handles from shallow cooking vessels being identified (Timby 1988, 82). Chalk-tempered Wares are occasionally decorated with stamping, a tradition extending into the late Saxon period (Cunliffe 1974). Bowls/dishes and lamps are present in the Sandy Wares, although jars remain the dominant vessel form, some of which are stamped and one vessel features rusticated decoration. The principal vessel form in the later wares is overwhelmingly the jar (Timby 1988, 85) and a small number of sherds exhibit stamping.

4.2.1.1.2 The Imported Wares

The imported wares are generally from northern France, having much in common with those from *Quentovic* (Worthington 1993). Reduced wares are the most common types, present as pitchers and jars, often with rouletted or stamped decoration in the Carolingian tradition (see papers in Piton 1993; Appendix 4). Whitewares are also present, as pitchers but primarily as jars and bowls. Other wares are present in small quantities and include pottery from the Loire and Seine Valleys, Beauvais and small quantities from Alsace and Argonne. Rhenish wares are poorly represented in the assemblage. A small quantity of Tating-type Ware is present, with the characteristic tin foil decoration (Figure 12).

The final group of imports are Shell-tempered Wares. These were originally believed to have been locally produced but the same fabrics have been identified at *Quentovic* in much higher quantities (Worthington 1993). Shell-tempered Wares fit into a tradition stretching across coastal areas of south eastern England and northern France, which continues into the 11th century. They are common at *Quentovic* (*ibid*) and in London (Blackmore 2003) as well as in the Low Countries (Stilke 1995) and Flanders (Routier 2004). Like the local coarsewares, these are primarily present as jars. Both handmade and wheelthrown varieties are present.

Figure 12: Examples of imported wares from *Hamwic*.
Redrawn from Timby (1988).
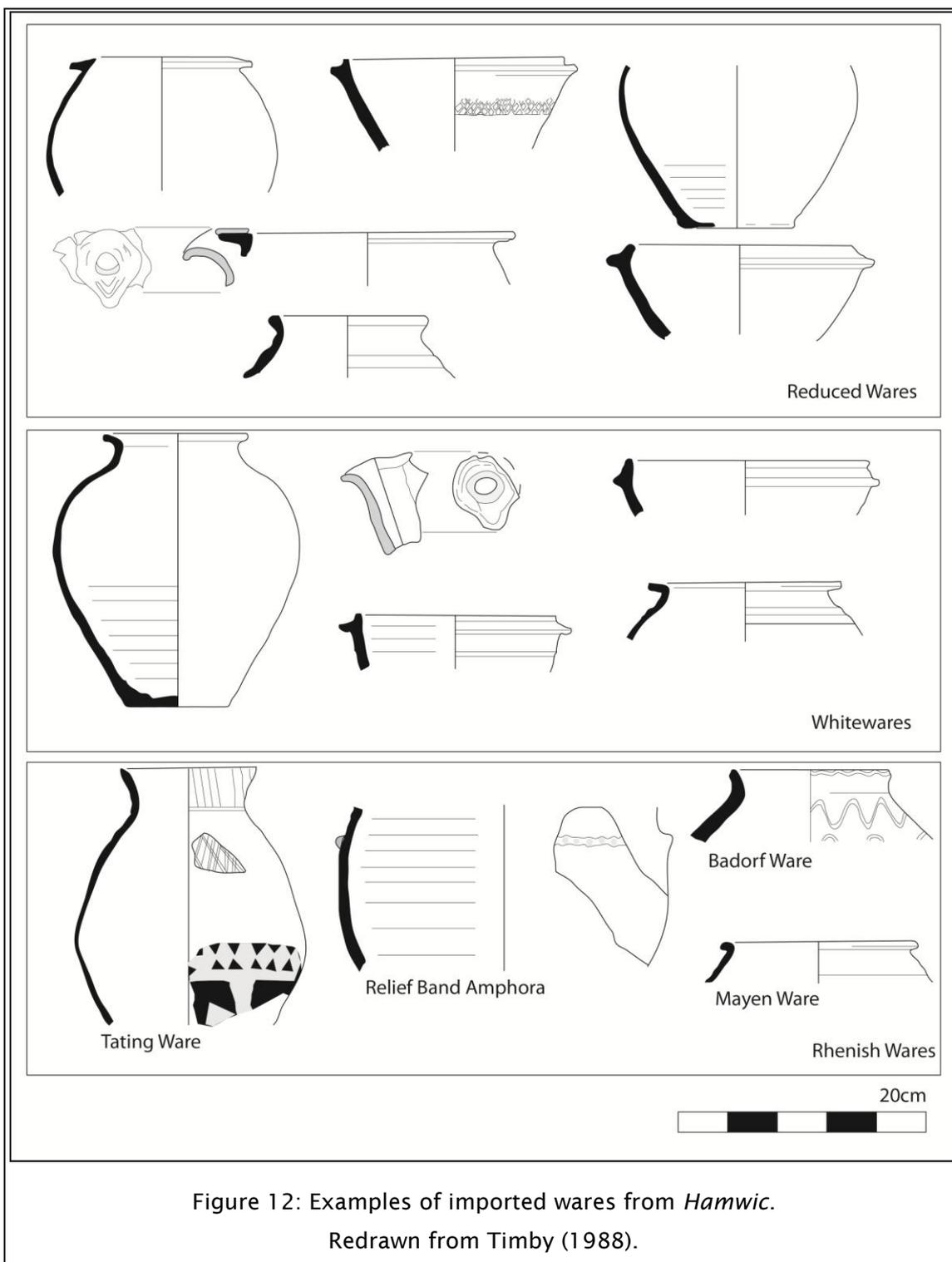
4.2.1.2 The Late Saxon Period (cAD 900-1066)

The late Saxon assemblage is considerably smaller than that from *Hamwic*. The largest quantities of pottery were recovered from the northern end of the medieval town, at York Buildings (SOU 175) and at West Quay. This has led to the suggestion that this was the most densely occupied area in the late Saxon period. The pottery has been studied by Brown (1994) whilst the assemblage from York Buildings (SOU 175) was studied by the author (Jervis unpub. a).

4.2.1.2.1 Local Wares

Locally produced Flint-tempered Wares are the most abundant late Saxon type (Brown 1994) (Figure 13). Similar wares are known across Hampshire (chapter 8) and as far west as Exeter (Allan 1984) and further east in Sussex (Jervis 2008) and Kent (Cotter 2006). As in the mid-Saxon period, vessels were handmade and jars/cooking pots are the most abundant form (Figure 14). Bowls/dishes are also present in this ware and the spout of a Flint-tempered Ware pitcher was recovered from the excavations at Telephone House (SOU 1355). As in *Hamwic*, these jars typically have everted rims, with nine varieties being identified, the most common being the simple, everted rim with a rounded profile (Brown 1994, 145). Handbuilt Sandy- and Organic-tempered Wares (some of which may actually be Selanite-rich Wares (John Cotter, pers. comm.)) are also present in very small quantities, occurring exclusively as jars.
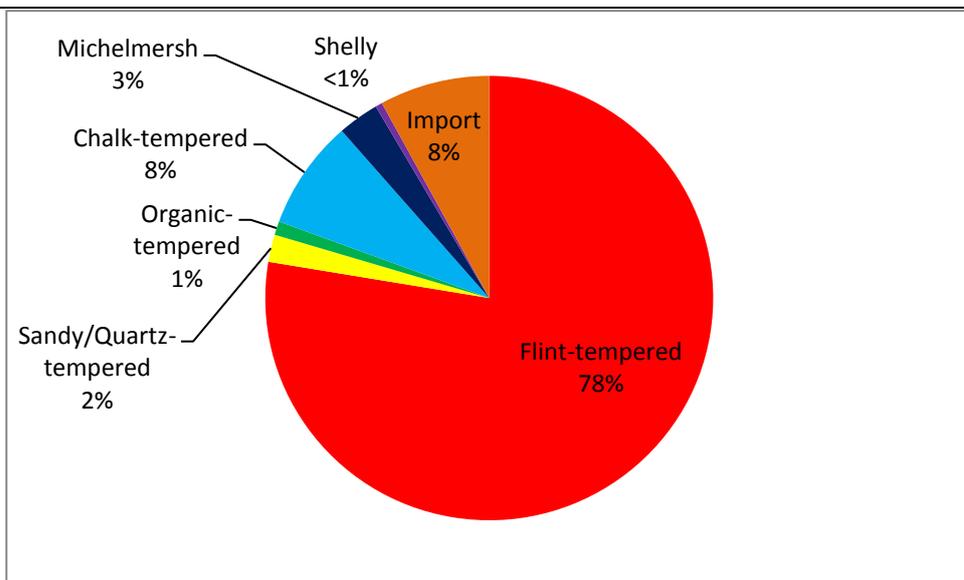
Figure 13 Composition of the late Saxon ceramic assemblage by weight (from late Saxon features, phased sites only). N=105kg
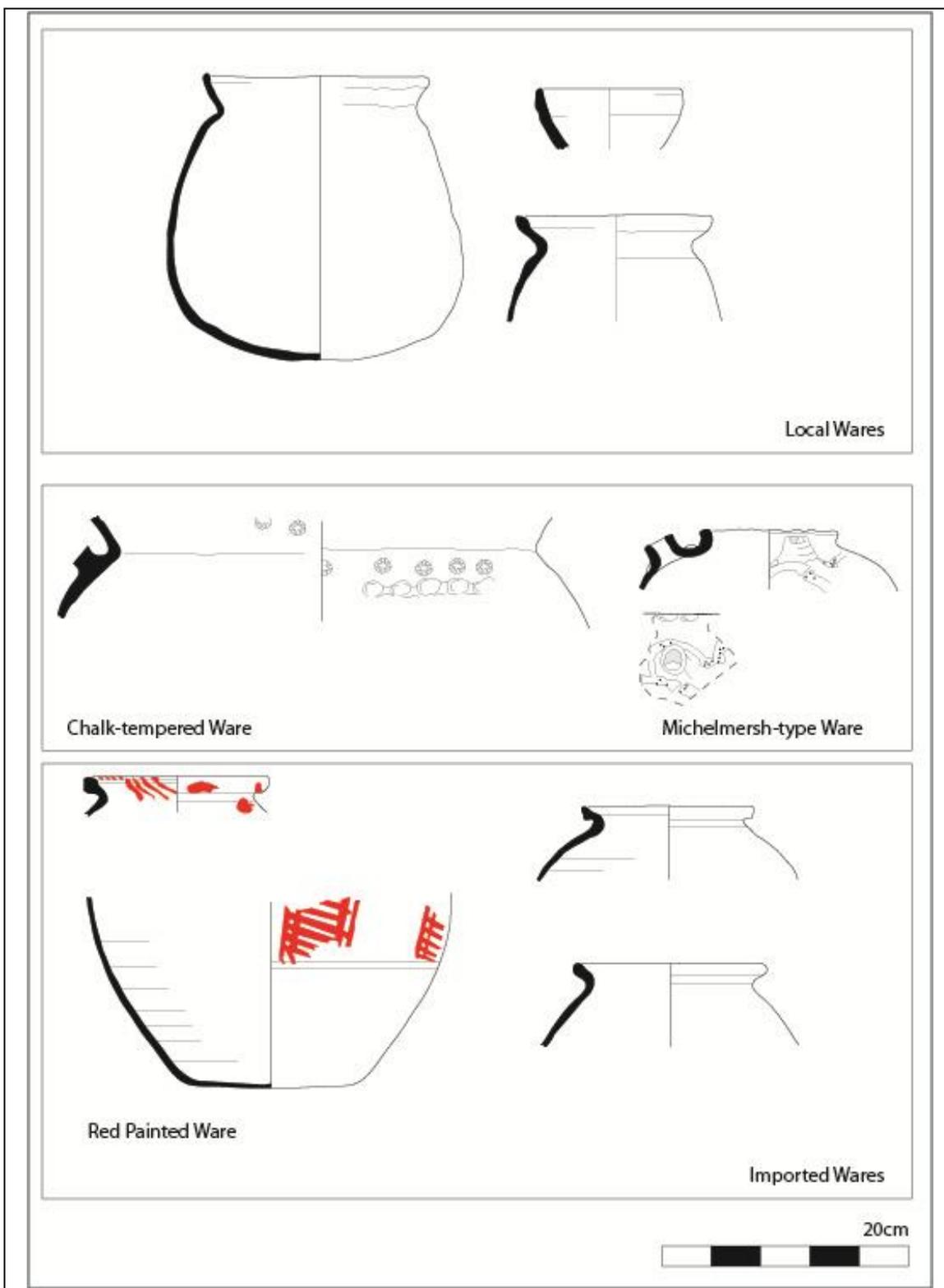
Figure 14: Examples of late Saxon pottery from Southampton.
Redrawn from Brown (1994).

4.2.1.2.2 Non-Local English Wares

Four pottery types are present from sources elsewhere in southern England. The first are Michelmersh-type Wares, produced to the north of Romsey (Mepham and Brown 2008). This centre was producing wheelthrown jars and spouted pitchers, often with stamped decoration (Figure 14). Chalk-tempered Wares are also present as jars and pitchers. Whereas the Michelmersh-type Wares have a limited distribution, along the rivers Test and Kennet (chapter 8), Chalk-tempered Wares are common in Sussex and Hampshire (Jervis 2008) and are also known from London and the Thames Valley (Vince 1991). These are often decorated with thumb impressions and stamping. Exceptionally small quantities of glazed Winchester-type Ware and wheelthrown Portchester-type Ware are also present (see chapter 8).

4.2.1.2.3 Imported Wares

Shell-tempered Wares of a similar nature to those from *Hamwic* are present and the same north French source is suggested. Other wheelthrown imports are similar to those from *Hamwic*, including French Whitewares and Blackwares. The Whitewares are present exclusively as high shouldered jars (Brown 1994, 136) (Figure 13). North French Red-painted Ware is present in small quantities in *Hamwic* but is more common in the late Saxon town in the form of pitchers. New types include North French Gritty Ware, related to the Anglo-Norman Normandy Gritty Ware, and small quantities of other north French sandy wares and Low Countries Grey Ware occur, as unidentified forms.

4.2.1.3 The Anglo-Norman Period (cAD1066-1250)

The Post-Conquest assemblage is relatively small and it is likely that there is some continuity from the late Saxon period. The main difference is the introduction of regionally produced glazed wares and an increase in the quantity and range of French pottery.

4.2.1.3.1 Local Wares

Locally produced coarsewares are the most common type in Anglo-Norman assemblages (Figure 15), principally as Scratch Marked Wares (Brown 2002, 91). These are related to the late Saxon pottery tradition and similar types are present across Hampshire and Dorset (Chapter 8). Vessels generally have a baggy profile with an everted rim which is often decorated with thumb impressions. A small quantity of

English glazed wares are present as tripod pitchers/jugs, as well as jars produced in the Dorset area (Figure 16).

Figure 15 The Composition of the Anglo-Norman Assemblage (from Anglo-Norman features, phased sites only). N=77kg
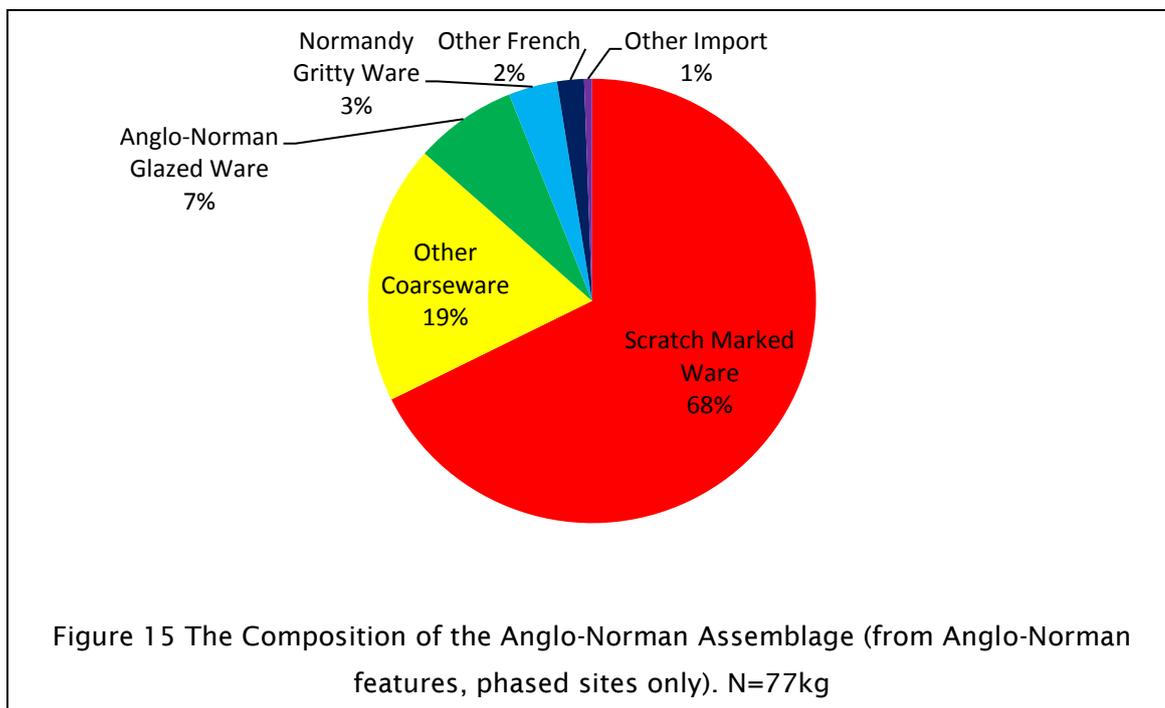
4.2.1.3.2 Imported Wares

Imported wares are mostly from northern France. The most common is Normandy Gritty Ware, present as jars and pitchers (Brown 2002, 22). Glazed and red-painted wares are also present as serving vessels, whilst there is a small quantity of Andenne-type Ware from the Meuse valley (Brown 2002, 91) (Figure 17).

Figure 16 Typical Anglo-Norman Pottery from Southampton.
Redrawn from Brown (2002).

Figure 17: Examples of Anglo-Norman imports from Southampton.
Redrawn from Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975a) and Brown (2002).
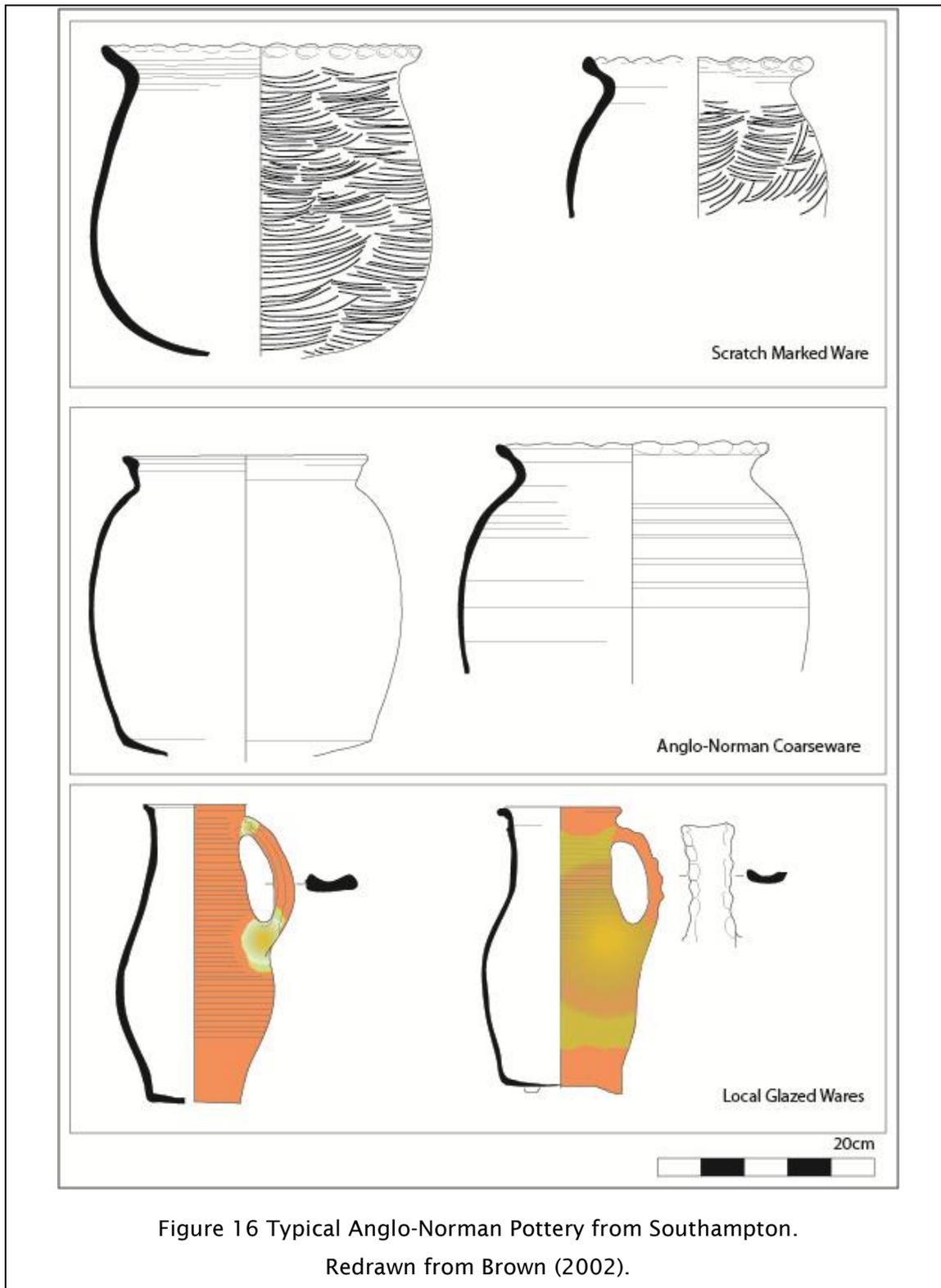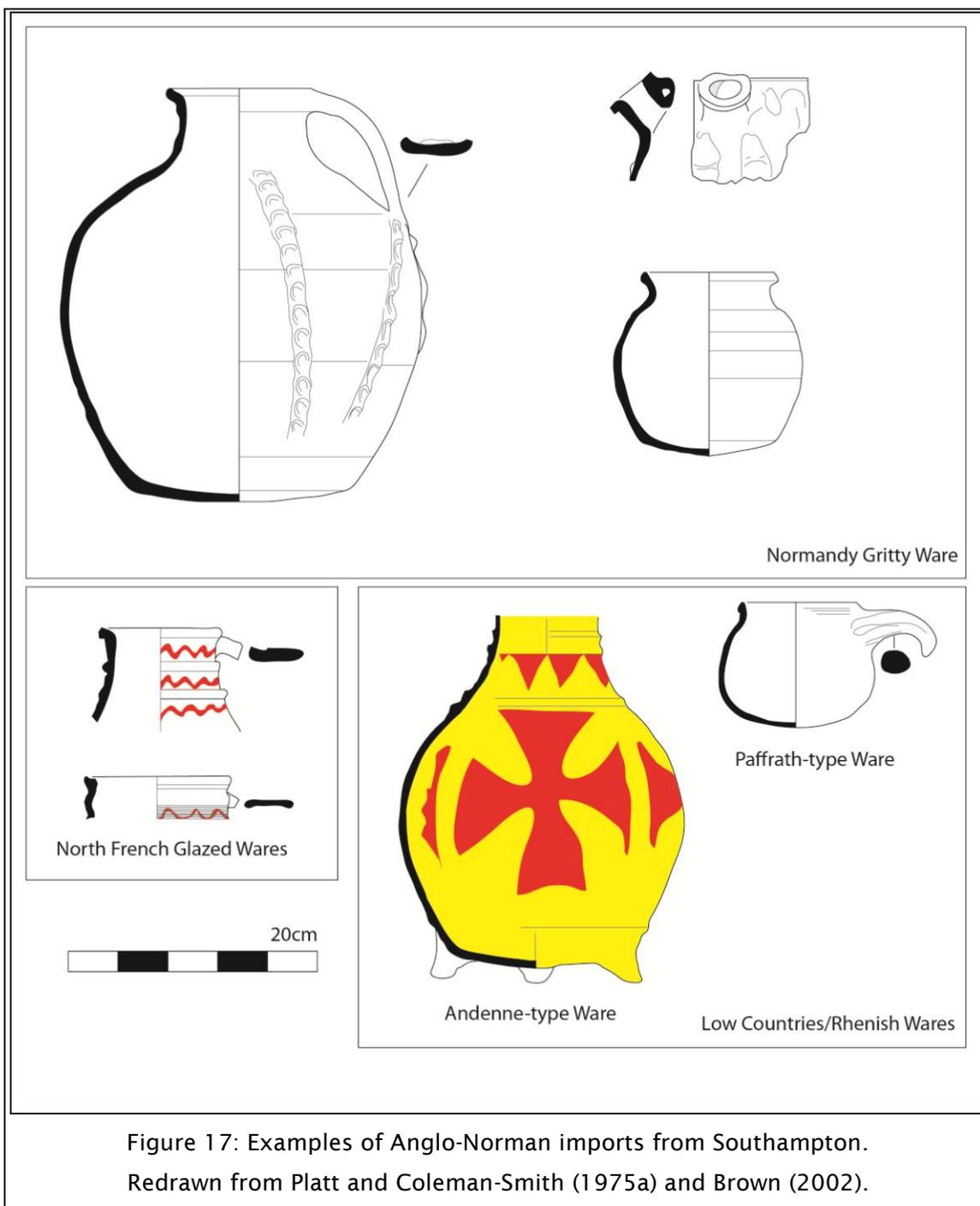
4.2.1.4 The High Medieval Period (cAD 1250-1350)

The high medieval period sees an increase in variety within the pottery assemblage, with pottery from a wider range of sources being present in a wider variety of forms.

4.2.1.4.1 Local Wares

The most common local ware is Southampton Coarseware (Figure 19), a wheelthrown coarse sandy ware. Typical forms are jars/cooking pots (Figure 18), although a small number of other vessel forms are present, including curfews and bowls/dishes. The jars often have an everted rim with an internal bead. This ware is typically unglazed and can be seen as the last stage in the development of locally produced mixed-grit tempered wares. Sandy wares were also produced in or near to Southampton. Southampton Sandy Ware is a wheelthrown sandy ware, present as jugs and jars, some of which are glazed (Figure 18). Glazed jugs and other kitchen vessels are also present in South Hampshire Redware (Figure 20), which is known across southern and western Hampshire (chapter 8), suggesting it was produced outside of Southampton. Jugs are the most common form, with simple glazed decoration. The final main locally produced sandy ware is Southampton Whiteware. This was produced at or close to SOU 105, where a large quantity of wasters have been excavated (Brown 2002, 13-14). The main vessel form is the jug, usually with a deep green glaze and often with applied decoration (Figure 18). It has been suggested that some vessels imitate Saintonge whiteware jugs, a common import. A number of other wares are present, generally as glazed jugs. These include Local Pink Sandy Ware, in which at least two anthropormorphic jugs have been identified. Products of the Laverstock kiln near Salisbury are known, but the highly decorated forms are largely absent (Brown 2002, 15). Other locally produced whitewares have also been identified.

4.2.1.4.2 Non-local Wares

The most abundant non-local wares are Dorset products. These are related to the Dorset fabrics known in the Anglo-Norman period and are present as jars, jugs and bowls (Brown 2002, 16). Dorset Whiteware jugs are also present (Figure 20), which were produced in the Poole Harbour area and are known in small quantities from sites across east Dorset and west Hampshire (chapter 8). A small number of sherds have been identified from further afield, including fragments of at least two Scarborough Ware knight jugs, and sherds of Midlands, Ham Green and Cornish wares (Brown 2002, 17).
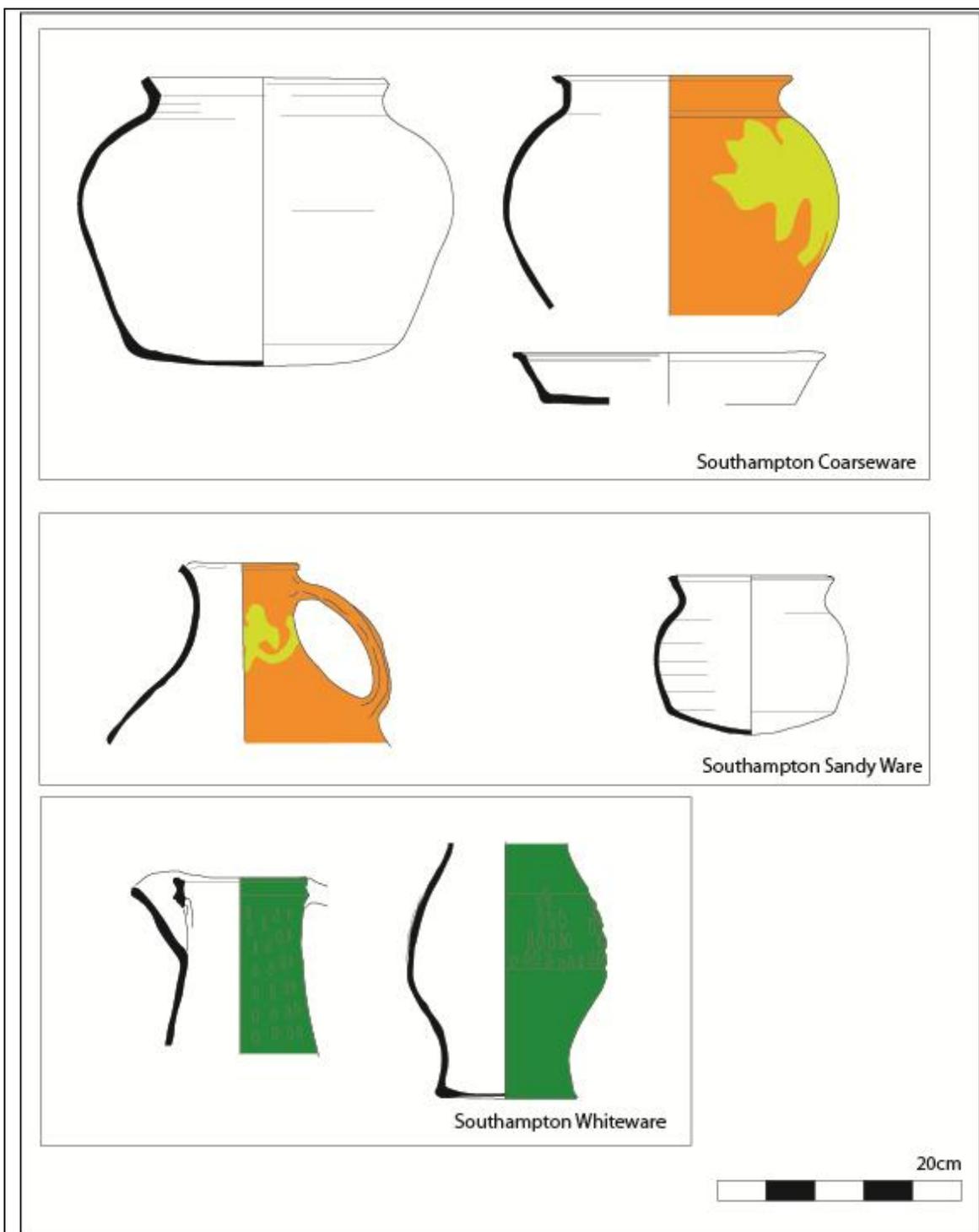
Figure 18: Examples of local high medieval pottery from Southampton.
Redrawn from Brown (2002).

Figure 19 Composition of the high medieval assemblage (from high medieval features; phased sites only). N=163450g.
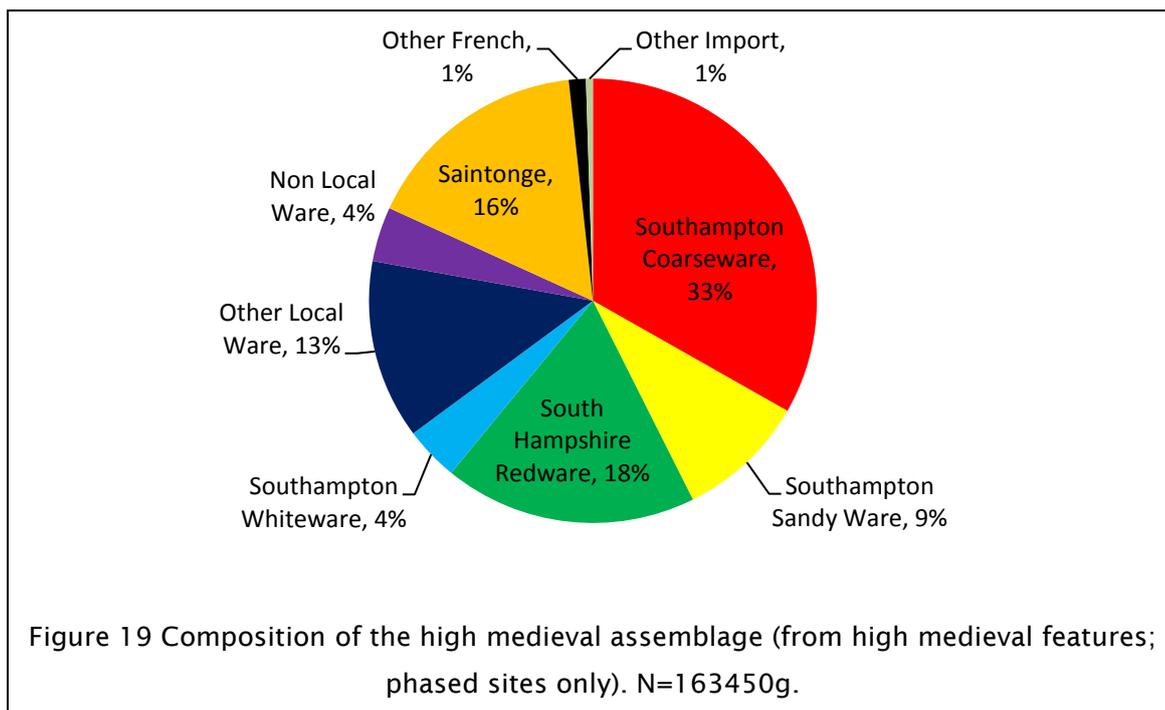
4.2.1.4.3 Imported Wares

The majority of imports are from France, the most common being Saintonge Whiteware jugs (Figure 21). These were mass produced (Brown 2002, 26-7) and are typically decorated with a green glaze and applied decoration, their most distinctive features being the wheelthrown strap handle and parrot beak spout. Other Saintonge types are known, the most common being Saintonge Bright-green Glazed Ware and Saintonge Polychrome Ware jugs (Figure 21). Saintonge Sgraffito Ware jugs are rare, as are gritty ware mortars. Other imported wares are present from northern France, primarily the Paris and Rouen areas and include highly decorated zoomorphic jugs. Only two cooking vessels are known, Ceramique Onctueuse jars from Westgate St (SOU 25) and the West Quay excavations. A small number of sherds are present from the Low Countries.
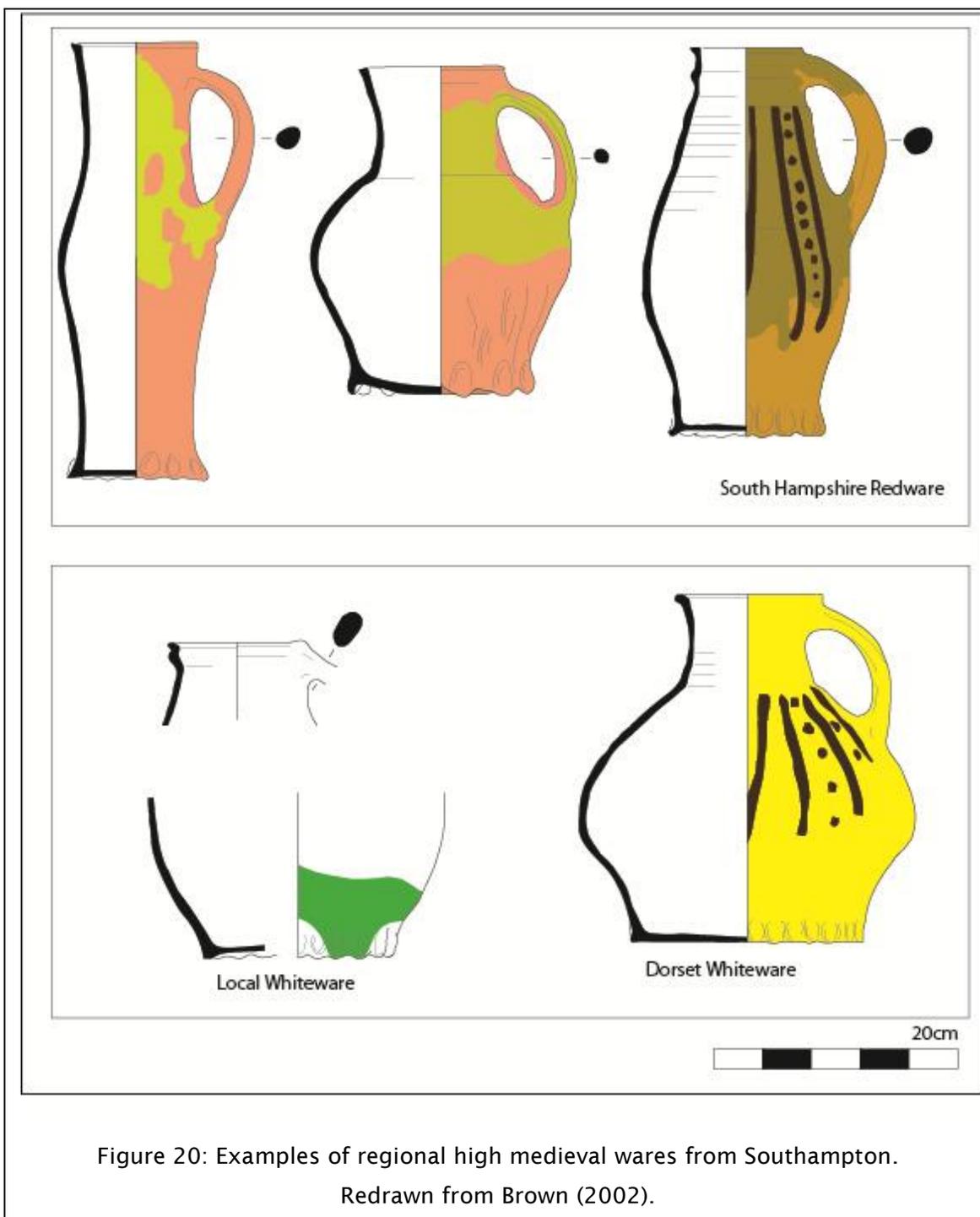
Figure 20: Examples of regional high medieval wares from Southampton.
Redrawn from Brown (2002).
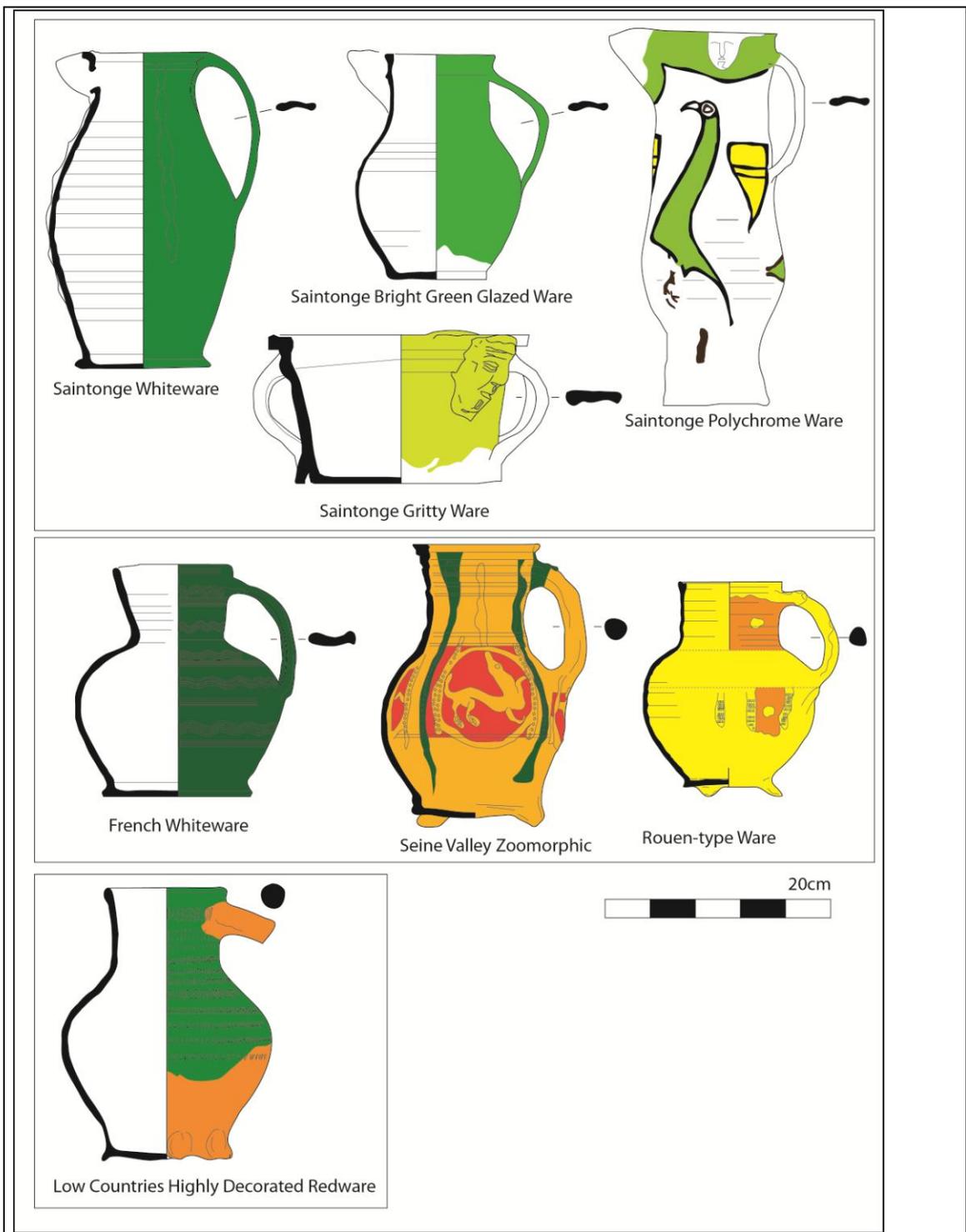
Figure 21: Examples of high medieval imported wares from Southampton.
Redrawn from Brown (2002).

4.2.2 Other Materials

A range of vessels and utensils in materials other than pottery have also been recovered. The evidence for these from Southampton and other sites, and their relationship to pottery, are outlined below.

4.2.2.1 Glass

Glass is a common find on Saxon and medieval sites, but only in small quantities. The assemblage from *Hamwic* is the largest mid-Saxon assemblage in Britain, consisting of 1735 shards. Around 90% of the fragments were identified as coming from palm cups or cone beakers, with the remaining 10% coming from flasks, jars and bowls (Hunter and Heyworth 1998) (Figure 22). Around 10% of the vessels were deliberately coloured, the rest being light blue/green in colour. There are examples demonstrating coloured trailing, reticella rods or flecks. *Hamwic* has been interpreted as a consumption, rather than production, site (Hunter and Heyworth 1998, 59) with complete vessels being imported, either for resale in the settlement or redistribution out of it. As with the imported pottery, it is likely that the majority of the glass remained within the settlement. The assemblage from *Lundenwic* is similar to that from *Hamwic* in terms of the forms present and most of the glass probably relates to vessel use within the settlement (Stiff 2003).

Figure 22: Examples of glass vessels from *Hamwic*.
Redrawn from Hunter and Heyworth (1998).
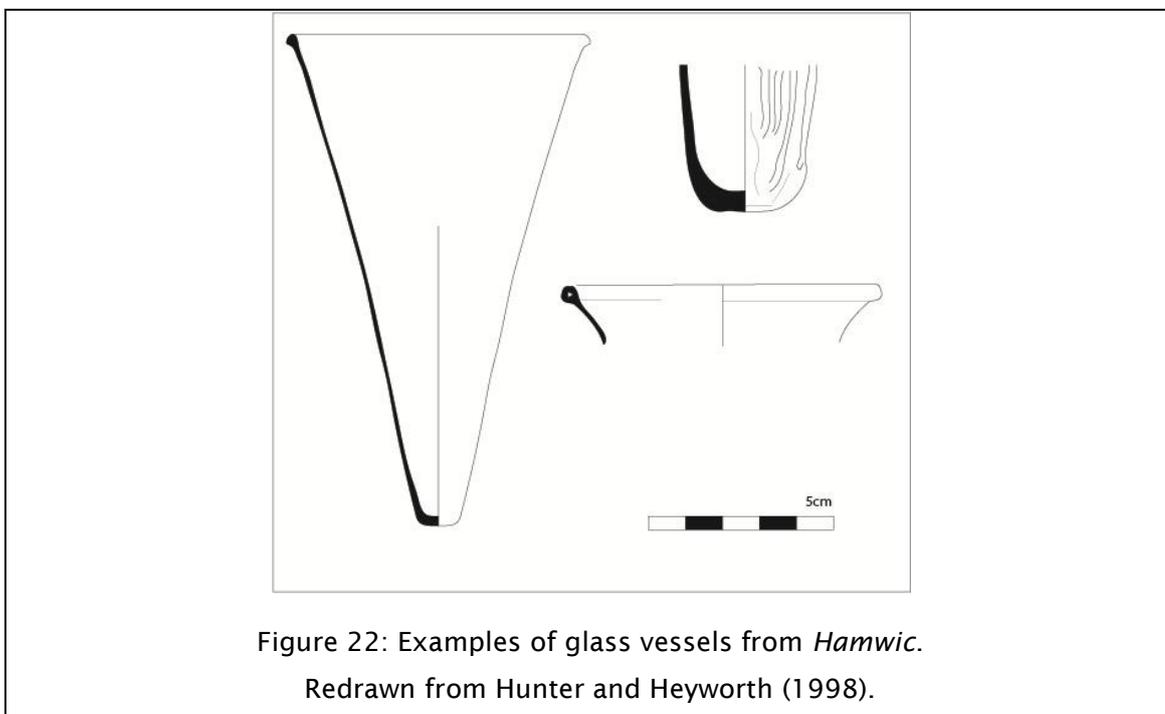
There is considerably less evidence of late Saxon glass, largely due to a change in composition from soda to potash glass (Evison 2000, 88-9). No late Saxon glass has been entered into the Southampton museum database and only a single 11th century vessel fragment is reported from London (Pritchard 1991, 173). All of the glass recovered from contexts of this date in Winchester has been identified as Roman or early Saxon in date (Biddle 1990, 933; Rees *et al* 2008, 253). It is unclear whether this should be taken as a decline in glass use in this period, or whether it is due to preservation.
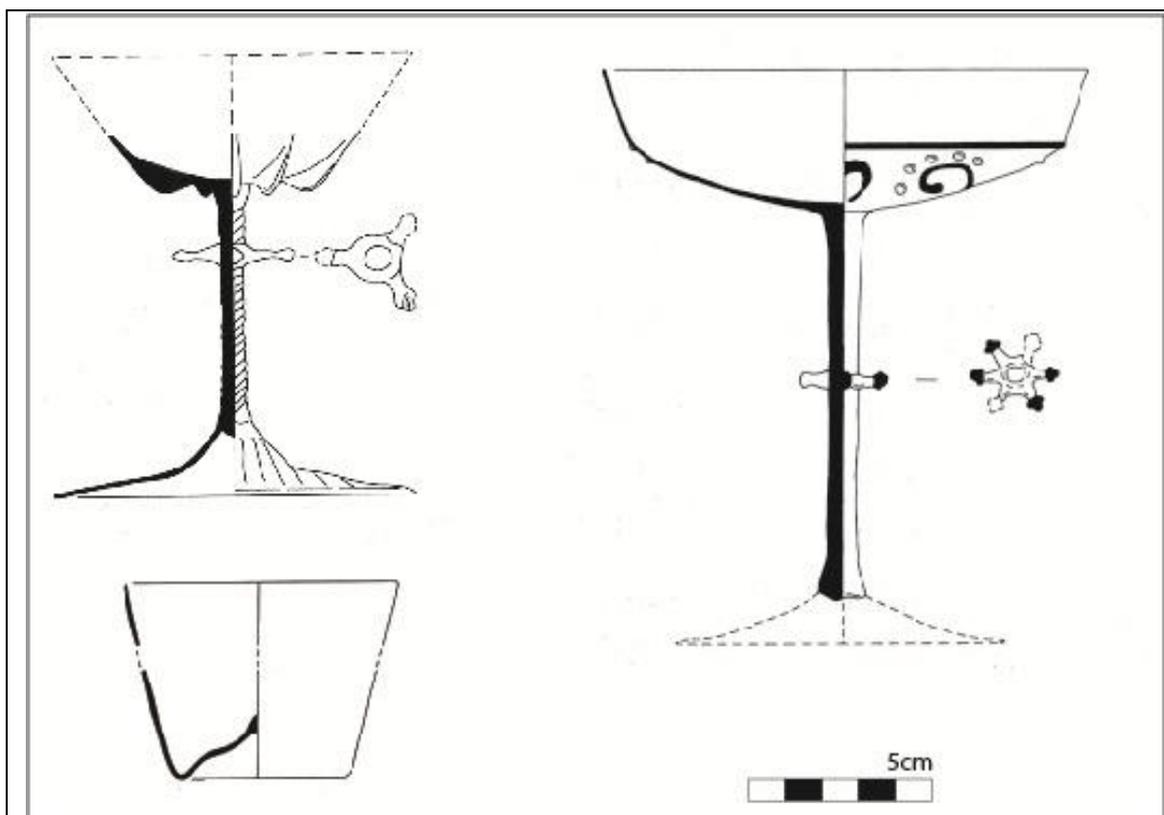
Figure 23: Examples of high medieval glass vessels from Southampton. Reproduced by kind permission of Rachel Tyson and the Council for British Archaeology.

In the 13th-14th centuries glass appears to have only been used at high status sites. There is a complete absence of vessel glass from poorer urban sites and rural settlements, a phenomenon which cannot only be explained through depositional practice and recycling (Tyson 2000, 23). Glass vessels typically took the form of drinking vessels (goblets or beakers) which often shared formal similarities with metal equivalents (Figure 23). Given the formal nature of medieval high status dining, it has been suggested that this is a relationship rooted in ecclesiastical practice (Tyson 2000, 25; Chapter 10). These glass drinking vessels often occur in households where highly

decorated ceramic jugs were present, and their co-occurrence may be indicative of their use in high status dining (*ibid*, 29). Pictorial evidence suggests that glass vessels were used for communal drinking, a process which could potentially be used to re-enforce social hierarchy and have a role in the generation and maintenance of social groups (*ibid*, 30; Chapter 10). In Southampton, glass has only been recovered from sites in the merchants' quarter, most coming from Cuckoo Lane and High Street Site C, the pottery from which is not considered in this study.[7] Glass was present at Westgate Street (SOU 25), which also has an important pottery assemblage. The use of glass was clearly restricted throughout the study period, however the nature of this restriction would appear to have shifted through time. In the mid-Saxon period it was used across the social spectrum in Hamwic and only in limited quantity outside of the port. In the high medieval period glass was used more commonly outside of Southampton, at high status instiutions and in richer homes, but was not used widely across the port, as in the mid-Saxon period.

4.2.2.2 Wood

Our understanding of wooden artefacts is severely hindered by preservation issues, many bowls are likely to have been burnt (Wood 2008, 19). There is very little evidence of wood use from the mid-Saxon period. The only wooden vessels found in *Hamwic* are casks, reused as well linings and a small carved oak bucket. The range of vessels and utensils found at waterlogged sites in Scotland and Ireland does suggest that wood was used to produce a wide range of domestic utensils (Earwood 1993). In western Britain pottery was not used in the early medieval period. Whereas in ceramic areas wooden vessels can be argued to complement ceramic vessels, in aceramic areas wooden (and vessels of other organic materials) can be seen to have rendered pottery unnecessary. Following the ANT approach outlined previously, artefacts are constructed by connections and act to make a context durable. It can be argued therefore, that in south-eastern England a different set of connections were in place, constructing a different 'social', a social in which the agency to create and use pottery was not present and where engagements with these vessels acted in a different way to that of wooden vessels in *Hamwic* and other pottery using areas.

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[7] This was due to issues with context records. The pottery has been studied previously (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975b) and therefore comment can be passed on the basis of this publication.

The largest collection of wooden vessels from the medieval period comes from York.[8] The principal turned forms are bowls and cups, similar examples are present in Winchester (Keene 1990a). Cups cease to have been produced in the 12th century, when bowls also appear to have been used as drinking vessels (Morris 2000, 2182; Wood 2008, 19). Usewear on the York bowls suggests they were used for a range of functions, including the serving of hot substances and chopping (Morris 2000, 2185). Vessels are sometimes decorated with grooving and there are four examples from Britain of painted bowls. Some woods may have been chosen for their decorative qualities (*ibid*, 2185-6). Bowls would appear to have had some value as they were often repaired. This may be due to vessels developing some sentimental value, or perhaps relate to the seasonal or itinerant nature of the craft, which meant that vessels were not always available (*ibid*, 2191). Coopered vessels are also present; buckets and tubs being the most common. Tubs may have had a range of functions, including the storage of wine/ale, milking cows, bathing and laundry. A number of other wooden objects are known from York and elsewhere in Britain, such as pot lids (including an example from *Hamwic*), which appear to have been produced throughout the study period, and stoppers. Spoons and spatulas are increasingly common finds, although these are often made from other materials including bone and metal. It is likely that wooden spoons were the second most common utensil after iron knives (Morris and Margeson 1993, 136). The excavations at Novgorod (Russia), where there was exceptional preservation of wooden artefacts, demonstrate the potentially wide range of objects which could have been used in medieval Britain, including spoons, whisks, pestles and rolling pins (Khoroshev 2007).
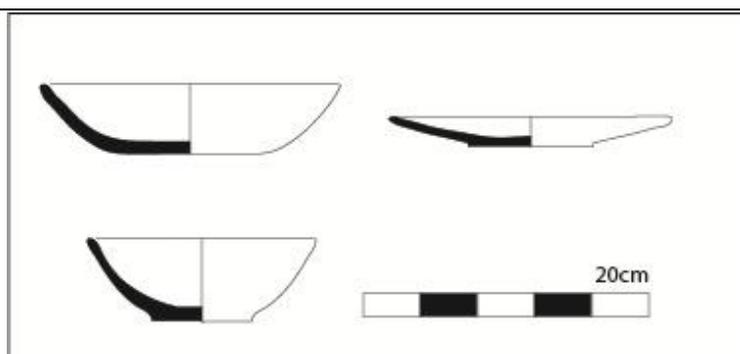
Figure 24: Examples of wooden bowls from Cuckoo Lane.
Redrawn from Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975b).

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[8] Whilst we must be careful in using Anglo-Scandinavian parallels when discussing late Saxon Southampton, parallels with vessels in Winchester imply that some comparison is valid (Morris 2000, 2182).

The only collection of wooden vessels excavated in Southampton comes from Cuckoo Lane (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975b). This collection consists of wooden bowls (some of which have carved marks on the base), a churn (similar examples are known from York (Morris 2000) and Winchester (Keene 1990b)) and stave built buckets and casks (Figure 24). Keene (1990a, 960) suggests that these bowls were locally produced and that wooden vessels were used throughout the spectrum of society. In comparing two assemblages from Winchester he suggests that, as with pottery, there are differences in the contexts of use of particular types of wooden bowl, based on material, form and quality. Woolgar (1999) has noted an example of older wooden vessels being passed down the social ladder, from being used at tables to servants. The circulation of these vessels had a role in the construction of the social order in medieval households. Despite the paucity of the material evidence, wooden vessels would appear to have massively outnumbered ceramic vessels in medieval households, for example in 1431-2 the household of John de Vere in Oxford ordered 25 ceramic pots and 234 wooden bowls, which cost less than a penny each (Wood 2008, 19). These vessels clearly complemented ceramic pots in huge numbers.

4.2.2.3 Metal

Metal vessels were used in the Anglo-Saxon period. Three copper alloy vessels have been recovered from *Hamwic*, including a small cup or bowl. Other examples include vessel repair patches, an iron cooking pan from Winchester (Rees *et al* 2008, 257), an iron vessel fragment and cauldron suspension chain from the excavations at Flixborough (Lincolnshire) (Ottaway 2009, 173). Large cauldrons, made from copper or iron, are also known from archaeological contexts, such as Sutton Hoo and London, and are commonly referred to in textual sources (Hagen 2006, 292). Metal vessels were not commonly used in the Post-Conquest period, not appearing in any great quantity until the 15th century (Egan 2010, 161-176; Margeson 1993, 90; Rees *et al* 2008, 257), although copper alloy vessel rims have been recovered from Southampton Castle. A small number of copper alloy cauldrons and bowls, as well as iron, tin and lead vessel fragments have been excavated in London, mostly dating to the later 14th century (Egan 2010, 161-76).

Iron pothooks are relatively common finds on Anglo-Saxon sites, with examples known from *Hamwic*, as well as Bishopstone (East Sussex) and Flixborough (Ottaway 2010, 121; 2009, 173). Vessel suspension fittings have also been recovered from Flixborough and *Hamwic*. Other iron utensils recovered from *Hamwic* include spatulas,

flesh hooks, knives and strainers. Copper alloy spoons have been excavated in *Hamwic*, along with a spatulate spoon/fork from Six Dials.

Iron knives are common finds throughout the study period and likely had a range of uses, both domestic and industrial (Goodall 1990, 836). 13th-14th century utensils found in Southampton include spoons, strainers, flesh hooks and sieves. Similar objects are typical of assemblages from large towns such as London (Egan 2010), York (Ottaway and Rogers 2002), Winchester (Biddle 1990), Norwich (Margeson 1993) and Exeter (Allan 1984). Although not commonly used as vessels, metal utensils would have been used alongside pottery, with metal fittings being used to suspend vessels.

4.2.2.4 Stone

A limited range of stone objects are associated with domestic activities. The most ubiquitous from *Hamwic* are quern stones (Addyman and Hill 1969, 79). A number of stone mortars, generally made from Purbeck or Quarr limestone, have been recovered from the medieval town. These replaced querns in the 13th-14th centuries (Biddle and Smith 1990, 891). These have been found at York Buildings, as well as at sites in the southwest of Southampton. These mortars are similar to those found in York (Ottaway and Rogers 2002, 2800), Exeter (Allan 1984, 294) and Winchester (Biddle and Smith 1990), where they have also been found in lower status extra-mural areas (Rees *et al* 2008, 259). Based on the evidence from Winchester and Southampton these vessels would appear to have been used across the social spectrum.

4.2.2.6 Summary

Pottery was one of a range of material types used in medieval Southampton. It had a very distinct role, providing cooking vessels and some serving vessels. Consumption vessels were more typically made from glass or wood and the form and decoration of these vessels, as well as the mode of use, was active in constructing social relationships during consumption activity. Cooking and consumption also involved engagements with wood, stone and metal utensils and the agency for producing the social assemblage of the medieval household was distributed through all of these objects.

4.3 Food in the Medieval Period

A final actor to be considered is the substances which were prepared and consumed using these vessels and utensils. An understanding of medieval diet is crucial to the

study of ceramic use and therefore an overview of the approaches applied to food and what a non-representational approach offers to its study is provided before a summary of the evidence from Southampton.

4.3.1 Approaches to Medieval Food

Archaeological work has generally focussed on the production and distribution of foodstuffs. For example, Stone (2006) catalogues the types of grain grown, the ways these were prepared to produce ale and bread and how these were consumed in a variety of ways, depending upon social context. Similar summaries of foodstuffs are presented for the Saxon period by Hagen (2006). Several works follow a similar format, leading to a lack of any further understanding of the social role of food in the lives of medieval people. As discussed in chapter 1, such studies are necessary to build a contextual basis for future analysis, and this is where their value to this project lies. Historians have been better equipped to consider social differences in food consumption but their evidence largely relates to the upper strata of society (Mennell 1996, 47). This has allowed, for example, the exploration of theories of cooking (based on the four humors) (Scully 1995). Studies have considered the role of food in building social hierarchies, for example Hammond (1993, 61) has studied the food provisions given to servants, Weiss-Adamson (2004, 55) has explored the relationship between preparation and consumption practices and status, whilst Carlin (1998) has investigated why prepared foods became increasingly common in urban contexts. The themes explored in these studies, principally the role of food procurement, preparation and consumption in defining social relationships, will be explored using ceramic evidence in chapter 10.

The most illuminating works are those which draw together historical and archaeological data (e.g. Dyer 1983; Serjeantson and Woolgar 2006). These tell us what was eaten, by whom and in what context. For example, Sykes' (2006; 2007) study of meat consumption around the time of the Norman conquest considers the economic background, including a discussion of the use of secondary products, to identify the relationship between meat consumption and economic development. The particular contexts of consumption; rural and urban, are contrasted, with factors unique to each type of settlement being discussed, in order to interpret the pattern of faunal remains and question some of the conclusions made by scholars using less theoretically developed approaches (Sykes 2006, 63). Such a contextualised study of food provides a greater understanding of the processes of social assembly. This project will also achieve this through considering the role of pottery in food preparation and consumption.

Whilst medieval food studies have been slow to turn towards exploring interpretation, there is a wealth of literature on the anthropology of food, principally gathered from ethnographic research. Early work by Barthes (1961) and Levi-Strauss (1968), for example, considered how the cooking and consumption of food was structured, with Levi-Strauss proposing that food preparation could be seen through a series of dualisms through which he developed the 'culinary triangle'. This structuralist work was carried forward by Douglas (1975), who considered how the structure of meals led to foodstuffs generating meaning in relation to one another. Whilst a structuralist approach, such a framework allows us to explore how engagements with food during meals formed social relationships and to consider how these engagements were formed at different temporal scales.

Ethnographic research led to the questioning of such structuralist approaches in anthropology as a whole. Goody (1982), for example, considered how food consumption was embedded in other social practices, environmental and other contextual factors. Scholars such as Counihan (1999) have furthered this research, exploring, for example, how food practices change in relation to wider contextual developments. Food studies have also been combined into studies of consumption, for example Lupton (1996, 13) suggests that we come to understand ourselves through food and eating. Food is experienced through all of our senses and these experiences are conveyed through social discourse. This discourse, in turn, shapes our responses to these experiences. The meaning of food comes to be distributed through the connections associated with its consumption, connections which also distribute the construction of ourselves through food consumption, both in the physical and meta-physical sense. Similar ideas are explored by Falk (1997), who argued that the role of the senses is not a biological constant but is dependent upon culture and the social order; in essence our understanding of whether foodstuffs afford a good eating experience draws upon a range of past experiences and current assocations (*ibid* 10-11). Experiences of eating provide an area in which a non-representational perspective can be fruitfully applied, by considering the connections created through its preparation and consumption and the effect of these engagements in creating and sustaining a social context.

4.3.2 The Southampton Evidence

The faunal and environmental remains from Southampton have received varying degrees of attention. The material from *Hamwic* is well studied, but that from the medieval town has not been systematically examined.

Excavations in *Hamwic* have recovered a large quantity of faunal remains (Bourdillon 1980; Bourdillon 1984; Hamilton-Dyer 2005). The types consumed across *Hamwic* are relatively homogenous (Hagen 2006, 356), cattle and pig dominate, but a small quantity of sheep is present. An increase in cattle consumption, in relation to pig, was noted in the later phases of *Hamwic*. Sheep were less common and smaller, older animals were consumed in this later phase (Bourdillon 1984, 93). Wild animals are very rare (Bourdillon 1980, 183) but fish, mainly from the local estuaries, was exploited (*ibid*). The same parts of animals are found at most sites, suggesting that butchery was not specialised (Bourdillon 1984, 45). Animals were probably brought to *Hamwic* on the hoof, matching the picture at *Gippeswic* (Crabtree 1996), but in contrast to European *wic* sites, such as Dorestad and Hedeby, where there is evidence for farming and specialised butchery close to the settlements (Bourdillon 1980, 185). Food crops were imported into towns and the presence of quern stones (see above) demonstrates that grains were processed within *Hamwic*. Wheat consumption appears to have increased in the later phases, although the absolute quantities of other grains did not decrease (Biddle unpub.).

A West Saxon law code[9] demands food rents, which implies the production of surplus (Hodges 1982, 136) and it is possible that the *wic* was provisioned through such a mechanism, rather than a market (Hodges 1982, 142; O'Conner 2001, 60).[10] Such a mechanism may account for the general homogeneity in the foodstuffs consumed across *Hamwic*.

A carbohydrate rich diet is suggested by the high incidence of caries in two of the excavated cemeteries, at Marine Parade (SOU 13) and Clifford Street (SOU 31) (Pay unpublished). The high levels of strontium in teeth from Clifford Street (SOU 31), suggests a relatively meat free diet, whilst fish consumption is demonstrated by high sodium levels. Based on a higher incidence of calculus on the teeth, males may have had a more protein rich diet than the females. A low incidence of caries at St. Mary's Stadium (SOU 1019) suggests a meat rich diet in the early phases of *Hamwic* (McKinley 2005). The evidence from the human remains can tentatively be used to suggest that food consumption reflected, or played an active role in the construction of, social groups within *Hamwic*, perhaps along lines of class or gender, contrasting the relative homogeneity in the faunal assemblage. Perhaps households as a whole consumed

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[9] Which can only be applied to *Hamwic* by analogy.

[10] It should be noted that whereas potential royal farms, such as Wicken Bonhunt, have been found in the hinterland of Ipswich (Hodges 1982, 142; Crabtree 1996), no such settlements have been found around London (Cowie and Blackmore 2008) or *Hamwic*.

similar quantities of food, however within the household some individuals consumed different foods to others.

The faunal evidence from late Saxon contexts is similar to that from *Hamwic*. Beef appears to have been the main meat consumed, with the decline in sheep and pig numbers observed in the later phases of *Hamwic* continuing into this period (Bourdillon 1985). There is little difference in the consumption of poultry compared to *Hamwic* (Bourdillon unpub.).

In the medieval town there appears to be more variation in the species consumed and in the distribution of their remains, although cattle and sheep dominate assemblages. The range of animals eaten, and an increase in the quantity of sheep, can be paralleled in both Exeter (Maltby 1979, 22) and Winchester (Serjeantson 2009, 168). In all of these towns older animals were consumed, demonstrating that they were generally utilised for their secondary products before slaughter (Bourdillon 1980, 188). In Southampton there is also evidence of specialised butchery, with changes in practice starting in the 12th century and initially relating to the assemblages from the wealthiest households (Bourdillon unpub.; Noddle 1975, 332). In the 13th-14th centuries there is some evidence of the consumption of wild or unusual species, such as rabbit and peacock, at sites around the waterfront, perhaps demonstrating that the tastes of the urban elite differed from those of poorer members of Southampton's population (Noddle 1975, 333; Bramwell 1975). Fish was a minor component of diets in Southampton based on the bone evidence, with eel being most commonly eaten (Serjeantson 2009, 172). It seems that plants, rather than animals, were the major component of diet. In Winchester a range of grains were consumed along with peas and beans, probably in the form of bread, ale and pottage (Stone 2006, 11). Spatial patterning has been observed in the botanical remains from Southampton, with a different range of plants being consumed in the castle and merchants' quarter to York Buildings; including a range of imported foodstuffs, such as grapes, figs and rice. At York Buildings there is a general continuity from the late Saxon consumption pattern (Biddle unpub). The faunal and environmental evidence from Southampton has been patchily studied but some trends can be observed, principally increasing differentiation in what was eaten in different areas of the town through time and that the urban market was typically supplied with older animals.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has identified a range of actors; people, objects and foodstuffs, which clearly formed associations in the context of Saxon and medieval Southampton. In

defining the range of vessels and utensils present, it becomes clear that pottery cannot be studied in isolation. The faunal and environmental remains clearly have great potential in understanding how social groups formed, in relation to preparation and consumption. Historical and archaeological evidence has given us a good understanding of the economic and craft processes which occurred in different areas of the settlement. We can now go on to examine the evidence for associations between these actors and consider how they were brought together to form social assemblages in the medieval period.

5. Categorising Pottery by Distribution

Analysis of pottery fabric provides a wealth of information about the provenance of particular products, allowing us to infer how widely distributed they were and perhaps reconstruct the scale of manufacture. If we take fabric types as an index of production, we can use this as a starting point to understand how people acquired and exchanged pottery and how this was active in creating a particular formation of 'the social' in a given spatial and temporal context.

The study of distribution will recategorise these wares, based on whether they were locally produced and by how widespread they are within the settlement. This will allow us to consider how the town was supplied with pottery and the relationship between consumers and traders/producers in the market. Such studies are an underdeveloped area in the study of Anglo-Saxon *wic* sites (Blackmore 2001, 38, although see Morton 2005[11]), but, particularly in the context of Southampton, have been carried out for the late Saxon and medieval periods (Brown 1994; Brown 1997a; Jervis 2009a). These studies have all used traditional categories of pottery based on production, rather than considering how pottery was distributed as a taxonomic level in itself. In order to create these categories, it is necessary to recategorise production based groups into this scheme. Four groups have been identified:
- Locally produced pottery with a localised distribution within the settlement.
- Locally produced pottery with a settlement wide distribution.
- Non-locally produced pottery with a settlement wide distribution.
- Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution within the settlement.

5.1 Group 1: Locally Produced Pottery with a Localised Distribution

These wares can be demonstrated, on the basis of their fabric, to have been produced in the vicinity of Southampton. Three locally produced Organic-tempered wares are present in the *Hamwic* assemblage; fabrics 1, 3 and 6, which fit into a widespread ceramic tradition (chapter 8). The distributions of fabrics 1 and 3 appear to cluster in different areas of *Hamwic* (Table 1). Although present in small quantities across

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[11] This study was principally aimed at determining areas of early and late occupation, rather than understanding the mechanics of distribution and therefore plotted the distribution of generalised mid-Saxon wares, rather than specific fabrics.

Hamwic, fabric 1 is most common in the north-west, around Six Dials in particular (Figure 25). Fabric 3 is more common in the south-east, around Melbourne Street and Chapel Road, although it is still present at Six Dials (Figure 26). This gives the impression of the fabric has a settlement wide distribution, however it has been classified as having a localised distribution on the basis of the exceptionally low quantities at some Six Dials sites and the exceptionally high quantities around Melbourne Street and Chapel Road. Very small quantities of fabric 6 were present and it was only found at three sites. This distribution may have been blurred by the movement of pottery during deposition (see chapter 7), but there would appear to be some distinction in the distribution of these wares. The lack of wider fabric variability suggests that in this earliest phase of the settlement pottery was produced for local 'markets', perhaps by a neighbourhood potter who exchanged their wares through particular areas of the town. This had the effect of creating localised prototypes which were reproduced through continued exchange, and to which other products can be seen to adhere in a 'fuzzy' manner (chapter 10). This localised distribution supports Morton's (1992, 38) suggestion that in the earliest phase *Hamwic* was composed of several distinct nuclei, which later merged into each other.

Figure 25: The distribution of Fabric 1 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
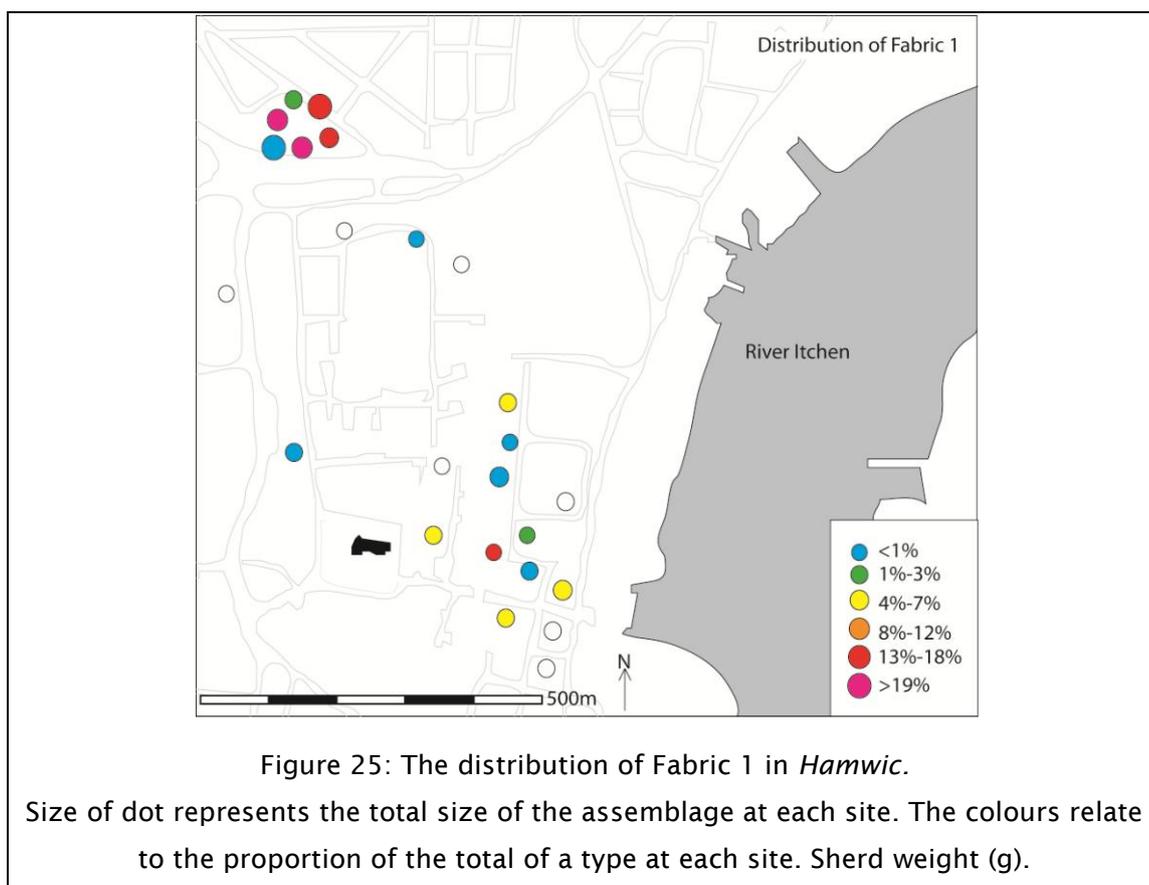
Area	SOU	Organic-tempered			%ge *Hamwic* phase 1 assemblage from site
		1	*3*	*6*	
Clifford St	15				**<1%**
	32	<1%	4%		**<1%**
	39			22%	**<1%**
Marine Parade	13		2%		**1%**
Melbourne St	1	4%	5%		**2%**
	4	<1%	22%		**6%**
	5	<1%	2%		**<1%**
North Chapel Rd	8		1%		**<1%**
	11	3%	18%		**3%**
	18	7%	4%		**4%**
	33		1%	44%	**2%**
	40				**<1%**
Six Dials	23	2%			**2%**
	24	22%	17%		**12%**
	26	16%	1%		**6%**
	30	13%	1%		**22%**
	31	29%	9%		**11%**
	169	1%	13%		**21%**
Southern Periphery	14	<1%	1%		**2%**
	16				**1%**
	22				**1%**
Western Periphery	36		1%		**<1%**
	99	<1%		34%	**1%**
Total (g)		**1851**	**552**	**32**	**5886**

Table 1: The distribution of Group 1 Organic-tempered Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 26: The distribution of Fabric 3 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
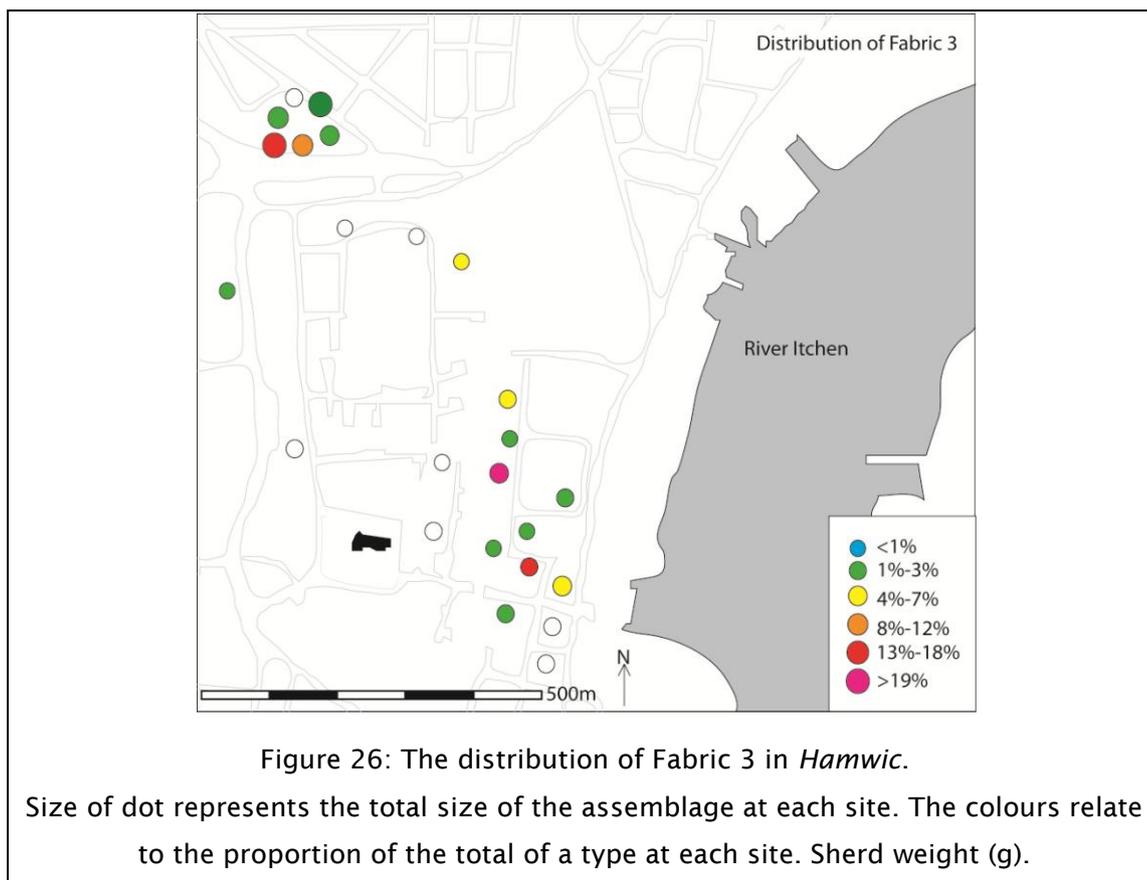
In phase 2, the terms of this category become slightly fuzzy. Fabrics 11 and 12 are both locally produced and found in deposits across *Hamwic*. Their distribution is slightly skewed towards the south and east however, when assemblage size is taken into account (Table 2). For this reason it has been decided to place these wares into this group. Fabric 11 is a transitional fabric, having small quantities of organic temper, whereas fabric 12 is a Sandy Ware. The emergence of these wares is a phenomenon regionally unique to *Hamwic.* Its emergence suggests a shift in prototype, perhaps brought about through contact with distant centres using similar wares (chapters 8 and 10). This distribution pattern appears to indicate the continuity of the localised production/exchange network observed in phase 1, but with potters and consumers perhaps being influenced by the imported wares present in *Hamwic* at different rates (see chapter 10). This meant that earlier, transitional types may have been in demand across the settlement and that potters continued to supply a broader consumer base in limited quantities, once other suppliers began to produce similar wares. Fabric 11 is present in some quantity across the town (Figure 27), perhaps due to it being the first product which imitated the imported wares, whilst fabric 12 is comparatively rare at Six Dials, but comparatively common around Melbourne Street and at SOU 14 (Figure 28). The distribution of fabric 12 contrasts with that of fabrics 8 and 10 (Figure 76),

which were produced outside of *Hamwic* and have a distribution skewed towards the
north and west.

Figure 27: The distribution of Fabric 11 in *Hamwic*.

Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 28: The distribution of Fabric 12 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Area	SOU	Sandy		%ge *Hamwic* phase 2 assemblage from site.
		11	12	
Centre	43	<1%	<1%	**<1%**
Clifford St	15	3%	4%	**3%**
	32	2%	3%	**4%**
	39		<1%	**1%**
Marine Parade	10		<1%	**<1%**
	13	<1%	<1%	**<1%**
Melbourne St	1	4%	4%	**3%**
	4	7%	9%	**3%**
	5	1%	3%	**2%**
	6	<1%	3%	**1%**
	20	5%	4%	**2%**
North Chapel Rd	7	1%	1%	**<1%**
	8	3%	1%	**1%**
	11	2%	2%	**2%**
	18	<1%	1%	**<1%**
	33	5%	4%	**7%**
	40			**<1%**
Northumberland Rd	19		<1%	**<1%**
Six Dials	23	4%	1%	**1%**
	24	11%	9%	**12%**
	26	9%	1%	**7%**
	30	7%	4%	**8%**
	31	12%	12%	**16%**
	169	14%	10%	**10%**
Southern Periphery	14	4%	17%	**7%**
	16	<1%		**<1%**
	17	<1%	2%	**3%**
	22			**<1%**
Western Periphery	36	<1%	3%	**3%**
	99	6%	2%	**3%**
Total (g)		**20559**	**30843**	**212236**

Table 2: The distribution of Phase 2, Group 1 fabrics in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

In phase 3 a wide range of fabrics are present; Mixed-grit-tempered Wares and Flint-tempered Wares. The Mixed-grit-tempered Wares are generally locally produced (with the exception of fabric 63) and have localised distributions (Table 3). The distribution of fabrics 55 (Figure 29) and 60 (Figure 30) is very much focussed on Six Dials and it can be suggested that these are the work of potters who were perhaps operating at a domestic level of manufacture. Several Flint-tempered Wares have similarly localised

distributions, fabric 16 for example was only found at Six Dials and Hoglands (Figure 31), and fabric 24 is distributed mostly around the western periphery (Figure 32). Over half of Fabric 25 was recovered from Clifford Street and therefore it has been placed in this group (although there is an unusually high quantity at SOU 14) (Figure 33). Other fabrics (for example fabric 59) are more widely distributed, so it can perhaps be suggested that production and distribution was operating at several scales in this phase.

Area	SOU	Flint-tempered				Mixed-grit-tempered					%ge *Hamwic* phase 3 assemblage from site.
		16	*24*	*25*	*28*	*14*	*55*	*60*	*62*	*66*	
Clifford St	15		30%	23%			<1%	2%	2%		**6%**
	32		10%	36%				1%	30%	38%	**13%**
	39		2%								**1%**
Marine Parade	13								1%		**<1%**
Melbourne St	1		<1%			1%		<1%			**1%**
	4							<1%	7%		**1%**
	5		1%	<1%		5%		3%			**4%**
	6		2%					2%			**<1%**
	20		3%			1%		4%	3%		**1%**
North Chapel Rd	7					2%					**<1%**
	8										**<1%**
	11			1%		4%		<1%			**1%**
	18										**<1%**
	33		8%	11%				18%	16%		**7%**
Six Dials	23			3%			1%				**1%**
	24	2%	14%	<1%			4%	10%	22%		**7%**
	26	17%				2%	4%	<1%			**5%**
	30	24%	3%		100%	37%	63%	14%			**4%**
	31	55%	<1%	1%		42%	20%	7%			**22%**
	169	1%	11%	8%	6%	1%	2%	5%	4%		**12%**
Southern Periphery	14		14%					1%			**5%**
	16										**<1%**
	17			94%							**<1%**
Western Periphery	36	2%	9%	2%		7%		3%			**6%**
	99		9%	1%			4%	1%	11%		**1%**
Total (g)		**453**	**1492**	**1458**	**253**	**33**	**2252**	**1121**	**2165**	**393**	**103113**

Table 3: The distribution of Phase 3, Group 1 fabrics in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 29: The distribution of Fabric 55 in *Hamwic*.

Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 30: The distribution of Fabric 60 in *Hamwic*.

Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

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Figure 31: The distribution of fabric 16 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 32: The distribution of fabric 24 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 33: The distribution of fabric 25 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

In the late Saxon period two locally produced wares; Late Saxon Sandy Ware and Late Saxon Organic-tempered Ware, are present in small quantities and have a limited distribution, generally in western Southampton. Late Saxon Sandy Ware is most abundant at the West Quay sites, whilst the Organic-tempered Ware was most common at Madison Street and may be a residual mid-Saxon product, given the evidence of mid-Saxon activity here (Oxley 1988). It is also possible that this ware may be an import from eastern Hampshire as some wares have been identified as exhibiting selanite impressions (John Cotter pers. comm.). The distribution of Late Saxon Sandy Ware is noticeably similar to that of Michelmersh-type Ware (Figure 88) and is perhaps indicative of local potters attempting to imitate this wheelthrown, sandy product, and some fuzziness may have existed in the distinction of these wares. The presence of these wares, and imported sandy wares, clearly indexes a demand for sandy wares in Southampton, which enterprising local potters may have attempted to meet.

No pottery dating to the Anglo-Norman period can be demonstrated to have been produced in Southampton itself. This is an important change from earlier periods and is considered in relation to the Norman conquest in chapter 10. Those wares produced

close to Southampton have a settlement wide distribution. Similarly, in the high medieval period the locally produced pottery has a settlement wide distribution.

	SOU	Late Saxon Sandy Ware	Late Saxon Organic-tempered	%geSouthampton late Saxon assemblage from site.
West Quay	142		2%	12%
	149			1%
	859	*15%*		24%
	860			<1%
	861	*32%*	3%	31%
	902		2%	<1%
Eastern High Street	175	*32%*	13%	7%
	105			1%
	106			1%
	199	2%		1%
	934			2%
	1355	1%		3%
Western High Street	25	1%	1%	8%
	29	1%	73%	1%
	110	*12%*		2%
	111	<1%		3%
	124	3%	5%	<1%
	125			1%
	129	<1%	2%	1%
	161			1%
	164			<1%
Total (g)		**1660**	**533**	**105064**

Table 4: The distribution of late Saxon, Group 1 wares in Southampton (sherd weight, g).

Figure 34: The distribution of Late Saxon Sandy Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
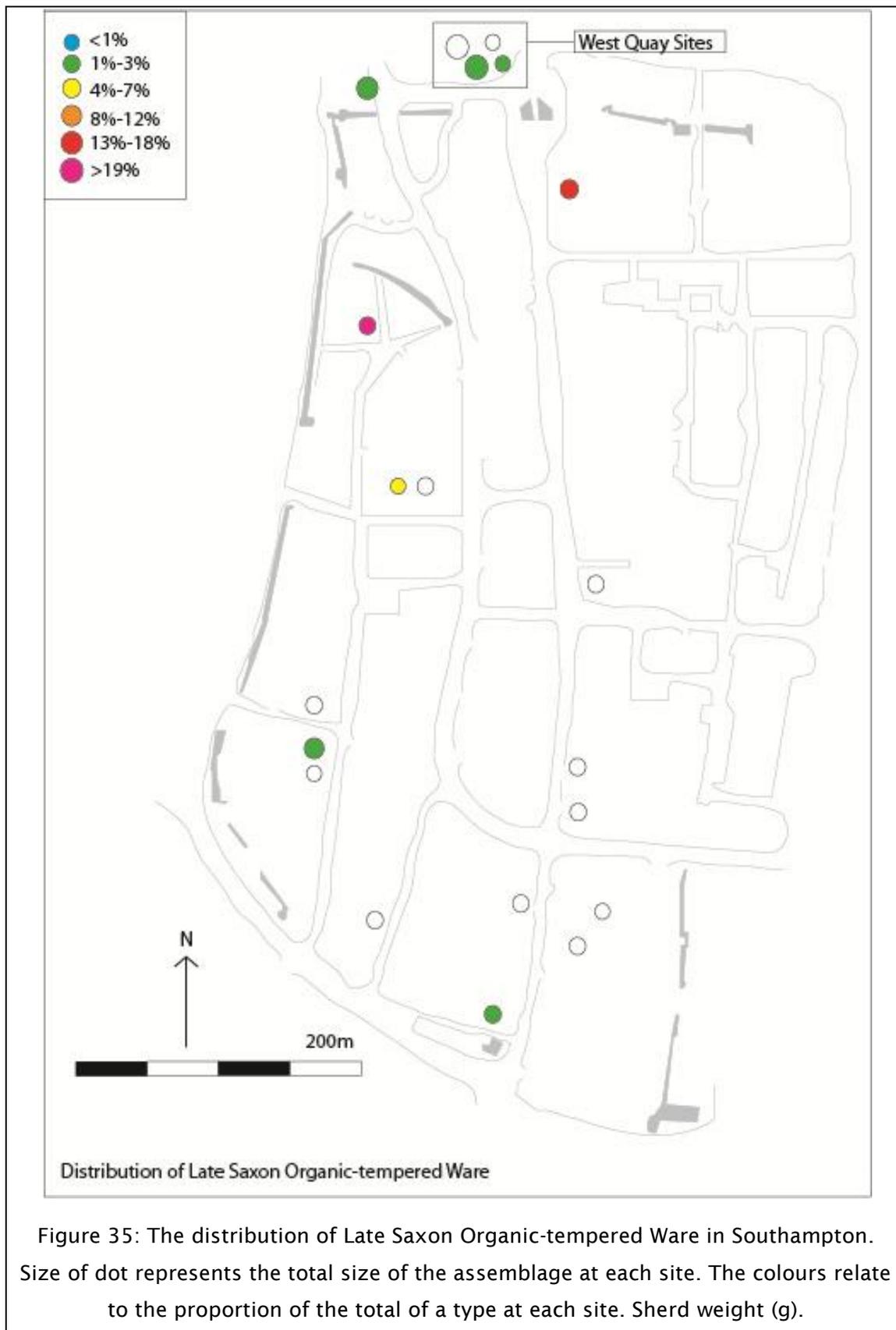
Figure 35: The distribution of Late Saxon Organic-tempered Ware in Southampton. Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

5.2 Group 2: Locally Produced Pottery with a Settlement Wide Distribution

No Organic-tempered Wares fit into this group. In phase 2 of *Hamwic*, two Sandy Ware fabrics (57 (Figure 37) and 58 (Figure 38)) fall into this group (Table 5). These are the third most common fabrics, after fabrics 10 and 12, which dominate the assemblage. The products of certain local potters appear to have been marketed across the settlement. It can be hypothesised that this relates to the opening up of the market in this period, as suggested above, or perhaps that they index the presence of new potters who were not enmeshed in an existing localised exchange network. Fabric 56 has been identified by Timby (1988, 112) as an early Mixed-grit-tempered Ware. It was locally produced and is found in small quantities across *Hamwic* (Figure 36). Although its distribution is similar to that of fabric 12, it lacks the slight south-eastern bias present amongst the fabric 12 distribution. This pattern continues into phase 3, where certain locally produced Mixed-grit-tempered Wares appear to have been distributed throughout the entire settlement, alongside the localised wares discussed above. This shift in prototype appears related to changing relationships between *Hamwic* and its hinterland (chapter 10).

Figure 36: The distribution of Fabric 56 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
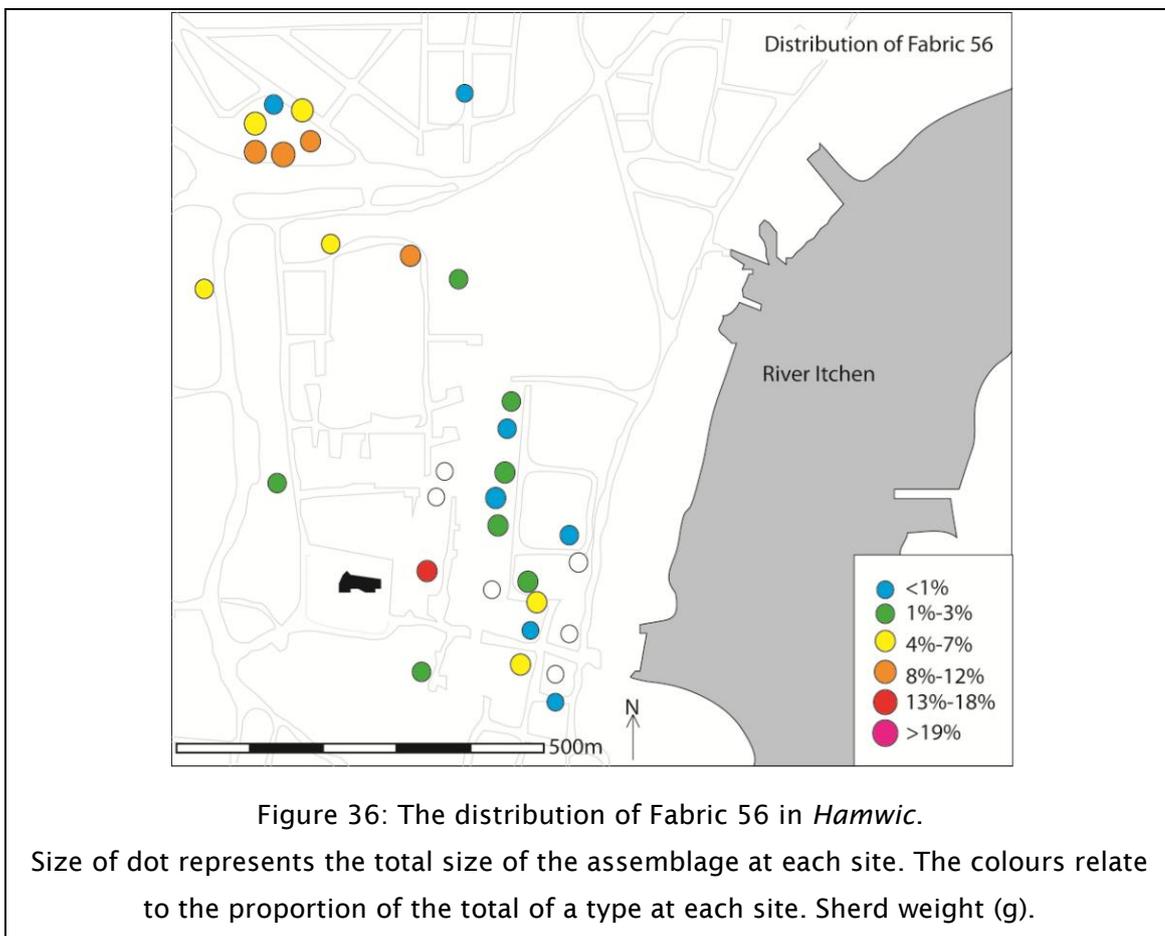
Area	SOU	Mixed-grit-Tempered	Sandy		%ge *Hamwic* phase 2 assemblage from site.
		56	57	58	
Centre	43				**<1%**
Clifford St	15	7%	3%	3%	**3%**
	32	8%	6%	11%	**4%**
	39	3%	2%	2%	**1%**
Marine Parade	10				**<1%**
	13	<1%	<1%	<1%	**<1%**
Melbourne St	1	<1%	<1%	13%	**3%**
	4	<1%	1%		**3%**
	5	3%	2%	3%	**2%**
	6	1%	1%		**1%**
	20	2%	5%	1%	**2%**
North Chapel Rd	7	<1%	<1%	<1%	**<1%**
	8	1%	<1%	<1%	**1%**
	11	6%	2%	1%	**2%**
	18			<1%	**0%**
	33	13%	24%	6%	**7%**
	40				**<1%**
Northumberland Rd	19	<1%	<1%	1%	**<1%**
Six Dials	23	<1%	1%	<1%	**1%**
	24	5%	8%	7%	**12%**
	26	9%	2%	<1%	**7%**
	30	5%	6%	5%	**8%**
	31	11%	14%	16%	**16%**
	169	12%	8%	5%	**10%**
Southern Periphery	14	4%	3%	7%	**7%**
	16				**<1%**
	17	2%	3%	14%	**3%**
	22	<1%	<1%		**<1%**
Western Periphery	36	6%	9%	<1%	**3%**
	99	2%	1%	3%	**3%**
Total (g)		**18085**	**8075**	**5616**	**212236**

Table 5: The distribution of Phase 2, Group 2 fabrics in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 37: The distribution of Fabric 57 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 38: The distribution of Fabric 58 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

In phase 3 several Mixed-grit-tempered or Flint-tempered Wares have wide distributions (Table 6). The most abundant Mixed-grit-tempered Ware is fabric 59, although it must be acknowledged that this could be an amalgamation of many sub-types (Timby 1988, 85). It is fairly evenly spread across the settlement, possibly implying the continued presence of a settlement wide exchange network into this period (Figure 41). Fabric 61 has a similar wide distribution (Figure 42). Certain Flint-tempered Wares, fabrics 26 (Figure 39) and 65 (Figure 40), are found only at a small number of sites, but these are dispersed through *Hamwic*. It is possible that these find spots relate to particular networks of exchange through the settlement, with distribution relating to personally, rather than spatially, defined markets. The small quantities suggest that these were not widely marketed in the same way as other wares, perhaps being exchanged as gifts or payment in kind, rather than as objects of exchange in the conventional sense.

Area	SOU	Flint-tempered		Mixed-grit-tempered		%ge *Hamwic* phase 3 assemblage from site.
		26	*65*	*59*	*61*	
Clifford St	15	24%		7%	3%	**6%**
	32	11%		11%	17%	**13%**
	39			1%	1%	**1%**
Marine Parade	13		<1%	<1%		**<1%**
Melbourne St	1		2%	1%	3%	**1%**
	4			1%	1%	**1%**
	5	20%	2%	4%	2%	**4%**
	6			<1%	<1%	**<1%**
	20		3%	1%	<1%	**1%**
North Chapel Rd	7			<1%	<1%	**<1%**
	8			<1%	<1%	**<1%**
	11			1%		**1%**
	18			<1%	1%	**<1%**
	33			6%	2%	**7%**
Six Dials	23	9%	2%	1%	2%	**1%**
	24	7%	50%	6%	10%	**7%**
	26	2%	1%	6%	4%	**5%**
	30		10%	1%	4%	**4%**
	31	5%	28%	25%	24%	**22%**
	169	20%		12%	19%	**12%**
Southern Periphery	14	1%		8%	<1%	**5%**
	16			<1%		**<1%**
	17					**<1%**
Western Periphery	36			6%	5%	**6%**
	99			1%	1%	**1%**
Total (g)		**371**	**478**	**62802**	**16721**	**103113**

Table 6: The distribution of Phase 3, Group 2 fabrics in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 39: The distribution of Fabric 26 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 40: The distribution of Fabric 65 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 41: The distribution of Fabric 59 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 42: The distribution of Fabric 61 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

In the late Saxon period Flint-tempered Ware is the most common type and is found in deposits across Southampton (Figure 43; Table 7). This is related to the gritty wares of *Hamwic* phase 3. Their presence probably reflects the transfer of networks of pottery manufacture and exchange, and with them a particular mental prototype, into a new spatial context. The ware is found at every site with the quantities present generally reflecting the proportion of the total assemblage from a given site. If the model suggested above is true, however, we could expect several potters to have been producing this ware and distributing it locally in the settlement. Finer fabric definitions have not been defined for this ware and therefore it is unclear whether these networks translated directly into late Saxon Southampton, or whether a smaller number of producers were supplying pottery to the town's population. It is perhaps most likely that some of the producers were lost during the movement of the settlement, as the settlement is less dense than *Hamwic*, implying a smaller population. Therefore, although it is possible that there was a degree of localisation in pottery exchange mechanisms, these networks may have altered in this new context.

	SOU	Late Saxon Flint-tempered	%ge Southampton late Saxon assemblage from site.
West Quay	142	10%	12%
	149	1%	1%
	859	25%	24%
	860	<1%	<1%
	861	31%	31%
	902	<1%	<1%
Eastern High Street	175	7%	7%
	105	1%	1%
	106	1%	1%
	199	1%	1%
	934	2%	2%
	1355	4%	3%
Western High Street	25	9%	8%
	29	<1%	1%
	110	2%	2%
	111	3%	3%
	124	<1%	<1%
	125	1%	1%
	129	1%	1%
	161	<1%	1%
	164	<1%	<1%
Total (g)		81568	105064

Table 7: The distribution of Late Saxon Flint-tempered Ware in Southampton (sherd weight, g).

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Distribution of Late Saxon Flint-tempered Ware

Figure 43: The distribution of Late Saxon Flint-tempered Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

It is probable that Anglo-Norman Scratch Marked Wares were produced close to Southampton, based on the similarity of their fabric to Late Saxon Flint-tempered Ware. Chemical analysis carried out by Spoerry (1990) demonstrated that these wares have a different source to those excavated in Dorset and south Wiltshire. These are distributed across the town, although are most common in the west of Southampton (Table 8; Figure 44). This may relate to the size of assemblages, but there is some evidence that this ware was more widely used here. In the east, particularly at York Buildings (SOU 175), there appears to have been some continuity in the late Saxon tradition. The quantity of late Saxon wares in contexts which are stratigraphically of Post-Conquest date suggests that these households continued to be supplied with late Saxon types, at least in the period immediately following the Norman conquest (Table 9) (see chapter 7). It is likely that there was some fuzziness in the distinction between these types. It is noticeable that at this site, and in the assemblage from West Quay, higher proportions of the assemblage are composed of other Anglo-Norman coarsewares, perhaps confirming that not all members of the population acquired or used Scratch Marked Ware in the same quantities.

Area	SOU	Scratch Marked Ware	%ge Southampton Anglo-Norman assemblage from site.
West Quay	861	1%	1%
Eastern High St	175	2%	2%
	199	<1%	<1%
Castle/ Bugle St	29	<1%	<1%
	123	20%	26%
	124	18%	13%
	125	28%	25%
Western High St	25	6%	5%
	110	8%	11%
	393	17%	17%
Total		51885	76658

Table 8: The distribution of Scratch Marked Ware in Southampton (sherd weight, g).
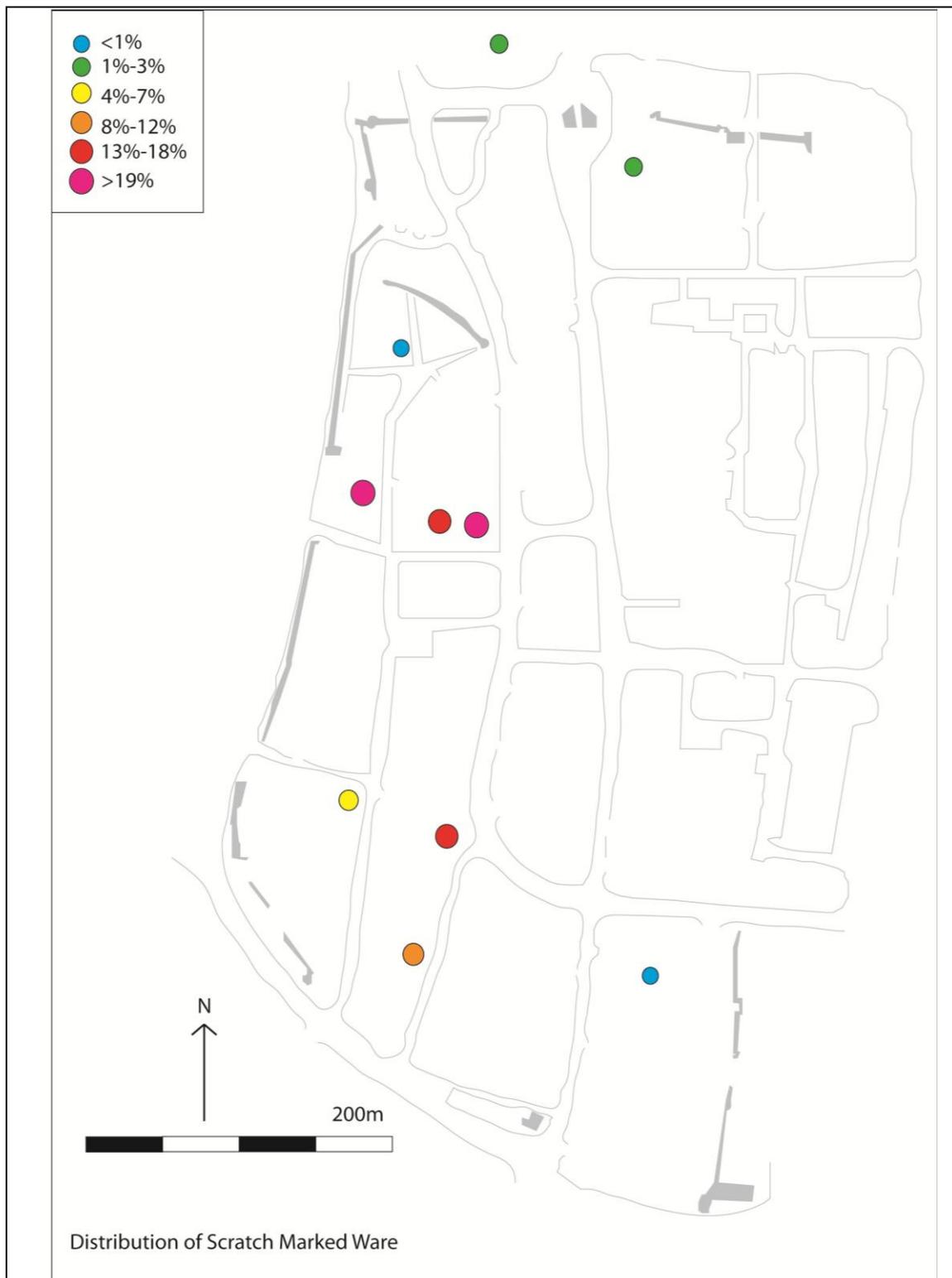
Figure 44: The distribution of Scratch Marked Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

	SOU	Late Saxon	Anglo-Norman	Total (g)
West Quay	**861**	38%	62%	1380
Eastern High St	**175**	93%	7%	18902
	199	8%	92%	274
Castle/Bugle St	**29**	80%	20%	1089
	123	3%	97%	20683
	124	11%	89%	11152
	125	21%	79%	23945
Western High St	**25**	41%	59%	6822
	110	11%	89%	9132
	393	3%	97%	13311
TOTAL		28%	72%	106690

Table 9: Composition of the assemblages from Anglo-Norman contexts at sites in Southampton (Sherd weight, g).

In the high medieval period, three wares were produced in or near Southampton, principally for the market in the town (Table 10). The fact that the wooden bowls from Cuckoo Lane are locally produced (chapter 4) suggests that these too may have been exchanged through this mechanism, which developed in tandem with the emergence of specialist craftsmen. Wasters of Southampton Coarseware have been found at Brockenhurst (Duncan Browns pers. comm.), but its general absence from assemblages outside of Southampton indicates that it was produced solely for the Southampton market (see chapter 8). Southampton Coarseware is found in deposits across the town and is the principle coarseware used in Southampton (Figure 45). Vessels are typically jars, used for a range of functions (chapter 6). Although wheelthrown, the colour and baggy form of Southampton Coarseware is similar to that of Scratch Marked Ware, suggesting that this type emerged through a translation of new potting techniques to the production of a vessel which matched the prototype Scratch Marked Ware jar.

Southampton Sandy Ware has a similarly wide distribution (Figure 46). These sparsely glazed sandy jars and jugs may have had a complementary function to Southampton Coarseware (chapter 6), accounting for their wide distribution. There may have been a degree of fuzziness in the distrinction between Southampton Coarseware and Southampton Sandy Ware jars, as the two types share a similar orange colour and coarse texture. The Southampton Sandy Ware jugs, however, appear to be a distinct type, perhaps related to the more sparsely decorated, locally produced tripod pitchers of the Anglo-Norman period.

Wasters of Southampton Whiteware, generally present as green glazed jugs, were excavated at SOU 105, so this ware was probably produced in the town. It would appear to have been widely marketed in Southampton and may have been an attempt

by local potters to imitate the equally widespread Saintonge Whiteware (Figure 47). These two wares often occur together in high quantities, so may have been seen as interchangeable in the marketplace (see Jervis 2009a).

	SOU	Southampton Coarseware	Southampton Sandy Ware	Southampton Whiteware	%ge Southampton high medieval assemblage from site.
West Quay	859	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
	861	11%	6%	7%	9%
Eastern High Street	105	14%	21%	41%	14%
	162	1%	<1%	4%	1%
	175	18%	17%	15%	17%
	934/997	<1%	1%	2%	1%
Friary	199	1%	1%	4%	2%
	1355	1%	1%	1%	1%
Western High Street	25	13%	6%	11%	16%
	110	1%	1%	2%	2%
	122	3%	20%	5%	10%
	393	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Castle/ Bugle Street	29	11%	<1%	1%	5%
	123	7%	14%	2%	8%
	124	4%	5%	2%	4%
	125	14%	7%	4%	8%
Total (g)		**122942**	**32605**	**17939**	**33373**

Table 10: The distribution of high medieval, Group 2 Wares (sherd weight, g).
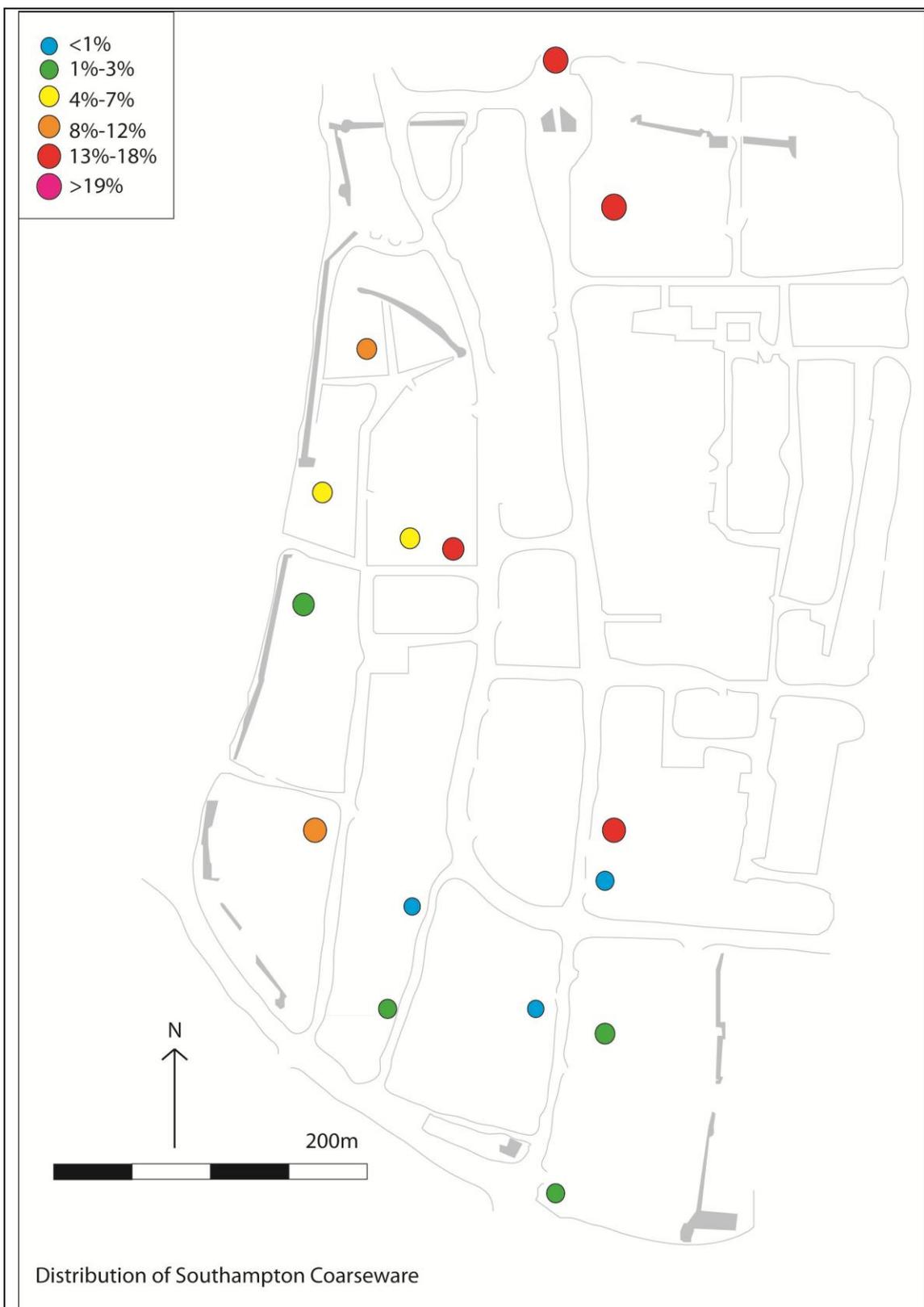
Figure 45: The distribution of Southampton Coarseware.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
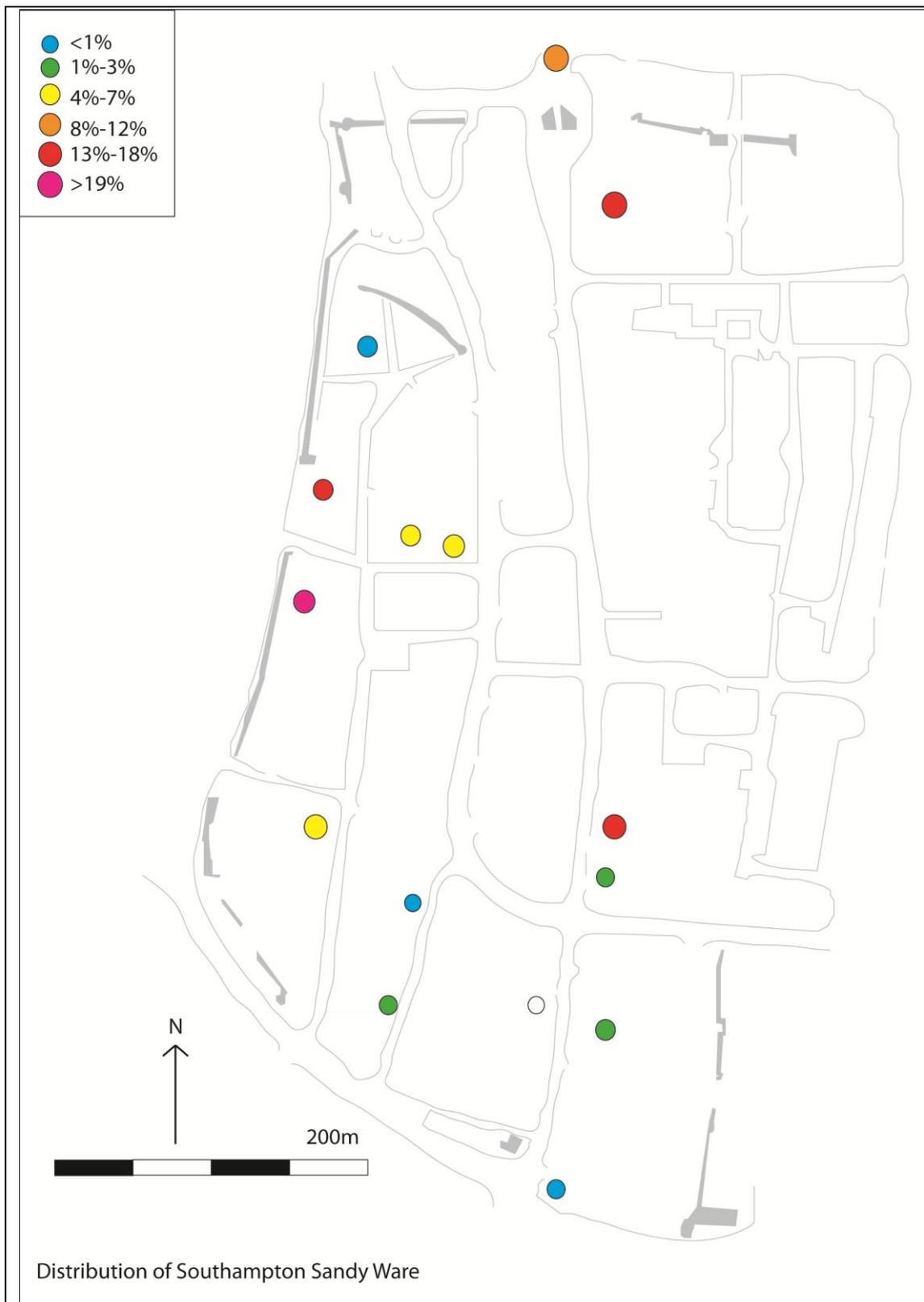
Figure 46: The distribution of Southampton Sandy Ware.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
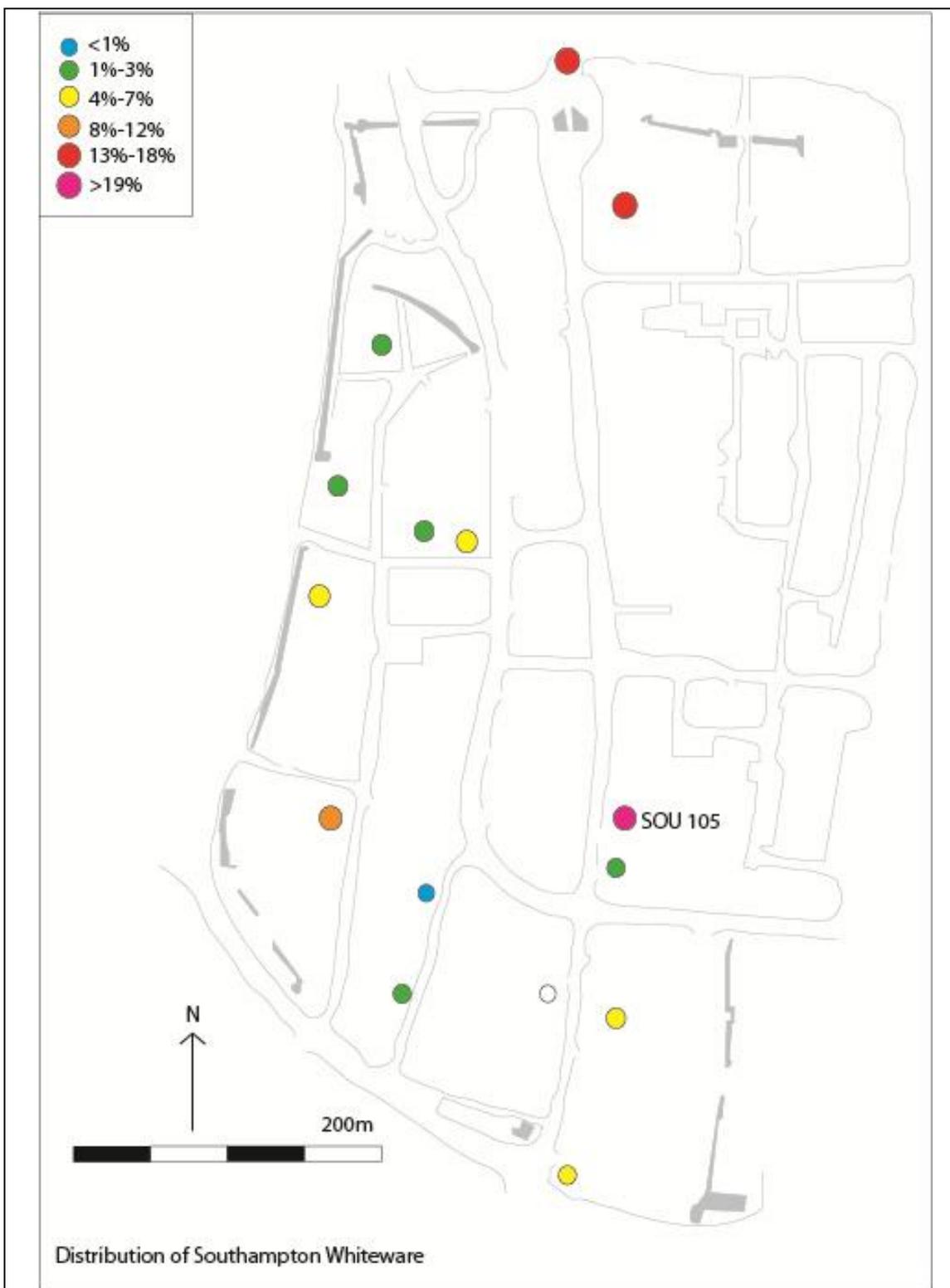
Figure 47: The distribution of Southampton Whiteware.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

5.3 Group 3: Non-Locally Produced Pottery with a Settlement Wide Distribution

A single Organic-tempered fabric (fabric 4), dated to the earliest phase of *Hamwic* was produced outside the settlement, but has a settlement wide distribution (Figure 48; Table 11). It is possible that this ware was produced in the Michelmersh area (Timby 1988, 122). There are coastal outcrops of similar clay in the Portsmouth area, as well as in the northern New Forest and in a band running along the chalk downland from Winchester into West Sussex. It is likely, therefore, that this pottery reached *Hamwic* either by coastwise trade or via the river systems. The highest quantity of this fabric was found at Six Dials (SOU 169), from where half was recovered (by weight). A case can be made for a single household having some link with the area in which this pottery was produced. The comparatively widespread distribution of this fabric through the settlement suggests that it may have been marketed by a trader with links to these areas, or perhaps that the vessels were exchanged as containers, perhaps for commodities such as honey (see chapter 6).
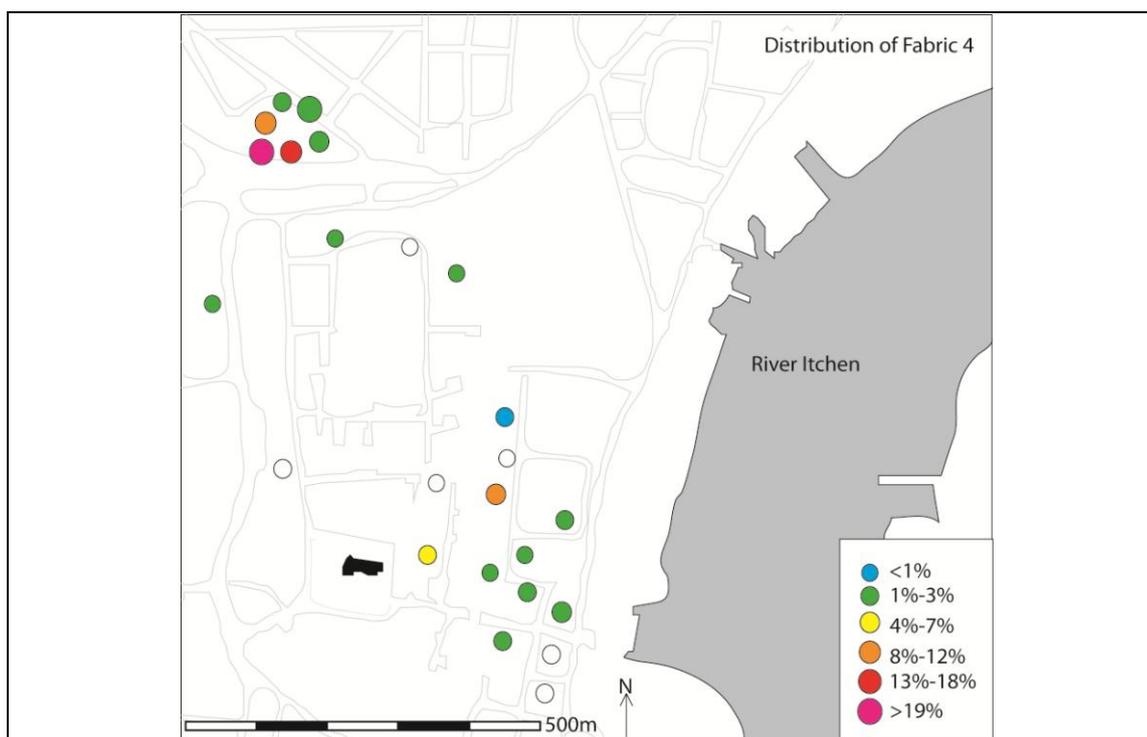
Figure 48: The distribution of Fabric 4 in *Hamwic.*
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Area	SOU	Fabric 4	%ge *Hamwic* phase 1 assemblage from site.
Clifford St	15	1%	**<1%**
	32		**<1%**
	39	<1%	**<1%**
Marine Parade	13	1%	**1%**
Melbourne St	1	<1%	**2%**
	4	10%	**6%**
	5		**<1%**
North Chapel Rd	8	1%	**<1%**
	11	1%	**3%**
	18	3%	**4%**
	33	6%	**2%**
	40		**<1%**
Six Dials	23	3%	**2%**
	24	10%	**12%**
	26	1%	**6%**
	30	1%	**22%**
	31		**11%**
	169	49%	**21%**
Southern Periphery	14	6%	**2%**
	16	4%	**1%**
	22		**1%**
Western Periphery	36		**<1%**
	99	1%	**1%**
Total (g)		**2148**	**5886**

Table 11: The distribution of Fabric 4 in *Hamwic* (Sherd weight, g).

A single Sandy Ware fabric (15) fits into this group (Figure 49; Table 12). This was probably produced in Wiltshire or Dorset, based on the coarse quartz temper (Timby 1988, 84). It possibly belongs to a different tradition of sandy wares, identified in the Thames and Severn valleys to the north (see chapter 8). It seems unlikely that vessels would have been exchanged over such a distance. Instead, it is possible that, as has been argued for fabric 4, these entered the site as containers. Chalk-tempered Wares (fabric 40 and 41) are also present in phase 2. These were possibly produced in the Winchester area (Timby 1988, 122) and are found consistently across *Hamwic*. This

blanket distribution (Figure 50), when coupled with the use wear evidence (chapter 6) suggests that these may have been containers too.[12]

| Area	SOU	Chalk-tempered		Sandy	%ge *Hamwic* phase 2 assemblage from site.
		40	*41*	*15*	
Centre	43	<1%			**<1%**
Clifford St	15	4%	<1%	3%	**3%**
	32	5%	5%	<1%	**4%**
	39	3%		<1%	**1%**
Marine Parade	10				**<1%**
	13	<1%		<1%	**<1%**
Melbourne St	1	3%	1%	<1%	**3%**
	4	1%	1%	<1%	**3%**
	5	3%	10%	1%	**2%**
	6	1%	1%	<1%	**1%**
	20	1%		1%	**2%**
North Chapel Rd	7	<1%		<1%	**<1%**
	8	<1%		<1%	**1%**
	11	2%		<1%	**2%**
	18	1%			**<1%**
	33	13%	<1%	2%	**7%**
	40				**<1%**
Northumberland Rd	19	<1%			**<1%**
Six Dials	23	1%	7%	1%	**1%**
	24	9%	13%	4%	**12%**
	26	8%	4%	10%	**7%**
	30	8%	1%	50%	**8%**
	31	11%	46%	17%	**16%**
	169	8%	6%	2%	**10%**
Southern Periphery	14	4%		3%	**7%**
	16	<1%			**<1%**
	17	8%		<1%	**3%**
	22				**<1%**
Western Periphery	36	5%		3%	**3%**
	99	3%	7%	1%	**3%**
Total (g)		**56506**	**2797**	**8434**	**212236**

Table 12: The distribution of Phase 2, Group 3 Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

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[12] One sherd exhibited beeswax residue, suggesting that the pot had been lined for use as a transport or storage vessel (see chapter 6; appendix 5).

Figure 49: The distribution of Fabric 15 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 50: The distribution of Chalk-tempered Ware (Fabrics 40 & 41) in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

A single phase 3 Flint-tempered Ware (fabric 54) has a similar source to the Chalk-tempered Ware (Timby 1988, 122) and its settlement wide distribution may be related to a similar process of redistribution (Figure 51; Table 13). A Shelly Ware fabric (90), dating to phase 3 (and also found in the late Saxon town) is found in small quantities across *Hamwic* (Figure 52). This is likely to be a French import, based on its presence amongst the assemblage from Quentovic in considerably higher quantities (Worthington 1993, 379). Although focussed on the north-west of *Hamwic*, it has a widespread distribution when the small quantity present is taken into consideration. This distribution could relate to its finer quality, or as with other wares with similar distribution patterns, vessels could have been containers. The highest quantities are present in the west of *Hamwic*, and this may be indicative of its exchange in the late Saxon period.

Area	SOU	Flint-tempered	Shelly	%ge *Hamwic* phase 3 assemblage from site.
		54	90	
Clifford St	15		2%	6%
	32	20%	18%	13%
	39	1%	<1%	1%
Marine Parade	13			<1%
Melbourne St	1	1%	3%	1%
	4	<1%	1%	1%
	5			4%
	6	1%		<1%
	20	8%		1%
North Chapel Rd	7			<1%
	8		1%	<1%
	11	1%		1%
	18			<1%
	33	39%	<1%	7%
Six Dials	23	<1%		1%
	24	3%	5%	7%
	26	4%	2%	5%
	30	4%	16%	4%
	31	6%	1%	22%
	169	8%	9%	12%
Southern Periphery	14	1%		5%
	16	<1%		<1%
	17			<1%
Western Periphery	36	1%	39%	6%
	99	1%	4%	1%
Total (g)		4904	3467	103113

Table 13: The distribution of Phase 3, Group 3 Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 51: The distribution of Fabric 54 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 52: The distribution of Fabric 90 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Most of the imported wares from *Hamwic* cannot be closely dated, either because they were produced over very long periods of time, or because their exact production centre is not known, therefore, they must be considered out of context. Brown (1997a) has demonstrated that imports make up approximately the same proportion of all assemblages in *Hamwic*. It can be shown, however, that the distribution of the various wares differs. Some are present across the settlement (Table 14), for example Whitewares (WW), typical of production centres in northern France such as La Londe (see Hodges 1991), are common finds across *Hamwic* (Figure 54), as are sherds of Reduced Wares, produced across northern France and into Flanders. Here these have been split into three sub-types; Burnished (BRW) (Figure 56), Gritty (GRW) (Figure 55) and Plain Sandy wares (RSW) (Figure 57) (see appendix 4). A small number of sherds of Ipswich-type Ware[13] (IPS) are also present and fit into this class (Figure 53), suggestive of exchange between *Gippeswic* or *Lundenwic* and *Hamwic*. Oxidised wares (OX) too, have a wide distribution (Figure 58). The source of these has not yet been established, but Hodges (1981, 29) suggests sources in the Rhineland and northern France. Hodges (1981, 21) has identified that at least five different Blackware production centres are represented in the *Hamwic* assemblage, which is unsurprising given that these would appear to have been produced and distributed at a localised scale in northern France (see Piton 1993; Hincker and Husi 2004). Other northern French wares are distributed fairly widely across *Hamwic*. These include wares from the Seine (SEI) (Figure 59) and Loire (LOI) valleys (Figure 60) and Normandy (NOR) (Figure 61). Amongst the Loire Valley Wares a range of forms are present, including jars, pitchers and deep bowls. In contrast, Seine Valley Ware most commonly occurs as jars. Their wide distribution demonstrates that there appears to have been a market for imported cooking vessels through the settlement. It is noticeable, however, that their distribution is more restricted than that of the Loire Valley Wares, perhaps suggesting that this market was less widespread than that for forms such as bowls and pitchers. Such a functional distinction may also be marked in the wide distribution of Normandy/Breton Wares, principally present as pitchers, bowls and mortars. Red Painted Ware (RPW) is a late product and is found at several sites in the settlement in small quantities (Figure 62).

Certain imports would appear to have been widely marketed in *Hamwic*. The origin of these, principally northern France, suggests that this indexes regular trade with *Quentovic* and, perhaps, smaller coastal trading sites (Pieterjan Deckers, pers. comm.).

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[13] The 2 fabrics (9 and 156) were identified by Timby as a local ware and an imported blackware respectively, however they have since been identified as related to Ipswich-type Ware fabrics by Paul Blinkhorn, Ben Jervis and Pieterjan Deckers.

The range of wares present implies that the products of several workshops were marketed through *Quentovic*, with merchants perhaps trading wares from a range of centres. The vessels were traded alongside other products, including glass, which has a similar distribution to these more common imports (see Hunter and Heyworth 1998). The types of vessels traded demonstrate that there was more of a demand for pitchers and bowls than for jars, though Whiteware and Greyware jars were widely distributed, perhaps being used as a substitute (or providing the inspiration) for the locally produced sandy wares. The impact of engagements with these wares was two-fold. Firstly, they impacted the local prototype pottery, creating a contrast with the Organic-tempered Wares and providing an impetus for the development of local Sandy Wares. Secondly, they allowed people to develop a prototype imported vessel, a concept which was carried into the late Saxon town (chapter 10)

Figure 53: The distribution of Ipswich-type Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
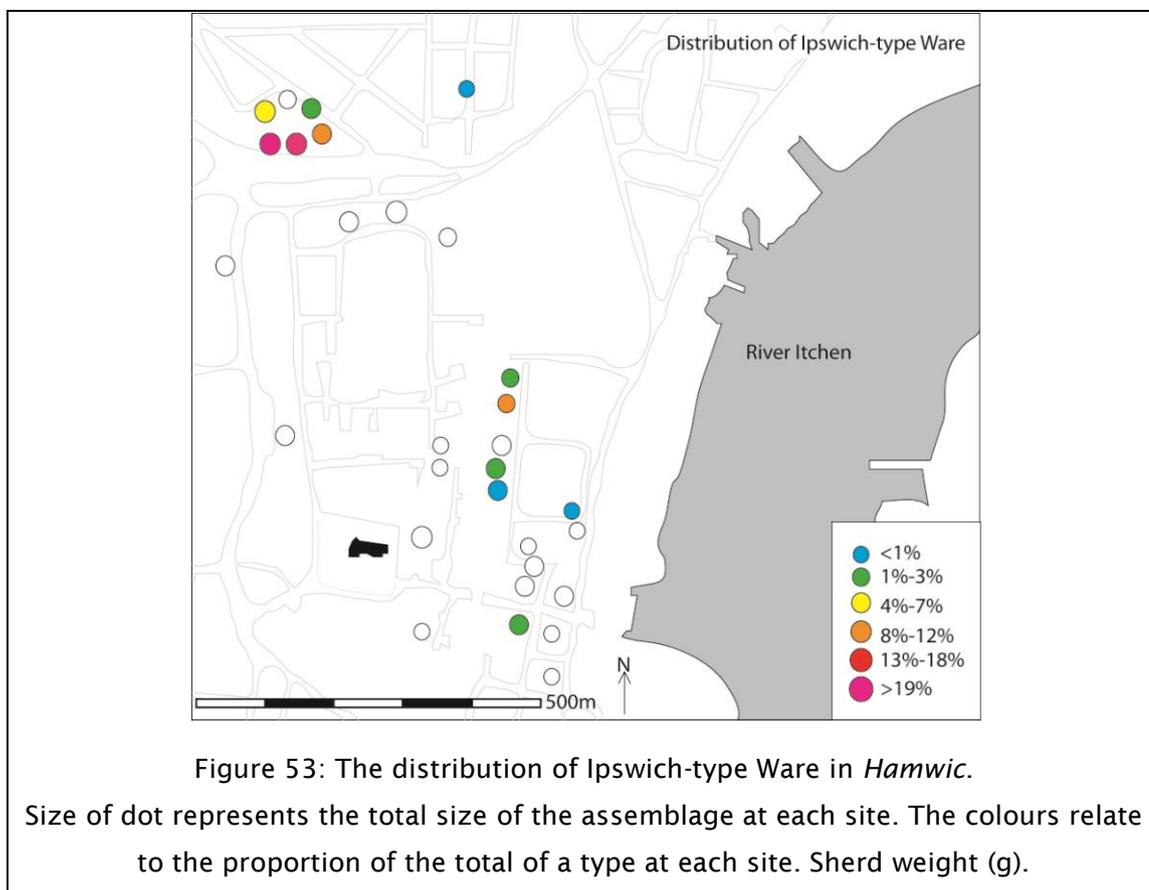
Area	SOU	BRW	RSW	GRW	IPS	WW	LOI	SEI	OX	NOR	NFS	RPW	%ge *Hamwic* Imports from site.
Cent.	43	<1%	1%										<1%
Cliff. Street	15	6%	5%	6%		8%	<1%	2%	5%	<1%	8%		5%
	32	9%	7%	8%		6%	13%	2%	11%	21%		13%	8%
	39	3%	1%	5%		1%			3%	<1%			2%
Mar-ine P.	10		<1%										<1%
	13	<1%	<1%						<1%				<1%
Melb. St	1	<1%	3%	<1%	8%	2%	6%	<1%	2%			11%	2%
	4	4%	1%	<1%	1%	1%		1%	<1%		7%	1%	2%
	5	3%	1%	2%		4%	5%	2%	1%	1%			2%
	6	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	2%			3%	1%			1%
	20	2%	1%		2%	3%			7%		1%	37%	2%
N Chapel Rd.	7	1%	7%	1%		3%			<1%	<1%			3%
	8	<1%	<1%			<1%			1%				<1%
	11	2%	1%			1%	11%	2%	1%	1%	38%		2%
	18	1%	<1%			2%							1%
	33	3%	7%	5%		10%	14%	58%	7%	<1%	4%	4%	8%
	40									2%			<1%
Northumb. Rd	19	<1%	<1%										<1%
Six Dials	23	<1%	4%			1%		9%	<1%				2%
	24	15%	12%	<1%	6%	9%	11%	1%	13%	<1%	11%		11%
	26	9%	7%	10%	9%	5%		3%	4%	<1%			7%
	30	5%	4%	<1%	3%	4%	1%		4%	1%			4%
	31	12%	10%	27%	42%	8%	9%	2%	11%	63%	29%	1%	13%
	169	9%	7%	4%	25%	12%	7%	18%	9%	8%	1%	18%	10%
S Per.	14	8%	5%	<1%	3%	6%	18%		2%	<1%	1%		5%
	16		2%	4%		<1%	2%						1%
	17		<1%			<1%							<1%
	22		1%						5%				<1%
West. Per.	36	4%	5%	6%		9%	3%	<1%	11%	1%		4%	5%
	99	3%	4%	22%		2%	<1%	<1%	1%			10%	4%
Total (g)		18556	16467	2769	1011	14068	1198	2961	2757	2124	540	304	62755

Table 14: The distribution of Group 3 imported wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 54: The distribution of North French Whitewares in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 55: The distribution of Gritty Reduced Wares in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 56: The distribution of Burnished Reduced Wares in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
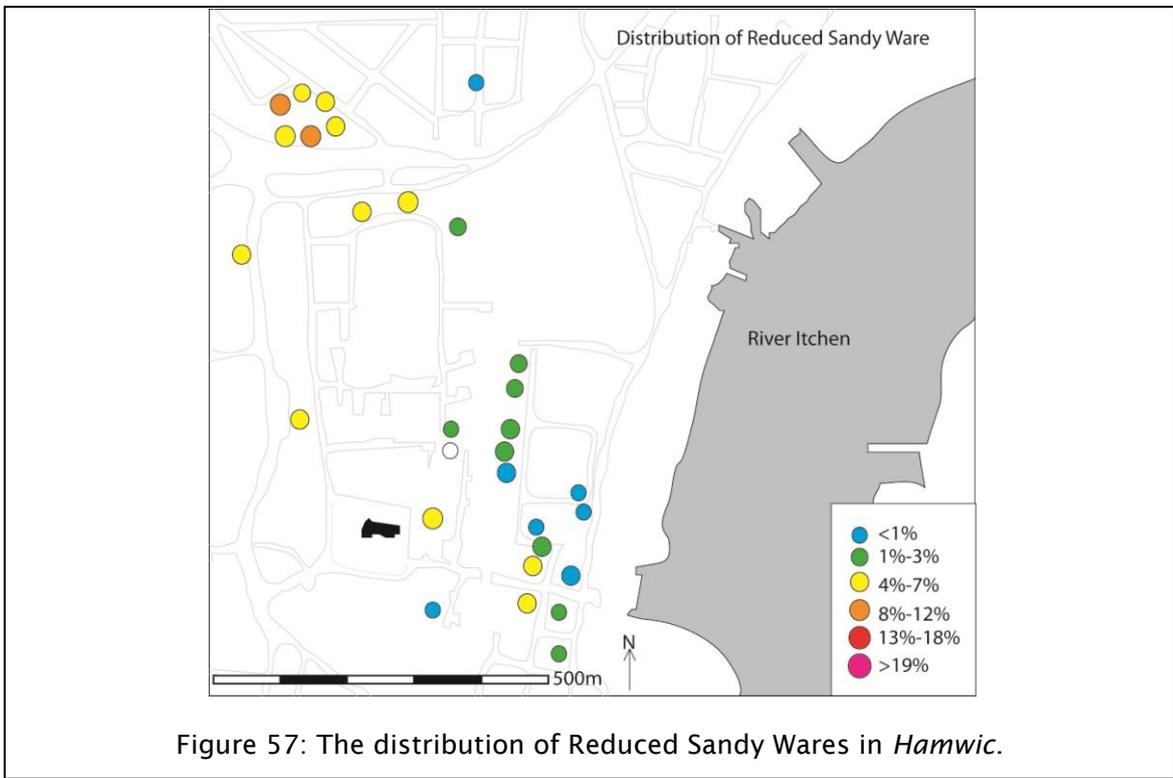
Figure 57: The distribution of Reduced Sandy Wares in *Hamwic*.

Figure 58: The distribution of Oxidised Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 59: The distribution of Seine Valley Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

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Figure 60: The distribution of Loire Valley Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 61: The distribution of Normandy/Breton Wares in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 62: The distribution of Red Painted Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

	SOU	North French Blackware	North French Gritty Ware	North French Whiteware	%ge Southampton late Saxon Imports from site.
West Quay	142	12%		49%	**47%**
	149	1%		3%	**1%**
	859	62%	50%		**17%**
	861	15%	8%		**6%**
Eastern High Street	175	<1%	1%	1%	**<1%**
	105	4%			**1%**
Western High Street	25	2%	39%	9%	**9%**
	29			1%	**<1%**
	110	1%			**<1%**
	111		1%	29%	**12%**
	124		1%	<1%	**<1%**
	125	<1%			**3%**
	161	1%			**<1%**
	164			7%	**2%**
Total (g)		**1541**	**673**	**2422**	**8533**

Table 15: The distribution of late Saxon, Group 3 Wares in Southampton (sherd weight,
g).

In the late Saxon period regionally produced products generally have a localised distribution, but certain imported wares have wider distributions (Table 15). These include the Blackwares (Figure 63) and Whitewares from northern France, which are similar to those found widely in *Hamwic*. A case can be made for people continuing to acquire similar products (and holding a similar prototype), through a similar market system. Whilst we observe a difference between North French Whiteware (Figure 65) and North French Gritty Ware (Figure 64), both are white and present in a similar range of forms, so can perhaps be considered, from the consumers' perspective, as equivalents.

A range of types are found across the Anglo-Norman town (Table 16). These include Anglo-Norman coarsewares of the type produced and used in the Test Valley (chapter 8). Dorset types are also present. Although found across the town they are particularly common at the Simnel Street sites associated with the castle (Figure 66), and it is possible that the castle was supplied with these wares directly from the producers. These two coarsewares are likely to have reached Southampton by coastwise or riverine transport. One French imported ware, Normandy Gritty Ware, is found across Southampton, although it is most common in the western, 'French', quarter (Figure 67). This ware is a descendant of the French whitewares, widely traded in Southampton since the mid-Saxon period. The presence of similar vessel forms to those in the earlier wares adds further weight to the argument for continuity from the late Saxon period in the east of Southampton, where these types were also used.

	SOU	Anglo-Norman Coarseware	Anglo-Norman Dorset	Normandy Gritty Ware	%ge Southampton Anglo-Norman assemblage from site.
West Quay	861	2%		1%	1%
Eastern High St	175	2%	5%	5%	2%
	199	1%	3%	<1%	<1%
Castle/Bugle St	29			2%	<1%
	123	46%		5%	26%
	124	2%	3%	9%	13%
	125	12%	77%	11%	25%
Western High St	25	2%	2%	19%	5%
	110	8%	10%	39%	11%
	393	24%	1%	9%	17%
Total		14469	1446	2709	76658

Table 16: The distribution of Anglo-Norman Group 3 Wares in Southampton (sherd weight, g).
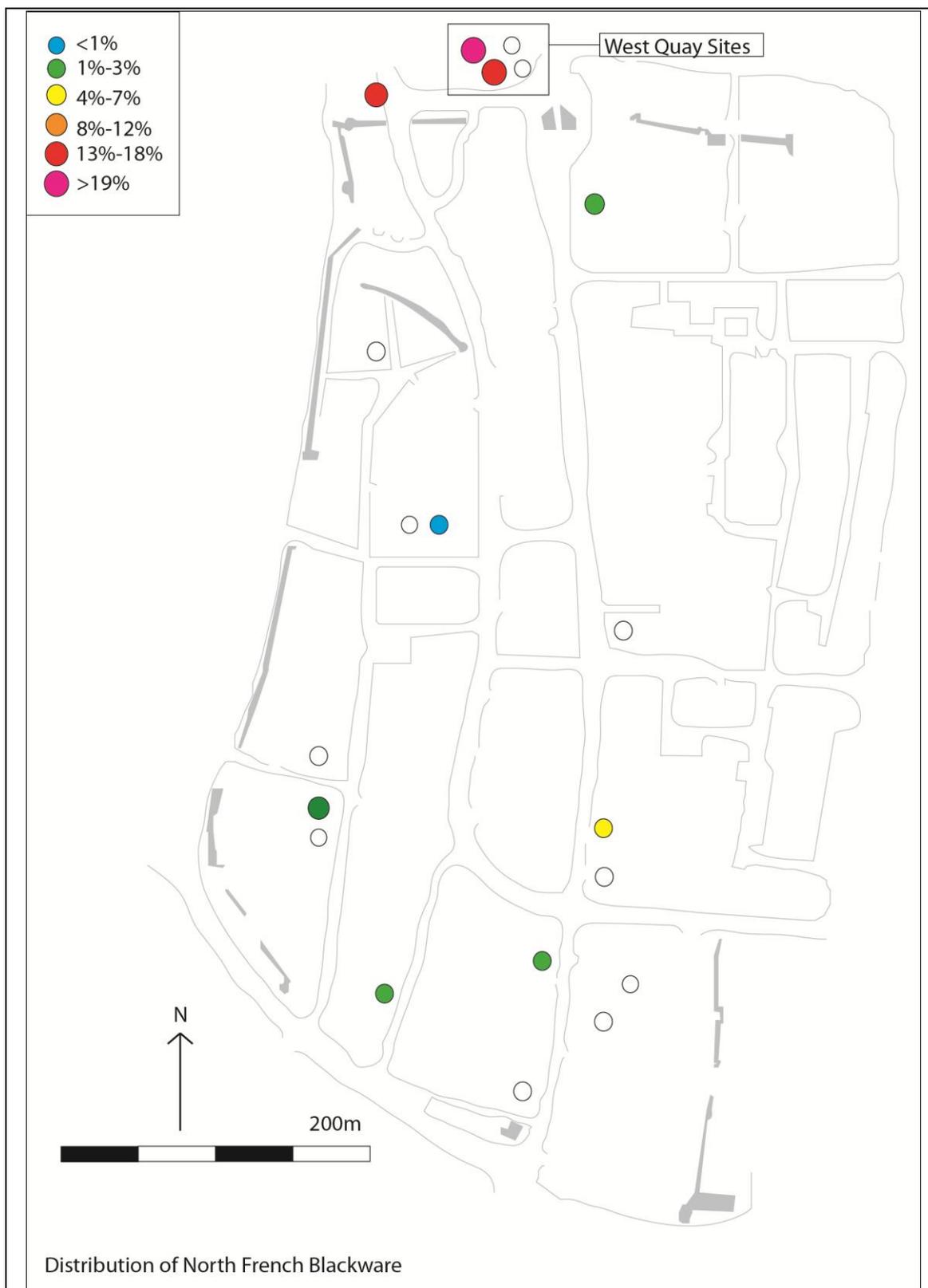
Figure 63: The distribution of North French Blackware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
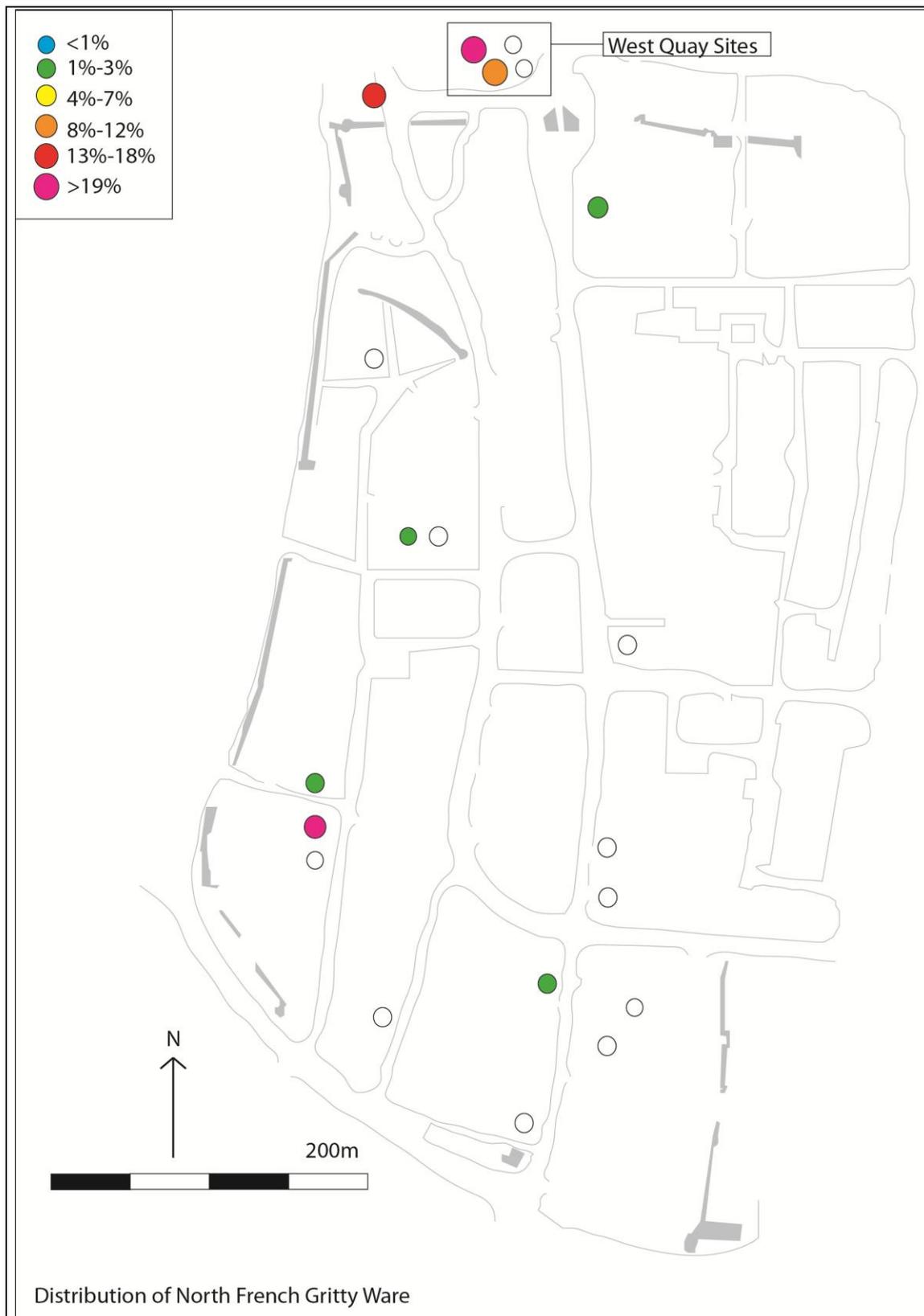
Figure 64: The distribution of North French Gritty Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 65: The distribution of North French Whiteware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
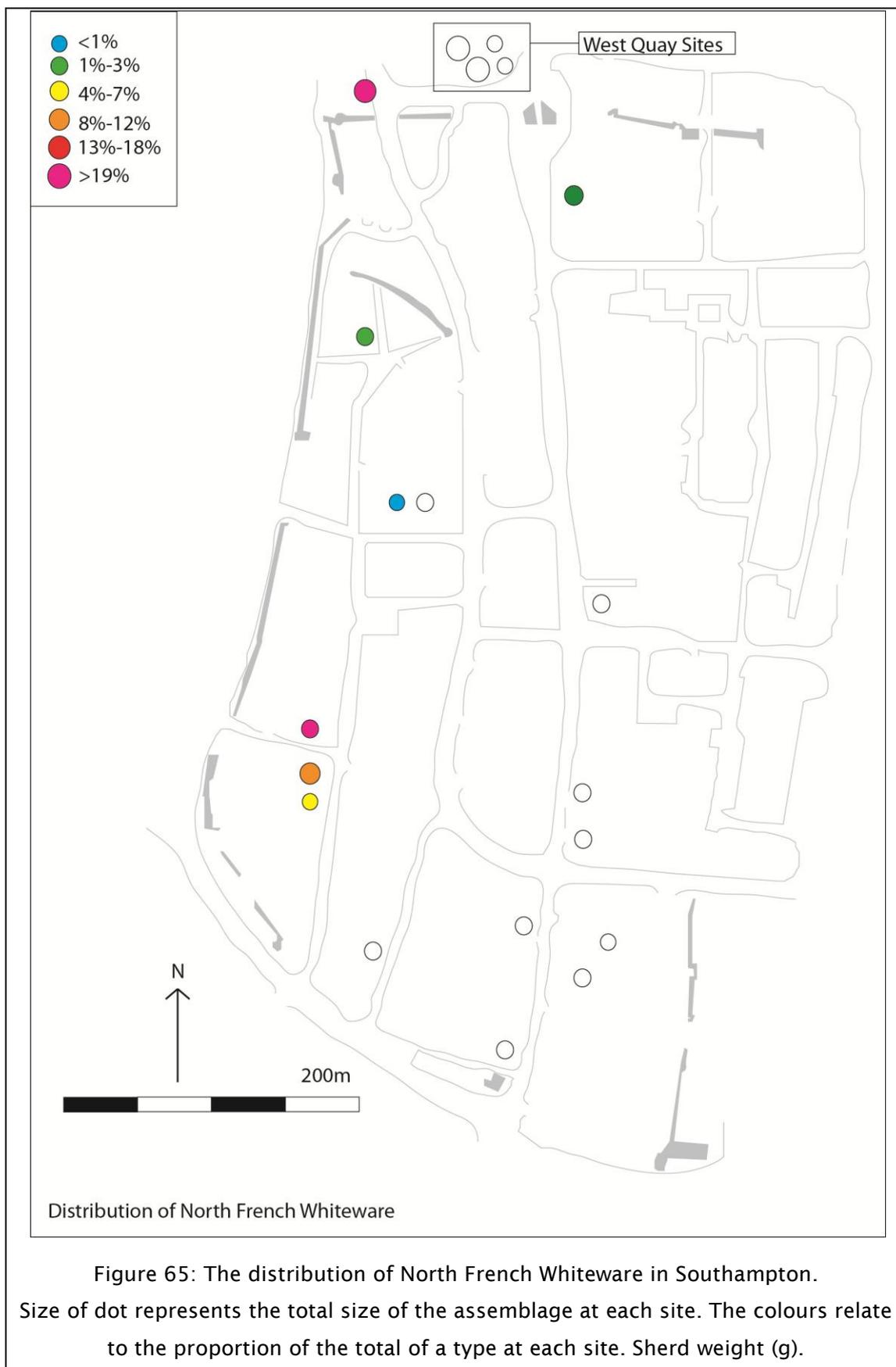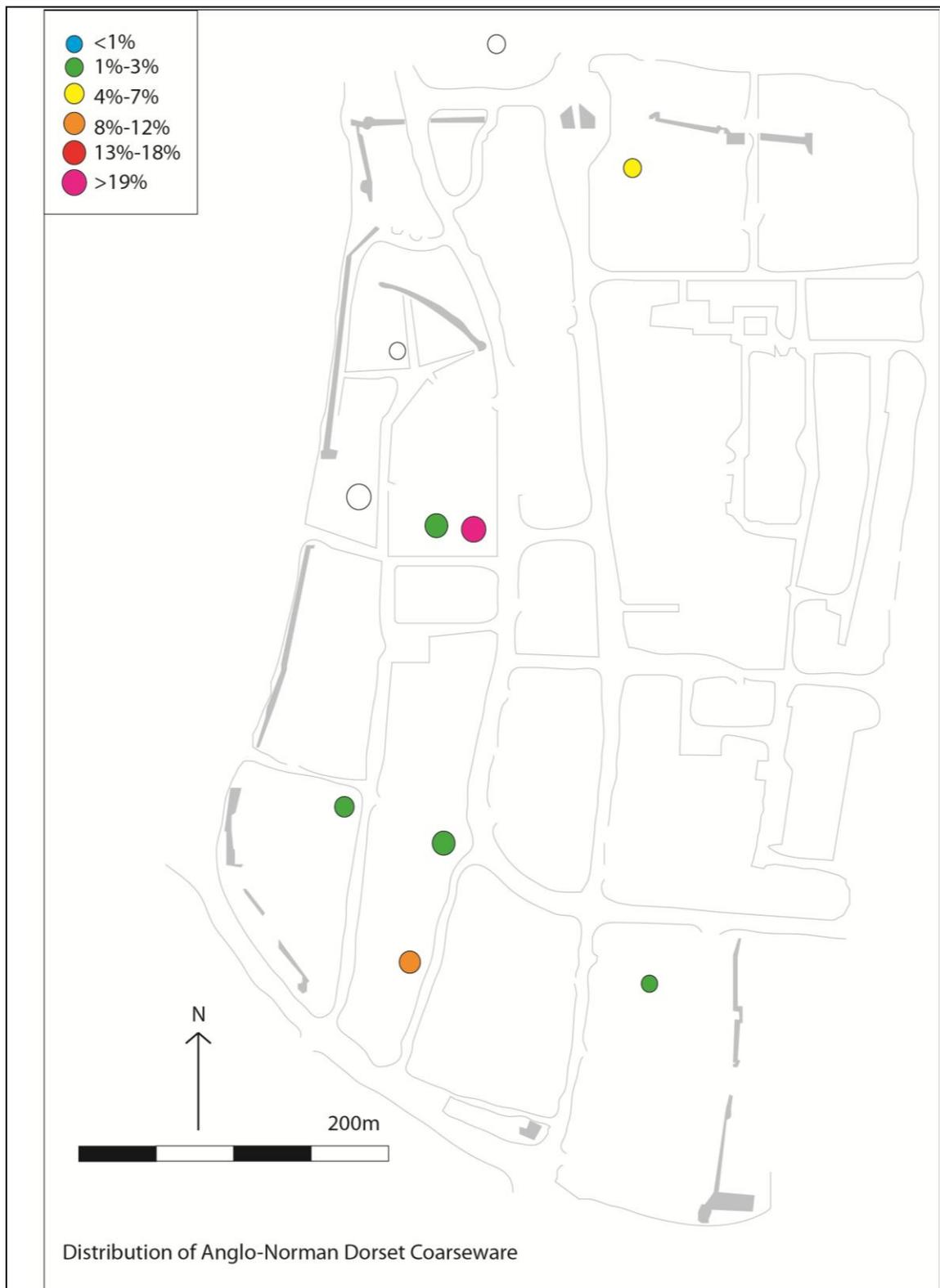
Figure 66: The distribution of Anglo-Norman Dorset Coarseware in Southampton. Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 67: The distribution of Normandy Gritty Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
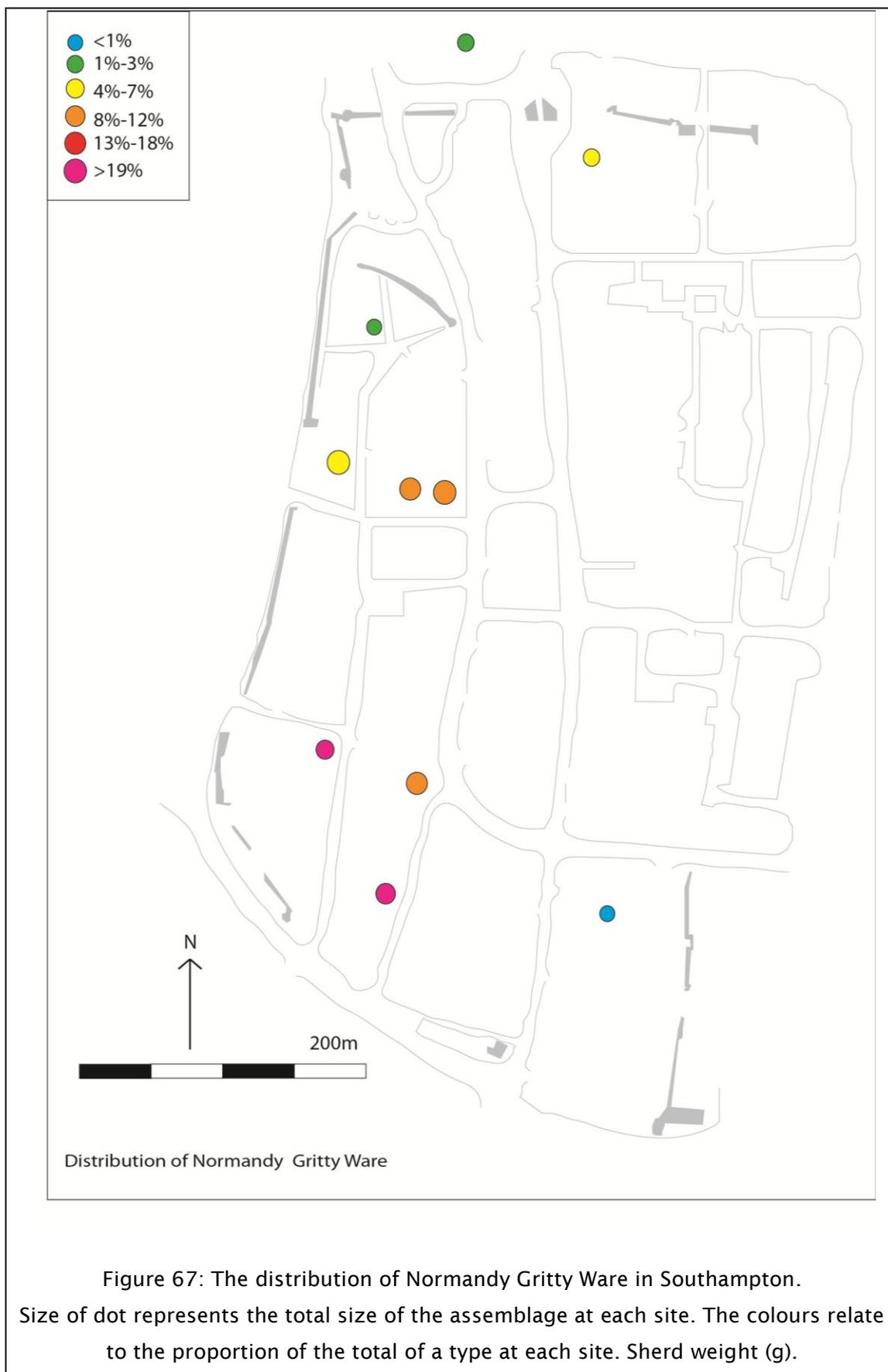
Several regional products are present in deposits across the high medieval town (Table 17). The most common of these is South Hampshire Redware (SHR), typically present as jugs, although other forms also occur. This ware is present in deposits everywhere in Southampton, but is particularly common at York Buildings (SOU 175) (Figure 68). Local Pink Sandy Ware (LOPS) is a related ware and is distributed widely too, the two perhaps being perceived as similar in the market. Local Whitewares (LOWW) are also widely distributed (Figure 69). It can be observed that in some sites in eastern Southampton, such as SOU 175, redwares are more common than whitewares, although away from this area, at SOU 105 (where Southampton Whiteware was produced) and at the Friary, whitewares are present in higher quantities (Figure 71). At sites in the merchants' quarter (e.g. SOU 25) Whitewares (and highly decorated wares) typically account for a higher proportion of assemblages. Dorset wares (DORS) are also present, being particularly common at SOU 122 and at York Buildings (SOU 175), perhaps demonstrating some relationship between the occupants of these sites and this area. Elsewhere they are only present in small quantities. They may have been intermittently available on the town's market. Laverstock-type Ware (LAV) is a minor component of all assemblages (Figure 70). This too may have been marketed in small quantities in Southampton, but it was seemingly not economical to trade this ware in large quantities, perhaps due to competition from imported and other locally produced whitewares, unlike in towns such as Romsey (see chapter 8). It is possible that some vessels reached Southampton through other exchange mechanisms, perhaps being purchased in markets in places such as Romsey, or through tenurial links between the townspeople and the rural hinterland.

Saintonge Whiteware (SOWW) is the most common French product in Southampton and appears to have been widely available, perhaps traded on the market as a competitor for local plain glazed wares (Figure 72). Saintonge Polychrome Ware is the most widespread highly decorated import. This is most common at sites in the west of the town, although it does appear to have been more widely available than other Saintonge wares (Figure 96). The same is true of Saintonge Bright Green Glazed Ware (SOBG), generally present in a characteristic squat form, which may not have been required by all consumers in Southampton (therefore this ware has been included in group 4). Rouen-type Ware is most common in the merchants' quarter (Figure 73), but is found in small quantities across the town and may have been available intermittently on the town's market.

Area	SOU	SHR	LOPS	LOWW	LAV	DORS	SOWW	ROU	%ge Southampton high medieval assemblage from site.
West Quay	859	<1%	<1%				<1%		<1%
	861	2%	6%	7%	2%	4%	6%	17%	4%
Eastern High Street	105	8%	14%	16%	18%	10%	13%	31%	12%
	162	1%	<1%		1%	1%	2%		1%
	175	26%	6%	21%	14%	27%	8%	5%	17%
	934/9997	1%	<1%		<1%	1%	3%		1%
Friary	199	4%	2%	<1%	4%	3%	4%	9%	3%
	1355	2%	<1%	<1%	1%	1%	2%		1%
Western High Street	25	26%	12%	11%	12%	5%	31%	15%	24%
	110	2%	2%	6%	2%	1%	3%	3%	2%
	122	10%	34%	3%	8%	24%	11%	2%	13%
	393	<1%	<1%	3%	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	<1%
Castle/ Bugle Street	29		3%	1%	2%	1%	<1%	1%	1%
	123	10%	14%	16%	15%	9%	3%	10%	10%
	124	5%	4%	7%	2%	4%	4%	2%	5%
	125	2%	2%	7%	18%	7%	9%	6%	5%
Total		48460	16678	6626	5193	14975	24422	419	333733

Table 17: The distribution of high medieval, Group 3 Wares (sherd weight, g).
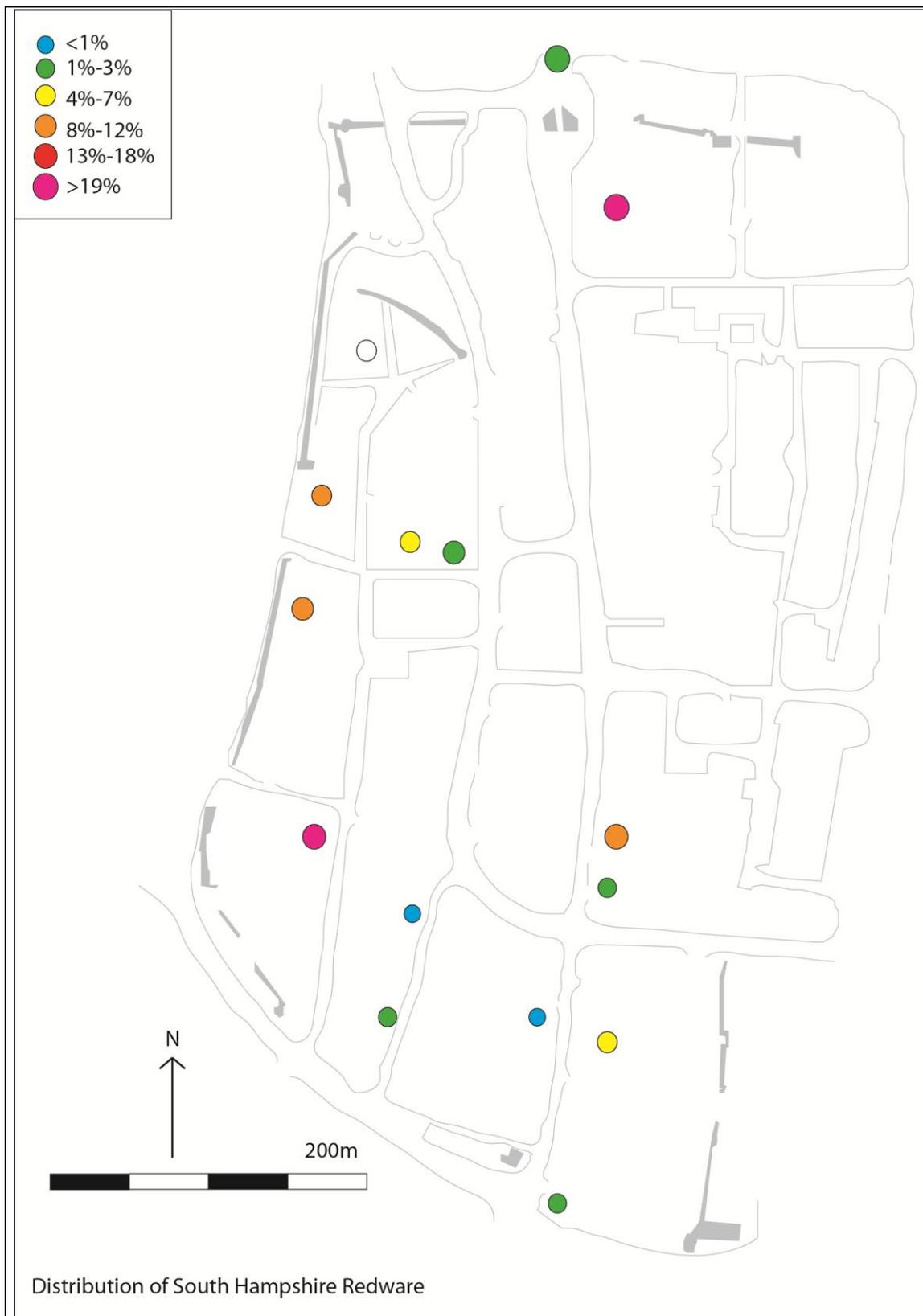
Figure 68: The distribution of South Hampshire Redware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
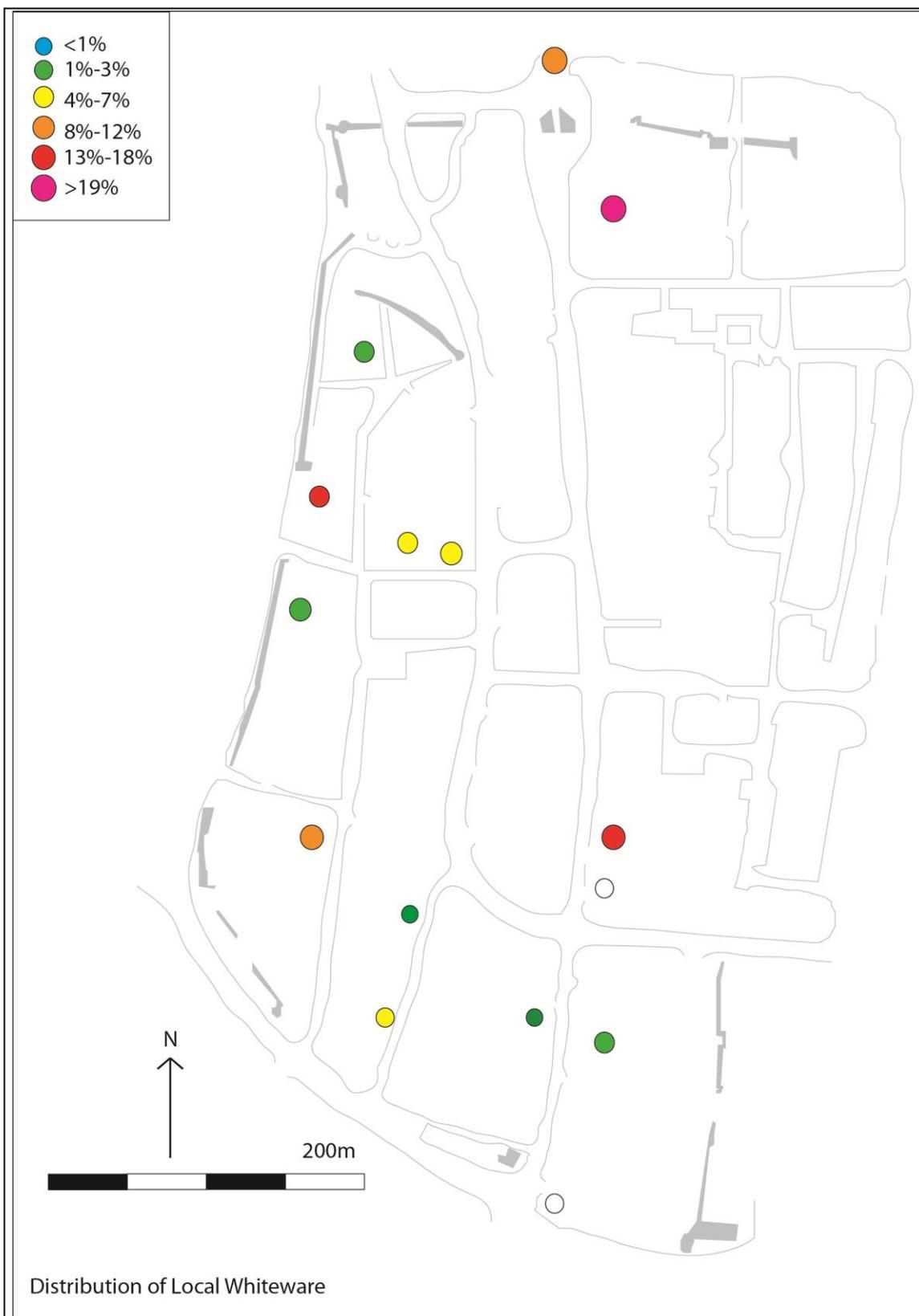
Figure 69: The distribution of Local Whiteware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
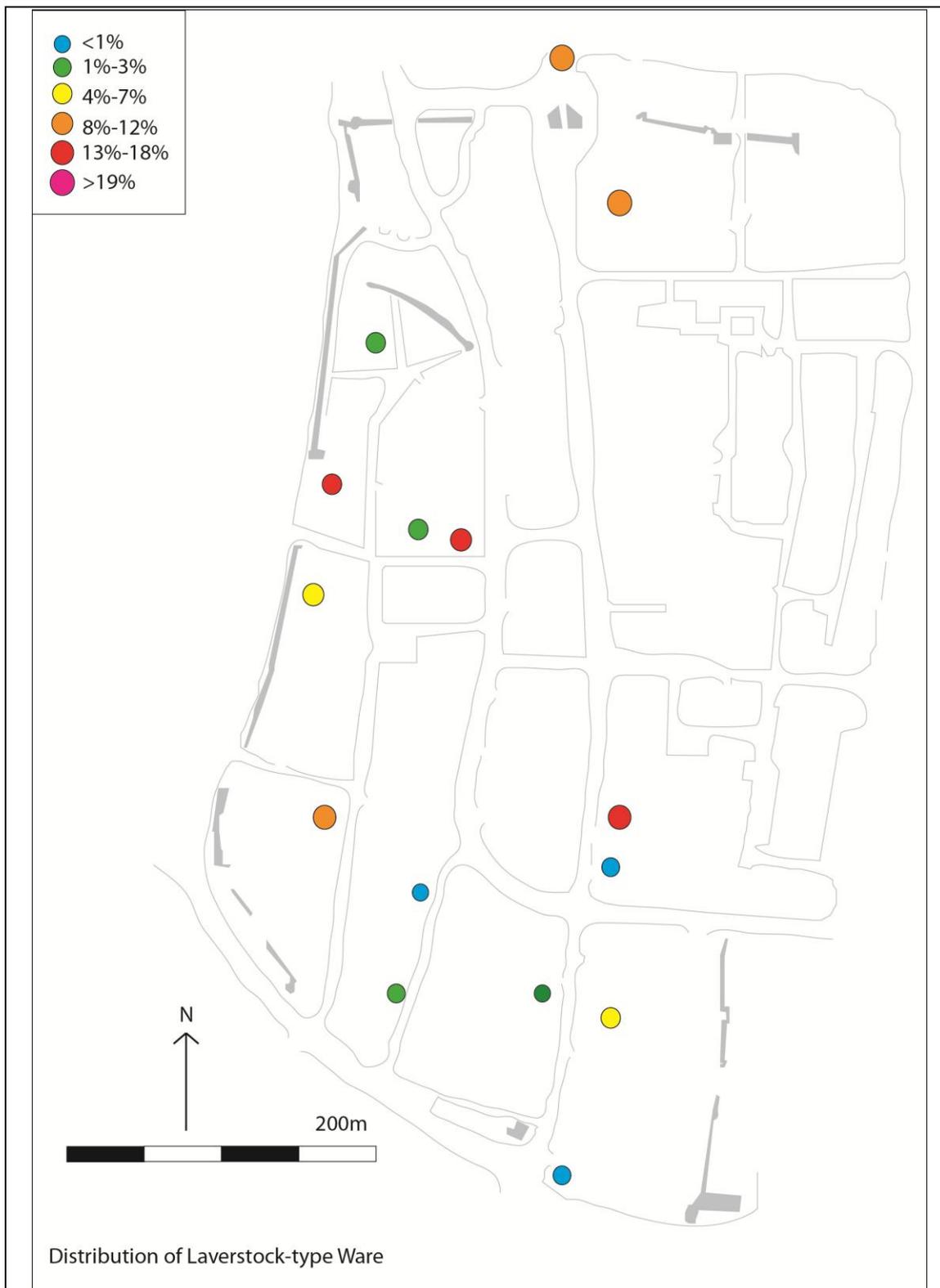
Figure 70: The distribution of Laverstock-type Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
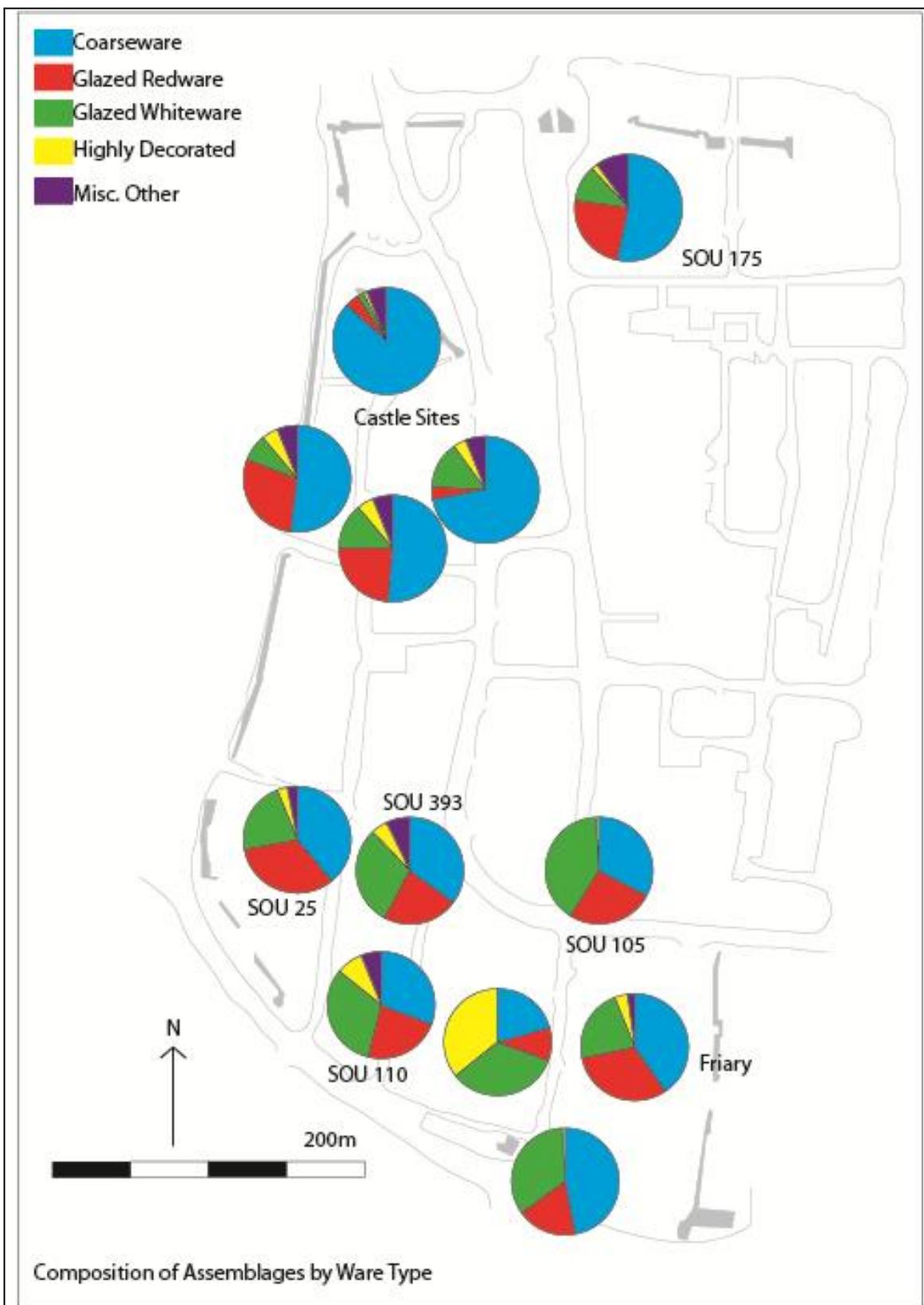
Figure 71: The composition of selected high medieval assemblages in Southampton by ware type (sherd weight, g).
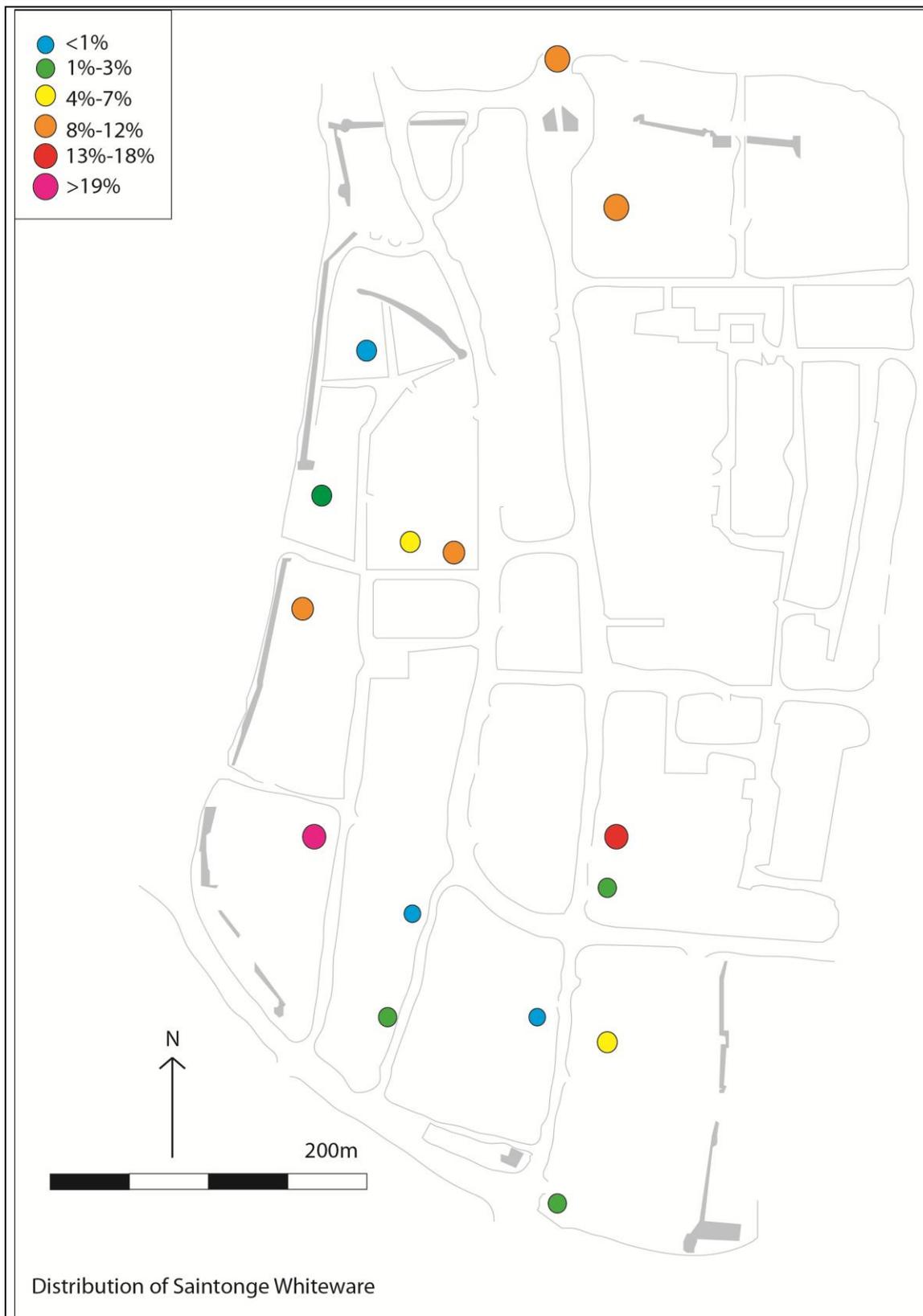
Figure 72: The distribution of Saintonge Whiteware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
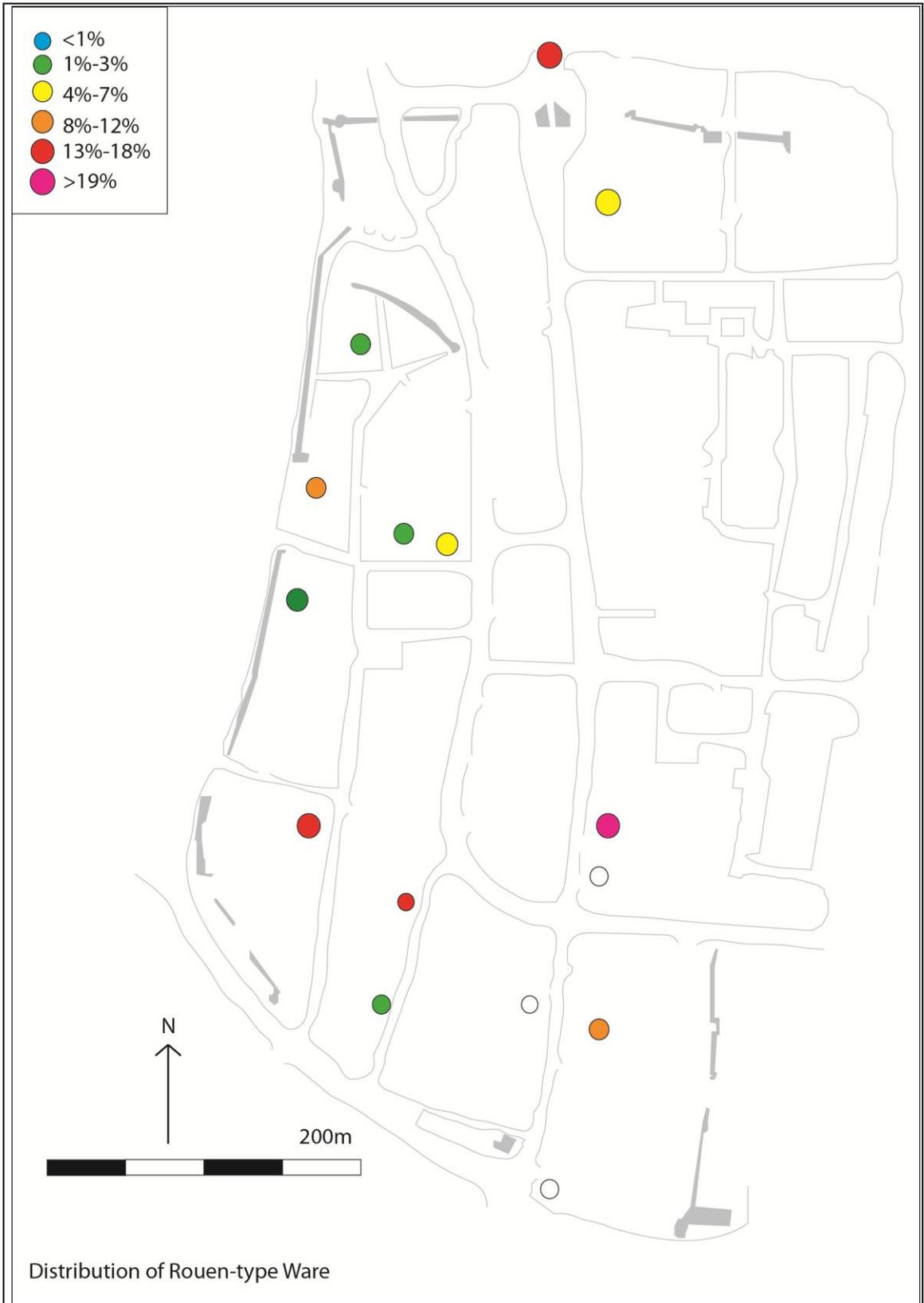
Figure 73: The distribution of Rouen-type Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

5.4 Group 4: Non-Locally Produced Pottery with a Localised Distribution

Two Organic-tempered fabrics (2 and 5), dating to the earliest phase of *Hamwic,* fit into this group (Table 18). Fabric 2 was only found in any quantity at SOU 30 (Six Dials) (Figure 74). Its source is unknown, but the presence of glauconite and mica in the fabric implies a possible source in the gault clays of eastern Hampshire (similar fabrics have been observed by the author at Chalton and in Alton; Chapter 8). Fabric 5 has been sourced to the London Clays, outcrops of which can be found within 5 miles to the north of *Hamwic*, its distribution is limited to sites at Six Dials and Marine Parade (Figure 75). Both of these fabrics are present in relatively high quantities and may indicate be reflective of interaction between households and particular sources of pottery to the north of *Hamwic*. Unlike fabric 4, also from a more distant source, these were not widely available, implying that they were exchanged as utensils, or as containers for goods used within particular households.

The most abundant Sandy Ware fabric in phase 2 is fabric 10 and its variants, fabrics 8 and 17 (Table 19). Like fabrics 11 (Figure 27) and 12 (Figure 28) these are found across *Hamwic*, but their distribution appears focussed on the north and east of the settlement, particularly around Six Dials (Figure 76). Given that the highest quantities of fabric 4 were recovered from Six Dials (Figure 48), it could be suggested that some occupants of this area had particularly strong links with the source of this pottery. These vessels were perhaps perhaps exchanged through kinship or administrative networks (although this must remain speculation). Unlike other non-local wares these are unlikely to have been containers on the basis of their quantities, the focus of their distribution and the use wear evidence (chapter 6). Instead, these would appear to have been produced for the market in *Hamwic*, and, for some reason, were particularly enthusiastically adopted in the north and west of the settlement.

A single phase 3 Mixed-grit-tempered Ware fabric (63) fits into this group (Table 20). The distribution of the fabric is focussed entirely on Six Dials and Hoglands (Figure 77). The exact reasons for this patterning remains uncertain, but may relate to contact with the rural hinterland to the north of *Hamwic*. A number of Shelly Ware fabrics are also present in this phase. These are not particularly abundant and may be of French origin as they match well with examples from *Quentovic* (chapter 8; Worthington 1993). In general, their distribution is focussed on a small number of sites, at Six Dials and Melbourne Street (Figure 78; Figure 79). It is possible that these vessels are indicative of immigrant households who used imported cooking pots, or the

redistribution of ship's equipment. The small quantities suggest they were not marketed widely in the town (although see discussion of fabric 90 above).

Area	SOU	Organic-tempered		%ge *Hamwic* phase 1 assemblage from site.
		2	*5*	
Clifford St	15		1%	<1%
	32			<1%
	39			<1%
Marine Parade	13	4%	1%	1%
Melbourne St	1			2%
	4	2%		6%
	5			<1%
North Chapel Road	8			<1%
	11			3%
	18		8%	4%
	33			2%
	40		7%	<1%
Six Dials	23			2%
	24			12%
	26		11%	6%
	30	83%	28%	22%
	31	5%		11%
	169	6%	10%	21%
Southern Periphery	14		1	2%
	16			1%
	22		33%	1%
Western Periphery	36			<1%
	99			1%
Total (g)		1204	2148	5886

Table 18: The distribution of Phase 1, Group 4 Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 74: The distribution of Fabric 2 in *Hamwic*.

Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 75: The distribution of Fabric 5 in *Hamwic*.

Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
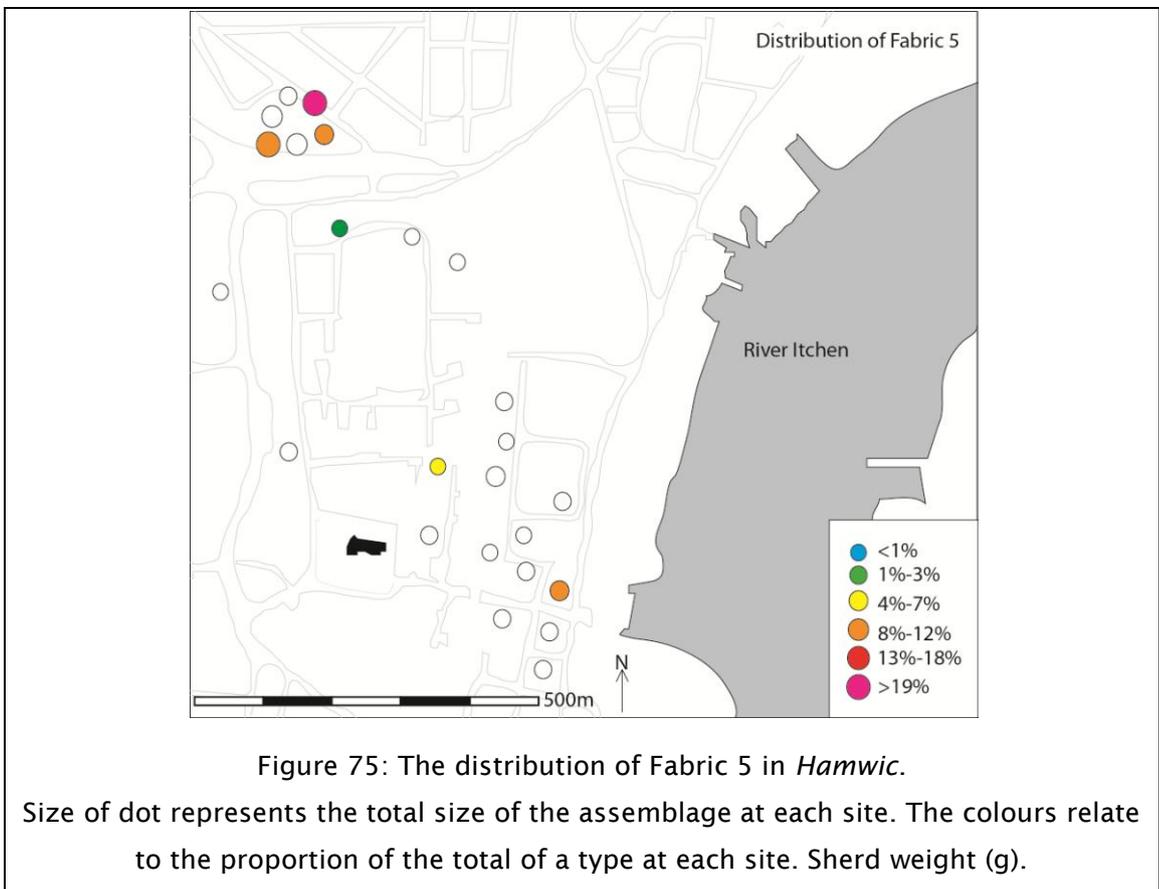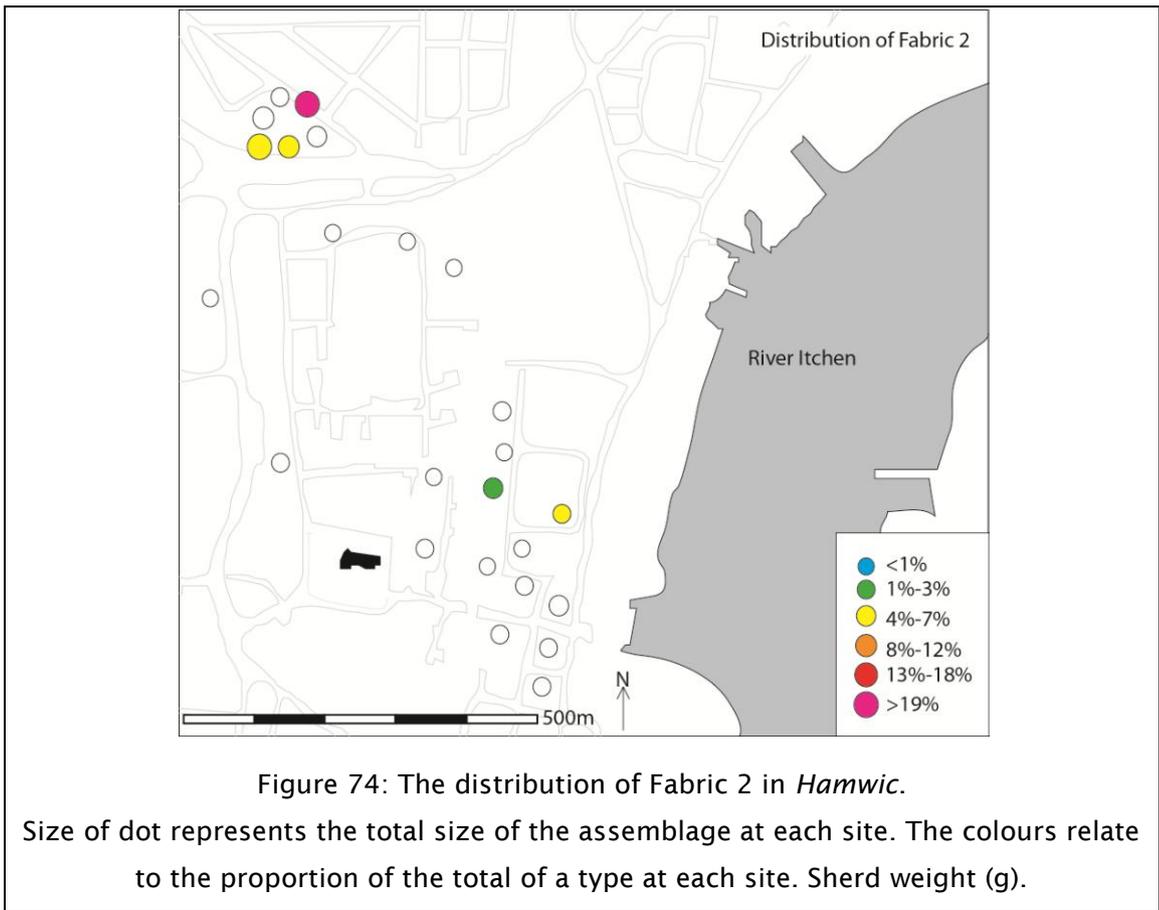
Area	SOU	Sandy			%ge *Hamwic* phase 2 assemblage from site.
		8	*10*	*17*	
Centre	43		<1%		**<1%**
Clifford St	15	18%	1%		**3%**
	32	12%	2%		**4%**
	39		1%		**1%**
Marine Parade	10				**<1%**
	13		<1%		**<1%**
Melbourne St	1	1%	2%		**3%**
	4	1%	2%		**3%**
	5	4%	1%		**2%**
	6		1%		**1%**
	20		<1%		**2%**
North Chapel Rd	7		0%		**<1%**
	8		0%		**1%**
	11	6%	2%		**2%**
	18		0%		**0%**
	33	18%	2%		**7%**
	40		<1%		**<1%**
Northumberland Rd					
	19		<1%		**<1%**
Six Dials	23		1%		**1%**
	24		20%	10%	**12%**
	26		11%	13%	**7%**
	30		7%	77%	**8%**
	31	3%	23%		**16%**
	169	17%	13%		**10%**
Southern Periphery	14	2%	7%		**7%**
	16		<1%		**<1%**
	17		<1%		**3%**
	22				**<1%**
Western Periphery	36		2%		**3%**
	99	18%	2%		**3%**
Total (g)		**1494**	**59008**	**70**	**212236**

Table 19: The distribution of Phase 2, Group 4 Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 76: The distribution of Fabric 10 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 77: The distribution of Fabric 63 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Area	SOU	Mixed Grit	Shelly				%ge *Hamwic* phase 3 assemblage from site.
		63	*30*	*31*	*32*	*33*	
Clifford St	15			1%	2%	2%	**6%**
	32			2%	6%	8%	**13%**
	39			<1%			**1%**
Marine Parade	13		<1%				**<1%**
Melbourne St	1		14%	1%			**1%**
	4						**1%**
	5			31%		14%	**4%**
	6						**<1%**
	20						**1%**
North Chapel Rd	7					14%	**<1%**
	8						**<1%**
	11						**1%**
	18						**<1%**
	33		<1%	<1%		8%	**7%**
Six Dials	23		16%	1%	4%		**1%**
	24	30%		6%			**7%**
	26	5%		9%	32%		**5%**
	30	28%					**4%**
	31	33%	70%	22%	36%	3%	**22%**
	169	3%		8%	18%	11%	**12%**
Southern Periphery	14			<1%	1%	33%	**5%**
	16						**<1%**
	17						**<1%**
Western Periphery	36	1%		12%	1%	6%	**6%**
	99			6%			**1%**
Total (g)		**1754**	**328**	**1290**	**692**	**414**	**103113**

Table 20: The distribution of Phase 3, Group 4 Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 78: The distribution of Fabric 31 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).



Figure 79: The distribution of Fabric 32 in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Some imported wares have localised distributions and are present only in small quantities (Table 21). In particular these include wares from the Rhineland and the Low Countries. Flemish Red Burnished Wares (BUR) are the most widespread of these wares, but their distribution is particularly focussed on SOU 33 and the Clifford Street area (Figure 80). Tating Ware (TAT) (Figure 81) and Relief Band Amphora (RBA) (Figure 82), both possibly associated with Rhenish wine, have very limited distributions. Both Badorf- (BAD) (Figure 83) and Mayen- (MAY) (Figure 84) Wares are most common at Six Dials. This localised distribution may index the presence of Rhenish merchants in this area or, perhaps, particular exchanges between the inhabitants of this part of the town and these merchants. It is noticeable that the Rhenish wares cluster around St Mary's Church and Clifford Street, where there is also likely to have been a church (Morton 1992, 51). One pit at SOU 33, close to St Mary's church, contained a particularly wide range of imports and is discussed further in chapters 7 and 9. Perhaps these merchants were sponsored, or even accommodated by the church, and distributed certain utilitarian wares to consumers in the local neighbourhood (perhaps in connection with wine, or as gifts in return for accommodation). The distribution of wares from Argonne (ARG), in north-east France, is similarly focussed on these areas (Figure 85). In contrast, Alsace Wares (ALS) are more common in the extreme south east of the settlement, around the waterfront (Figure 86). Unlike other wares which are present as pitchers, which were objects of exchange in their own right, these vessels are only present as jars, a vessel form widely available in the settlement both as an imported product and from local producers. Their small number and distribution around the waterfront suggests that they were not widely distributed. It is possible that they may represent broken ship's equipment, dumped onto existing rubbish deposits around the waterfront and therefore were never intended to be exchanged in *Hamwic* (see Cotter 2006). Alternatively they could have been traded to the inhabitants of this area, or exchanged as gifts or payment. It is also possible that the sherds were the personal possessions of an immigrant from this region, living close to the waterfront. Several other wares are present from unknown sources; again their distribution is focussed on Clifford Street, Six Dials and SOU 33. We can consider that these wares were not brought in for large scale trade. They may have come as cargo, or as personal possessions, perhaps sold, exchanged in payment for accommodation or services, or used by immigrant members of *Hamwic's* population.

Area	SOU	BAD	MAY	RBA	TAT	ALS	ARG	RBW	%ge *Hamwic* Imports from site.
Clifford Street	15	2%	3%	100%			30%	25%	10%
	32	12%						10%	6%
Melbourne St.	4		3%						<1%
	6		3%					1%	1%
	20		1%						<1%
North Chapel Road	7					3%			1%
	8	1%							<1%
	11	16%				1%			6%
	18					3%			1%
	33	12%	2%		100%		3%	35%	13%
Siz Dials	23		7%						1%
	24	8%	15%					12%	7%
	26	15%	10%					4%	7%
	30	2%	3%				35%	3%	3%
	31	3%	48%					3%	7%
	169	30%	3%			5%			12%
Southern Periphery	14					1%	33%	3%	2%
	16					58%			14%
Western Periphery	36		3%			28%		1%	7%
	99							4%	1%
TOTAL (g)		1039	332	78	24	707	110	663	2953

Table 21: The distribution of Imported, Group 4 Wares in *Hamwic* (sherd weight, g).

Figure 80: The distribution of Red Burnished Wares in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 81: The distribution of Tating-type Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 82: The distribution of Relief Band Amphorae in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 83: The distribution of Badorf-type Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 84: The distribution of Mayen-type Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 85: The distribution of Argonne-type Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

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Figure 86: The distribution of Alsace Ware in *Hamwic*.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

The distribution of regional products in late Saxon Southampton is very much focussed on the north of the settlement, the West Quay and York Buildings (SOU 175) areas (Table 22). These products include Michelmersh-type Wares (MM), principally in the form of pitchers and jars and Chalk-tempered Wares (CHA), present in a similar range of forms. The Chalk-tempered Wares do have a slightly wider distribution, possibly indicative of them having a unique function (chapter 6) (Figure 87), whereas the Michelmersh products may have competed with imported wares, which are more common in the south of the settlement (Figure 88). Regionally produced glazed wares were only present in the West Quay assemblages (GLA).[14] Portchester-type Ware (POR) has a similarly limited distribution, being found at Quilter's Vault, along with the highest quantity of Quartz-tempered Ware, possibly from Dorset or Wiltshire. A case can perhaps be made for occupants of this area having wider connections with the hinterland of Southampton, possibly engaging in coastwise exchange or activities such as fishing. It would appear that the market for these regional products was largely

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[14] Although small quantities have also been recovered from the Lower High Street site, not considered in this study.

limited to the north of the settlement, an area with considerably less variability in the imported wares present.

Shelly Ware (SHE) is, potentially, one of these imported wares, and it was only found in quantity at two sites, its presence at Westgate Street (SOU 25) perhaps reflective of immigrants bringing small quantities of their own cooking wares to Southampton (Figure 89). Other imports have limited distributions, only being found in the west of the town, these include Low Countries Greyware (LCG), North French Pink Ware (FPW) (Figure 90) and North French Quartz Tempered Ware (FQT). It is possible these rare imported wares were brought to Southampton by merchants or visitors for their own use, rather than being widely traded. Although found everywhere, it is noticeable that the distribution of Red Painted Ware (RPW) is skewed toward the waterfront (Figure 91). In *Hamwic* this had a limited distribution. Perhaps this ware was available on the local market in the late Saxon period, but, for some reason, was not as enthusiastically adopted as the Blackwares and Whitewares, which had been used for several generations in Southampton. The presence of a single sherd of Pingsdorf-type Ware (PIN) from the West Quay excavations fits into this tradition, but its different source could be indicative of an alternative exchange mechanism.

	SOU	CHA	MM	POR	GLA	SHE	FPW	FQT	RPW	LCG	PIN	%ge Southampton late Saxon assemblage from site
West Quay	142	1%							72%			**12%**
	149		1%						1%			**1%**
	859	32%	28%		77%				5%			**24%**
	860											**<1%**
	861	52%	57%	62%	23%	21%			5%		100%	**31%**
	902	<1%										**<1%**
Eastern High Street	175	5%	9%									**7%**
	105											**1%**
	106	1%										**1%**
	199	<1%	<1%									**1%**
	934											**2%**
	1355	1%										**3%**
Western High Street	25	1%	1%			61%		100%	2%	100%		**8%**
	29	<1%										**1%**
	110		1%									**2%**
	111								9%			**3%**
	124	1%					100%					**<1%**
	125								7%			**1%**
	129	1%		38%		18%						**1%**
	161	5%	3%									**1%**
	164											**<1%**
Total (g)		8531	2873	26	8	61	5	132	3705	30	25	**105064**

Table 22: The distribution of late Saxon, Group 4 Wares in Southampton (sherd weight, g).

Figure 87: The distribution of Chalk-tempered Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
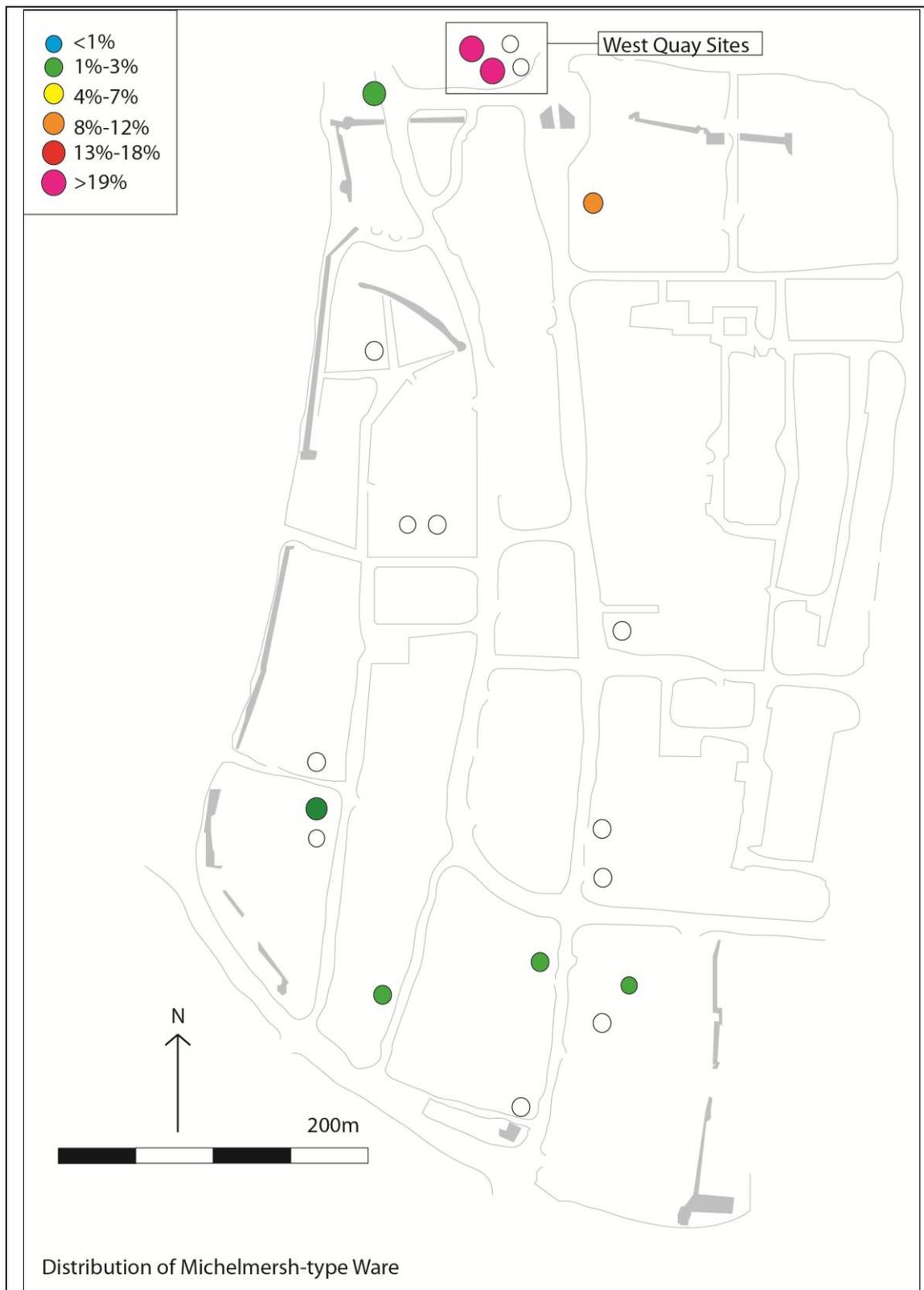
Figure 88: The distribution of Michelmersh-type Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
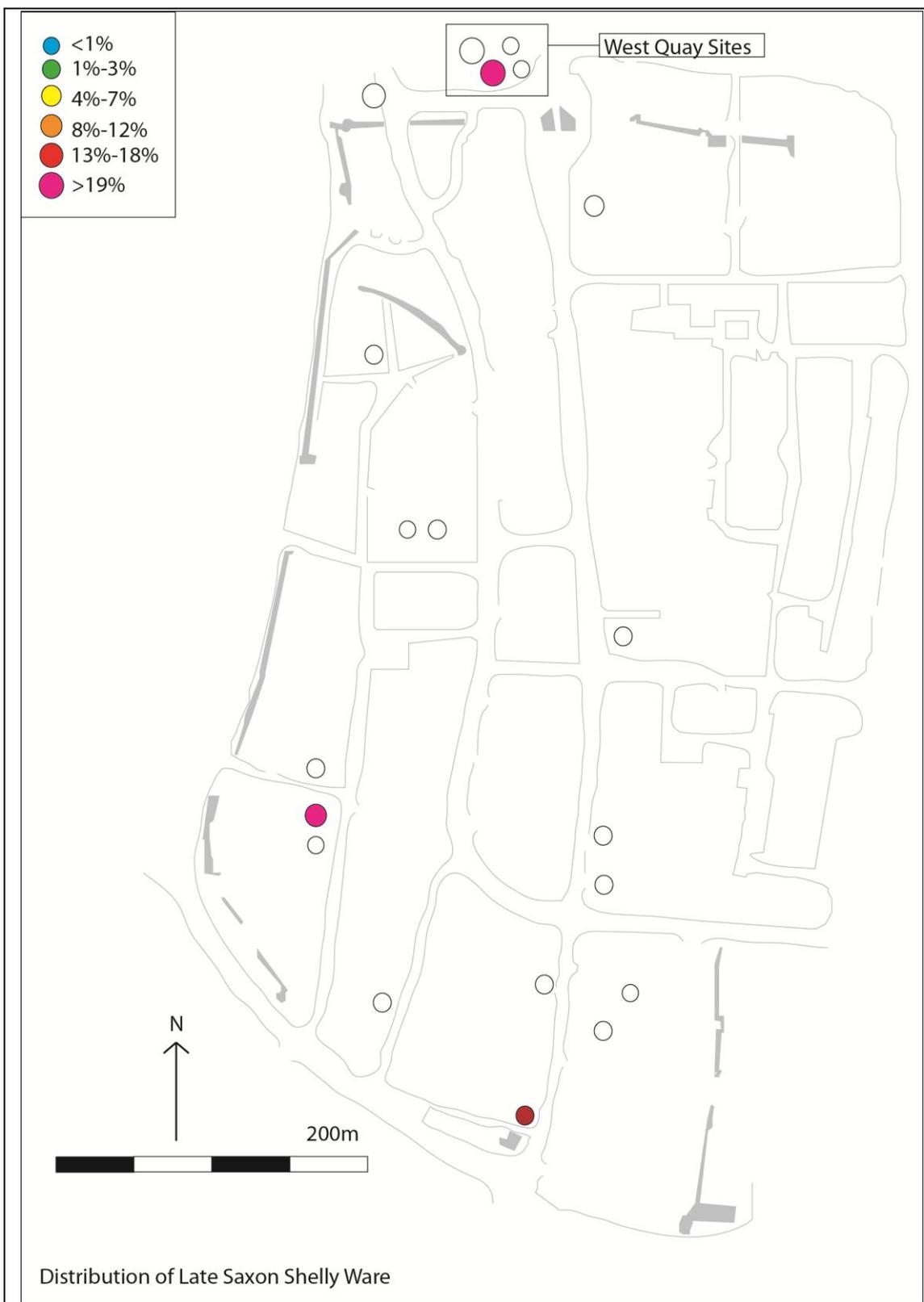
Figure 89: The distribution of Late Saxon Shelly Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
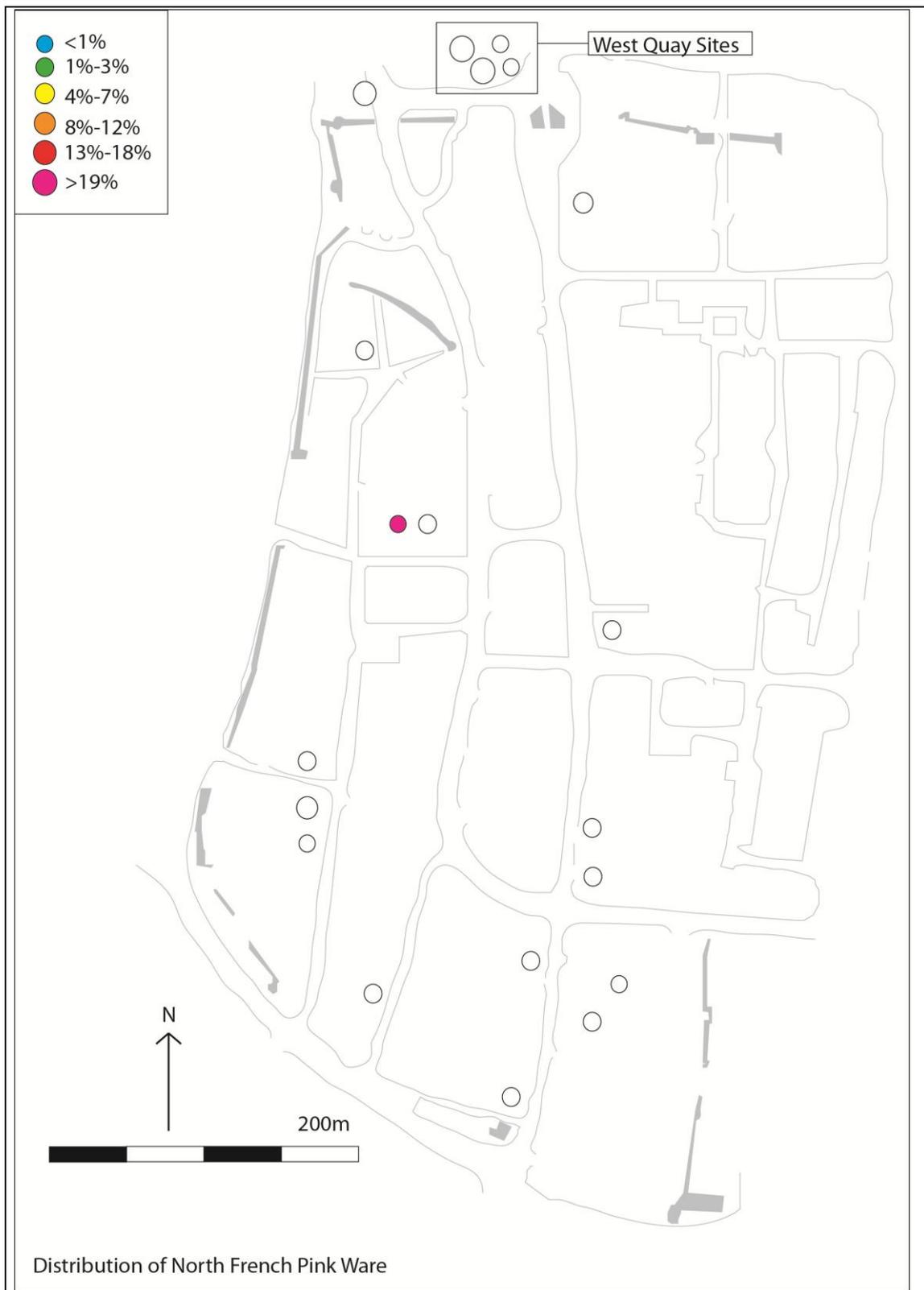
Figure 90: The distribution of North French Pink Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
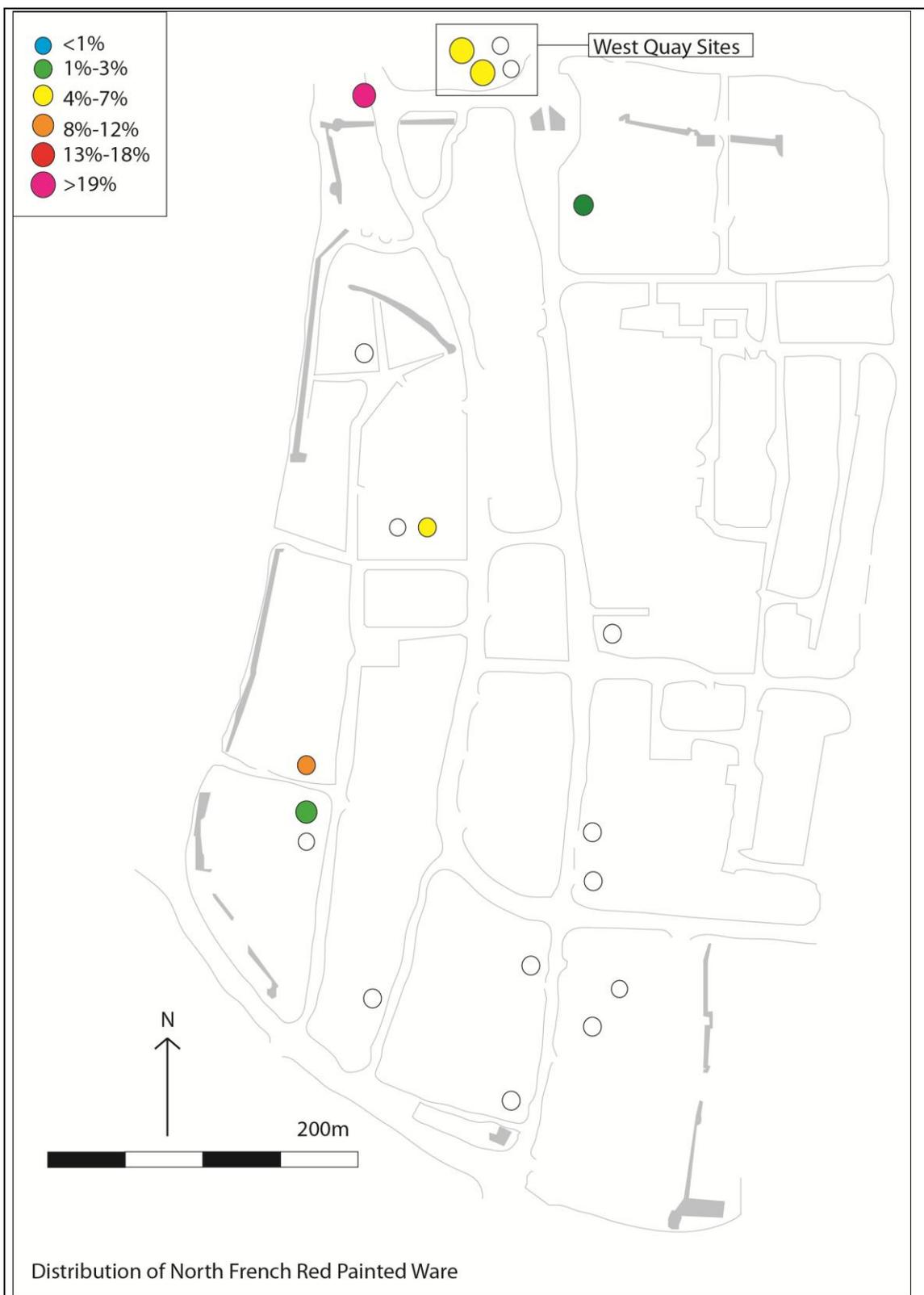
Figure 91: The distribution of North French Red Painted Ware in Southampton. Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

In the Anglo-Norman period (Table 23) regionally produced glazed wares (RGW) are also present, principally in the form of tripod pitchers. These are similar to types from the Test Valley and may have been traded down-river (chapter 8). Their distribution is focussed on the west of Southampton (Figure 92). This distribution may be reflective of patterns of use as these vessels probably emerged to fulfil specific functions, and may not have been required in lower status homes in the town (chapter 10), at least not at the start of the period. This is also reflected in the distribution of glazed wares from northern France (FGW) (Figure 93) and the Meuse Valley (AND) (Figure 94). Noticeably Paffrath (PAF) (Figure 95) and Early Saintonge Wares (ESO) only occur in deposits associated with Southampton Castle, perhaps demonstrating the wide links that this institution, from which Andenne-type Ware was also recovered, had. North French Sandy Ware (NFS) was only recovered from SOU 123, and its limited distribution possibly indicates that it was brought to Southampton as part of an immigrant household or ship's equipment (e.g. Cotter 2006). The same may be true of sherds of North French Whiteware (FWW) and other French wares (FRE).

Area	SOU	RGW	FGW	NFS	FWW	ESO	FRE	AND	PAF	%ge Southampton Anglo-Norman assemblage from site.
West Quay	861	<1%	1%		100%					1%
Eastern High St	175	<1%	1%					3%		2%
	199	1%								<1%
Castle/ Bugle St	29		2%			27%				<1%
	123	40%	36%	100%		73%			99%	26%
	124	<1%	13%					18%	1%	13%
	125	20%	18%					17%		25%
Western High St	25	<1%	2%					5%		5%
	110	32%	3%					49%		11%
	393	6%	24%				100%	8%		17%
Total		4226	847	296	45	82	120	88	349	76658

Table 23: The distribution of Anglo-Norman, Group 4 Wares in Southampton (sherd weight, g).
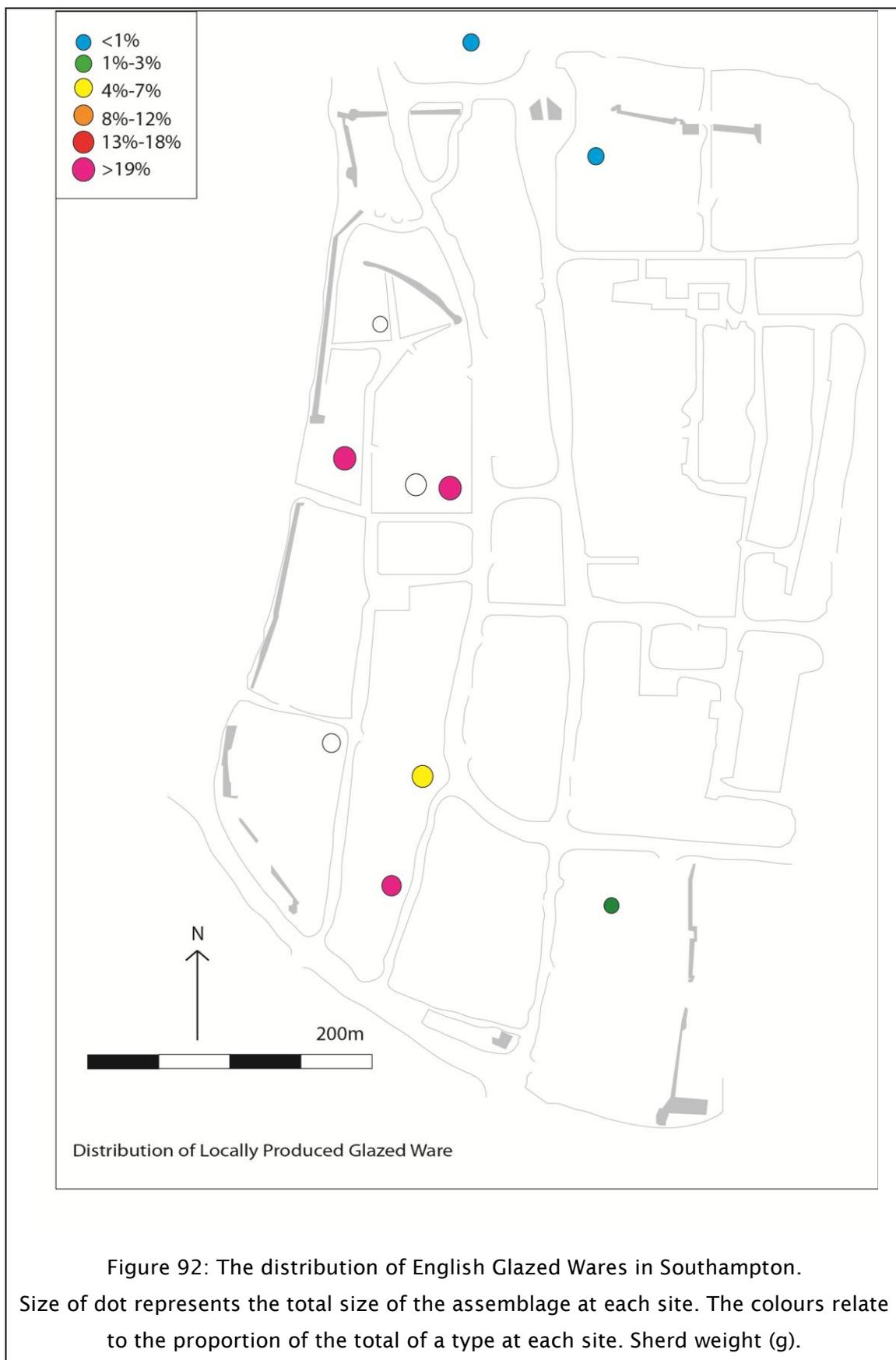
Figure 92: The distribution of English Glazed Wares in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 93: The distribution of North French Glazed Wares in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 94: The distribution of Andenne-type Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
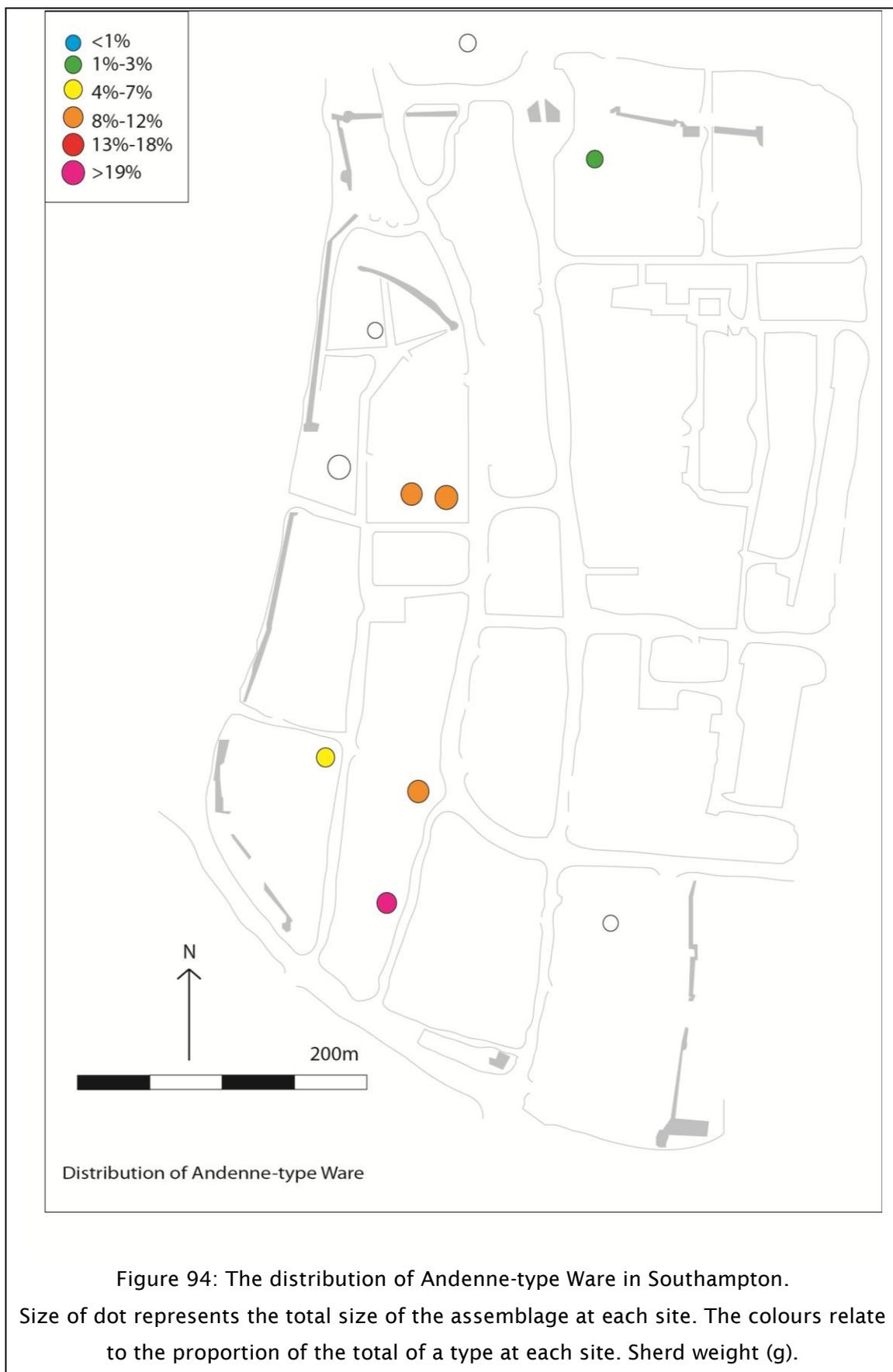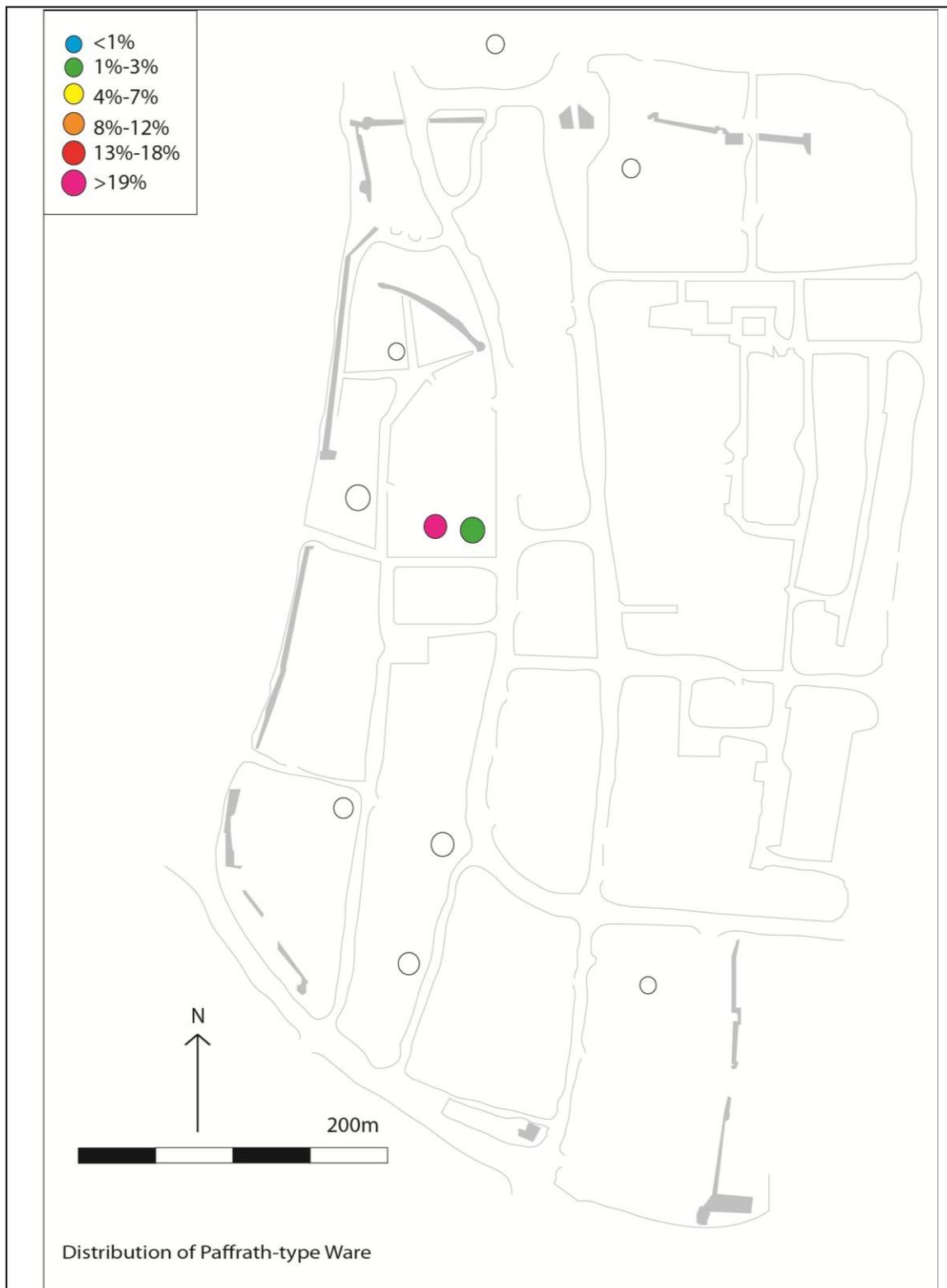
Figure 95: The distribution of Paffrath-type Wares in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Many high medieval imports have restricted distributions (Table 24). These wares are also rare outside of Southampton (chapter 8). The less common Saintonge types fall into this class, including the Polychrome Ware (SOP), Highly Decorated Whiteware (SOD) and Sgraffito Ware jugs (SORP) (Figure 96; Figure 98), as well as Redware pegaus (SOR) and Gritty Ware (SOG) mortars (Figure 97), which fulfilled specific functions in the home. Whilst these ceramic mortars were rare their stone equivalents are found across Southampton. Perhaps there was a preference for coloured, glazed ceramic mortars for use at the table in some contexts, whereas plainer stone vessels were used more commonly in kitchen contexts (Brown 2002, 137). Although found in small quantities in the east of the town, North French Sandy Wares (NFS), including Seine Valley Wares, are most common in the west of Southampton (Figure 100). Other imports (OTH) including Low Countries Highly Decorated Redware are uncommon, and it is perhaps significant that this ware in particular was found at the Friary as well as in the merchants' quarter (Figure 101), indicating the links between the Friary and the merchant population (Platt 1973, 64). The distribution of French coarsewares (FCW) is noticeably focussed on the merchants' quarter (Figure 99), as is the distribution of non-local English wares (NL) (Figure 102), which may be indicative of vessels picked up during trading activity or transferred via tenurial links or personal gift exchange networks.

Area	West Quay		Eastern High St.				Friary	Western High St.				Castle/Bugle St.				Total (g)
SOU	859	861	105	162	175	934	199/1355	25	110	122	393	29	123	124	125	Total (g)
NL	15%	1%	6%				5%		4%	28%			28%	0%	12%	938
SOG				1%	3%	1%	<1%	55%	1%	40%		<1%				6080
SOD								100%								8
SOBG		2%	11%		1%		1%	39%		3%			6%	1%	36%	1776
SOP		1%	8%		3%	<1%	3%	<1%	<1%	79%			3%	4%	0%	3389
SORP			22%					12%	24%	25%			18%			130
SOR								98%		1%			1%			3465
FCW		4%			10%		10%	18%		21%			10%	32%		259
NFS	1%	1%	4%	1%	4%		9%	36%	28%	3%	2%	4%	1%	5%	1%	2867
OTH			<1%		5%		8%	74%	1%	4%		<1%	2%	1%	5%	1040
%ge Soton high med-ieval	<1%	4%	12%	1%	17%	1%	5%	24%	2%	13%	<1%	1%	10%	5%	5%	333733

Table 24: The distribution of high medieval, Group 4 Wares in Southampton (sherd weight, g).
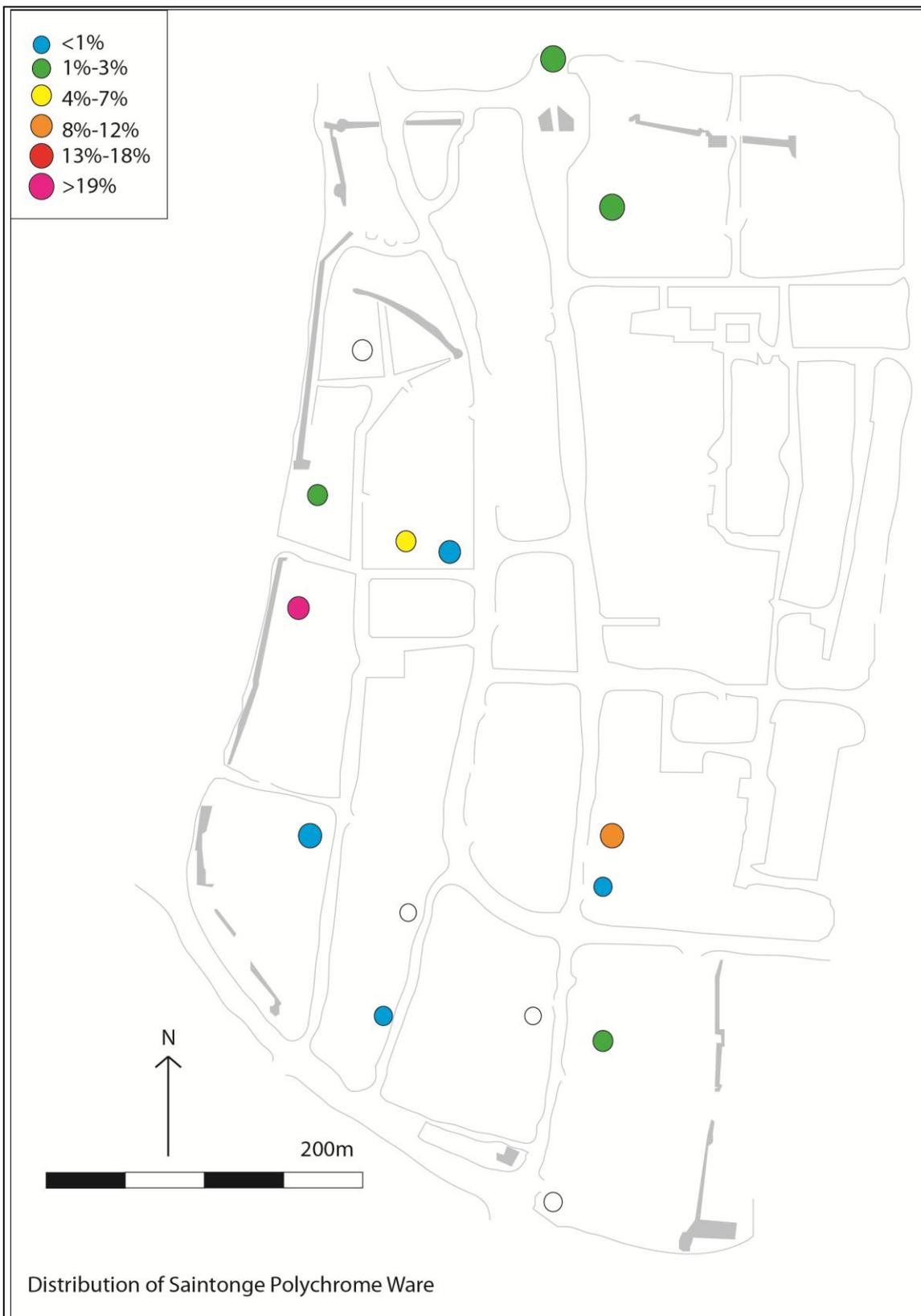
Figure 96: The distribution of Saintonge Polychrome Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
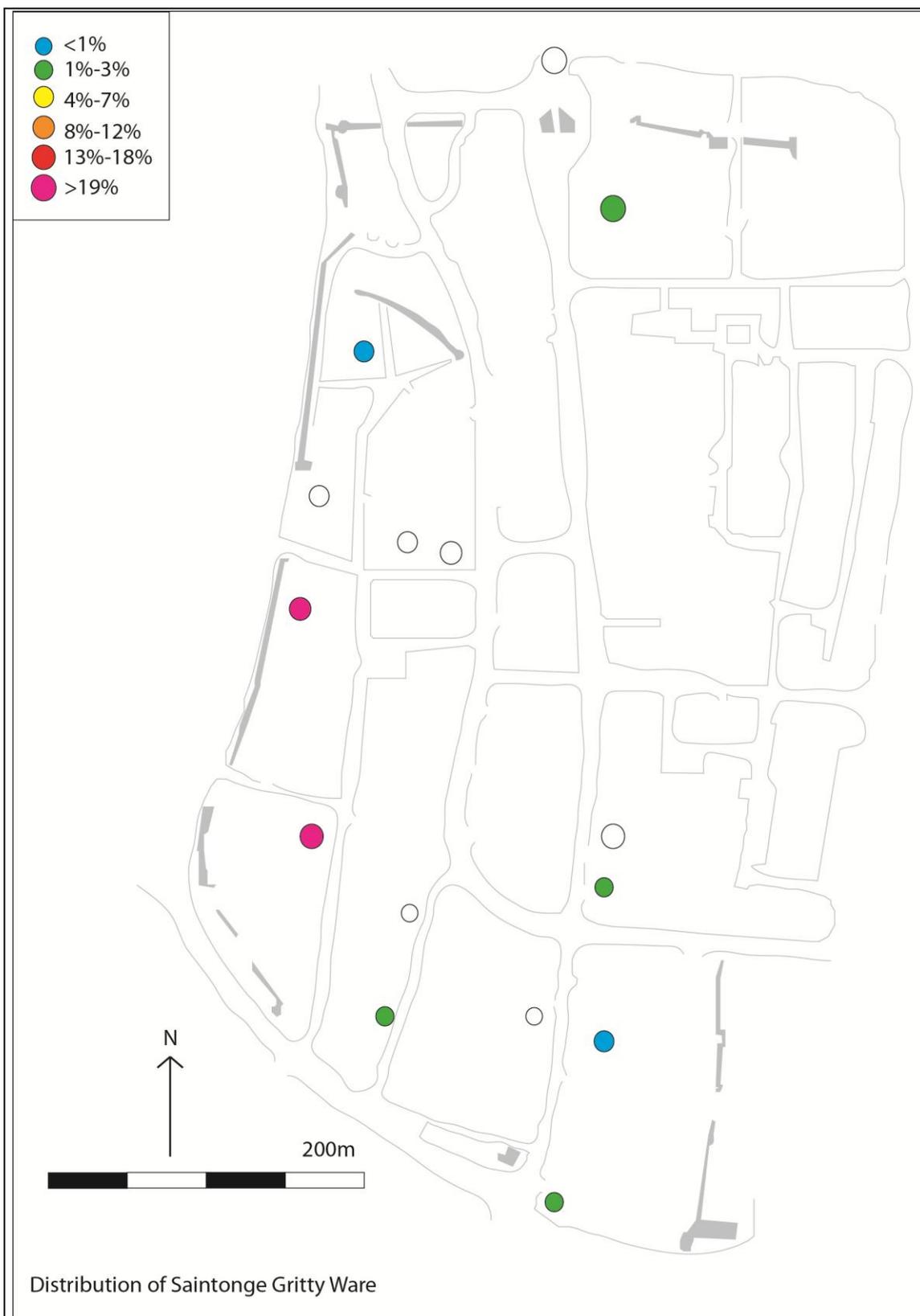
Figure 97: The distribution of Saintonge Gritty Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Distribution of Saintonge Sgraffito Ware
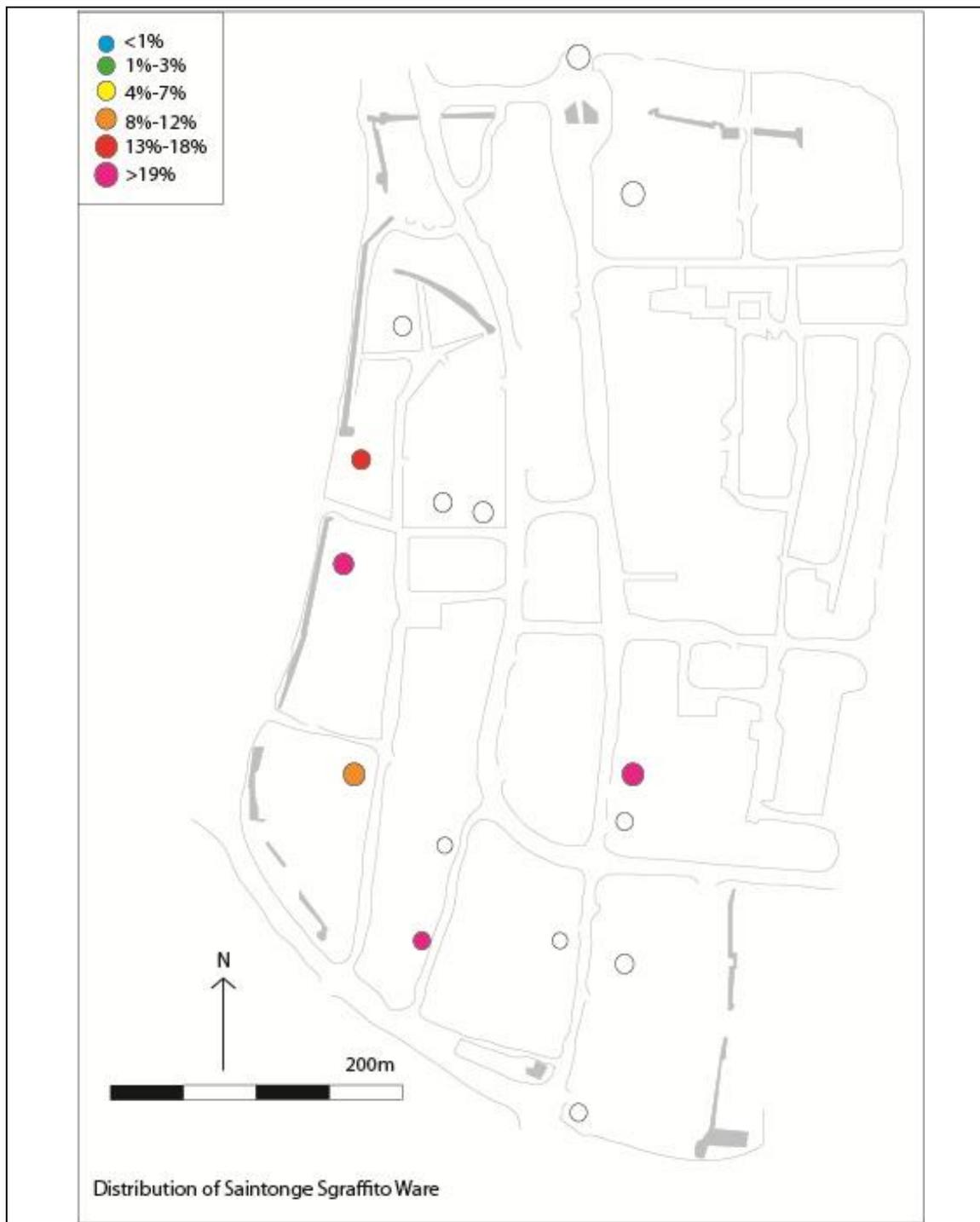
Figure 98: The distribution of Saintonge Sgraffito Ware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 99: The distribution of French coarsewares in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
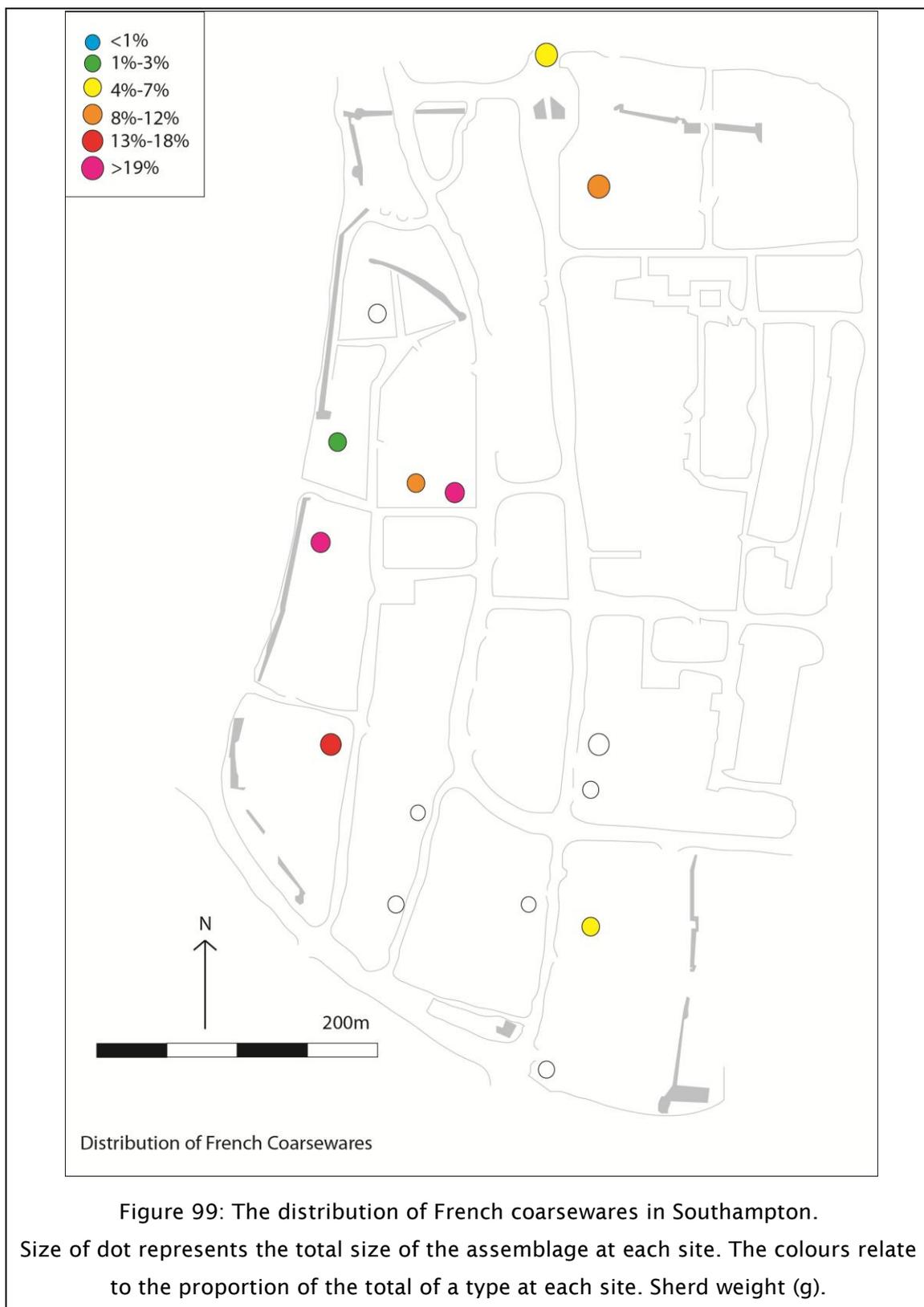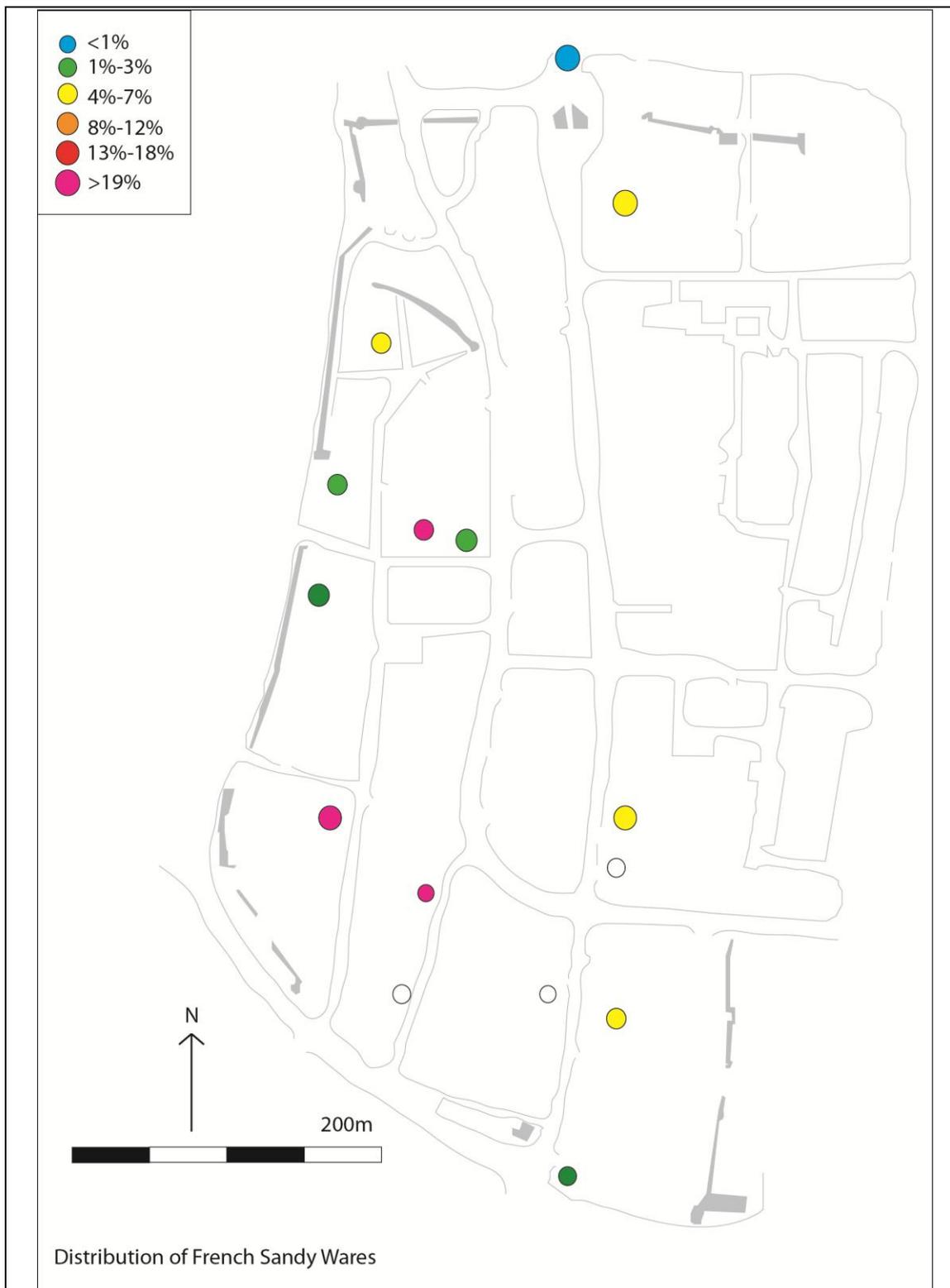
Figure 100: The distribution of north French sandy wares in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate
to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
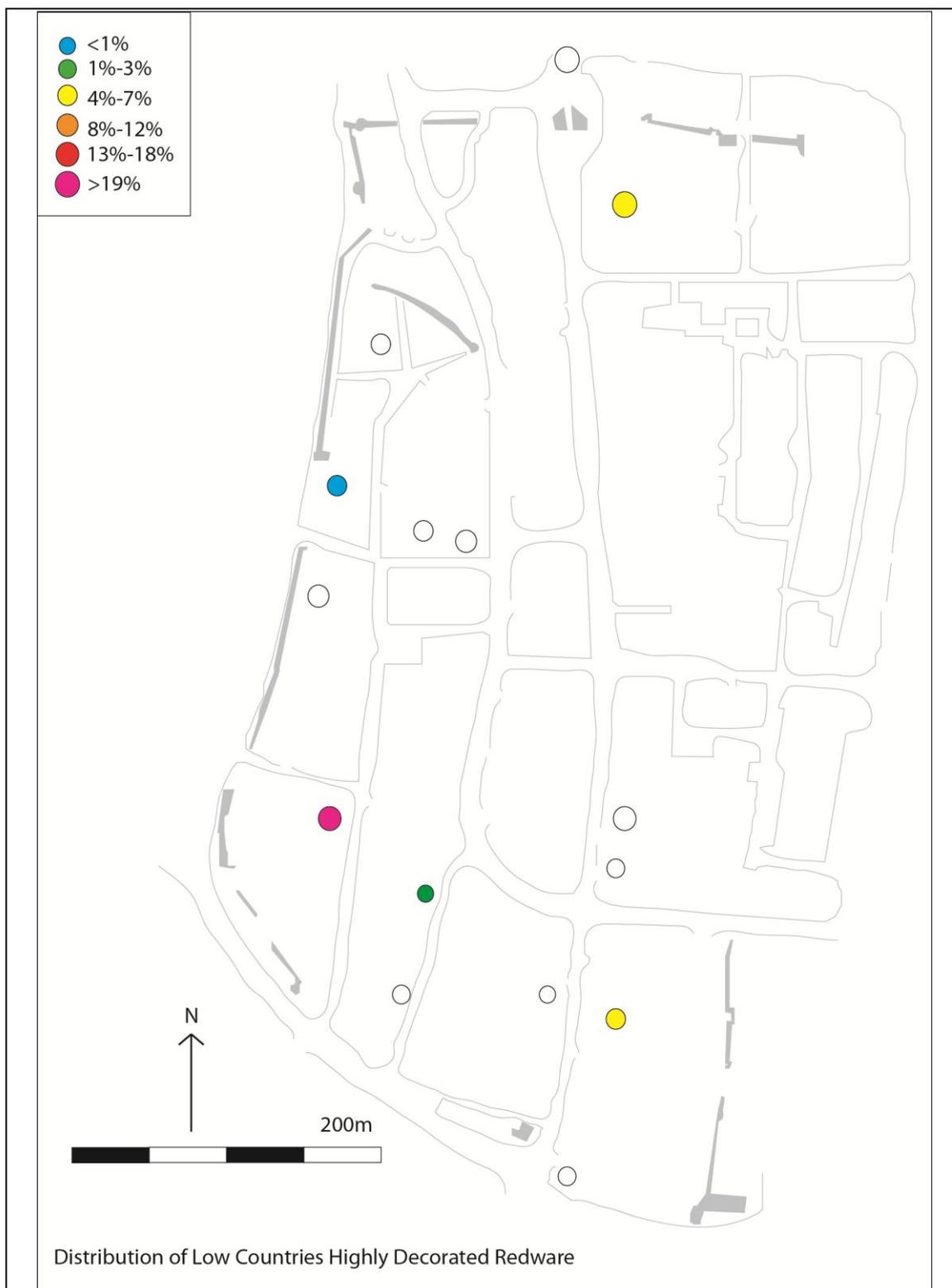
Figure 101: The distribution of Low Countries Highly Decorated Redware in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).

Figure 102: The distribution of non-local English wares in Southampton.
Size of dot represents the total size of the assemblage at each site. The colours relate to the proportion of the total of a type at each site. Sherd weight (g).
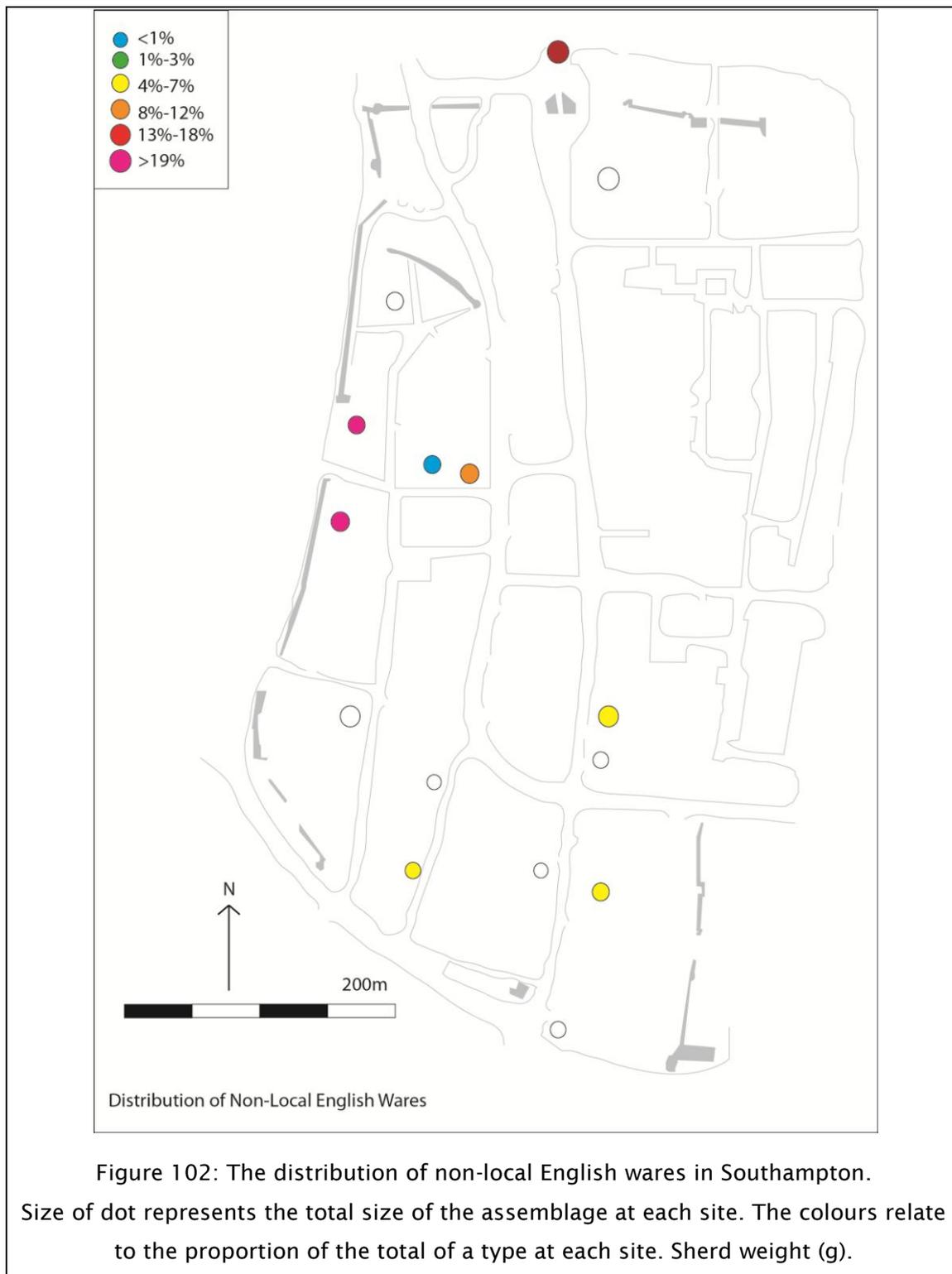
5.5 Summary of Distribution Patterns

In phase 1 of *Hamwic* both locally and non-locally produced pottery was present. The limited distribution of most wares suggests that households were engaged in localised redistribution mechanisms, meaning that 'the social' in *Hamwic* was fragmented, with

these exchanges helping to sustain sub-groupings within the settlement's population, who perhaps acquired pottery from a neighbourhood producer. Some of these sub-groupings maintained durable links with the hinterland, as demonstrated by the distribution of fabrics 2 and 5. These engagements created engrained prototypes, both in relation to pottery but also to the engagements through which it was acquired. One fabric (4) has a settlement wide distribution and may have been exchanged as a container, demonstrating how these groups came together through the emergence of a settlement wide market for provisions, the agency for the development of which was distributed through material engagements, a phenomenon which developed more strongly in phase 2.

In phase 2, the type of pottery used in *Hamwic* changed, thanks in part to engagements with imported types altering the mental prototype pottery of *Hamwic's* occupants. Zoning still occurs in the distribution of these wares, with engagements between suppliers, consumers and pottery mediating continuity. There does appear to be some blurring of these groups however, as the distribution of fabrics 10 and 12 are not as clearly defined as for the phase 1 fabrics. Certain Sandy Wares have a wider distribution and may be indicative of new potters breaking into the market. Wares from further afield are found across the settlement and are likely to have been containers, perhaps for commodities such as salt or honey. The emergence and longevity of *Hamwic* as a regional market was distributed through these engagements (chapter 10).

In phase 3 we see an increased localisation in the production and exchange of pottery, suggesting that the associations behind the blurring of the ceramic zones, which occurred in phase 2, had dissolved. Some Mixed-grit-tempered Wares may have continued to have been marketed widely through the settlement, but other wares have much more localised distributions. This can be related to the remodelling of the settlement and perhaps a fragmentation in the social relationships which constituted the settlement of *Hamwic* (Chapter 10). Certain wares may have been exchanged as gifts or as payments, whilst a small number of non-local wares may have been containers, as suggested for earlier types.

Hamwic's role as a trading centre was distributed through engagements with imported objects. Two broad classes of imported pottery can be identified. The first were brought to *Hamwic* principally for exchange, through which *Hamwic's* durability as a port was partly distributed. These are generally in the form of pitchers, bowls and mortars, as well as jars, which supplemented the local products. They are found across the settlement and were widely marketed. Other, less common, wares have more confined distributions. These were active in allowing people to translate domestic

practices into a new physical environment, or played a role in making the port a lasting entity by acting as gifts, perhaps exchanged in return for hospitality (chapter 10). Common themes emerge in their distribution, principally a focus on Clifford Street and SOU 33, which may be related to the church sponsoring or accommodating merchants or immigrants. It is clear is that not all imported wares were exchanged in the same way, and not all were solely related to the presence of immigrant consumers, although this may be the case for some products.

Several exchange networks were established in late Saxon Southampton. Certain locally produced wares, the Sandy and Organic-tempered Wares, were exchanged on a local scale. It is possible that the Flint-tempered Wares were also produced and exchanged in a similar, localised manner, as in *Hamwic* perhaps translating and making durable the connections made in *Hamwic*, in the new settlement. The wider market for pottery was sustained through the exchange of certain imports; Blackwares and Whitewares, which are widely distributed with continuity from *Hamwic* flowing through these exchanges. The market's durability was also distributed through the exchange of regional products, the Chalk-tempered and Michelmersh-type Wares, the distribution of which are focussed on the north of the settlement (a pattern previously observed by Brown (1994)). The emergence of Southampton as a regional centre was partly due to the exchange of these goods, produced specifically for the urban market and therefore the agency for its emergence can be seen as distributed through this exchange activity (chapter 10). It is possible that the local population sourced these vessels through the marketplace but were not required by immigrant members of the population, who brought their own vessels which fulfilled similar functions and allowed people to build enduring links with their homelands.

In the Anglo-Norman period a contrast can be drawn between the pottery used in the east and west of Southampton, which loosely correspond to the 'English' and 'French' quarters. Scratch Marked Ware may have been produced for the town market. Continuity was distributed through the continued localised, late Saxon exchange mechanisms, which appear to have persisted in the east of Southampton. Change is indexed through the emergence of Scratch Marked Ware in the west, although the distribution of these types in not clear cut. This type may have emerged in response to the needs of the Norman consumers (chapter 10). The exchange of these wares brought about continuity and change and demonstrate that the Norman conquest was not a universal force for change. Glazed wares also appear to have emerged along these lines, being particularly enthusiastically adopted in western Southampton, with English and French types both being used, the agency for this change change being distributed through engagements with a range of items of domestic material culture

(chapter 10). In contrast, the agency for continuity was distributed through the use of Normandy Gritty Ware, similar in character, and seemingly, exchanged in the same way, as late Saxon imported wares.

In the high medieval period most pottery was widely traded in the town's market, the durability of which was reliant on these exchange events in a littoral sense. Some wares were produced purely for consumption in Southampton, whilst it was a major market for regional products such as South Hampshire Redware and Local Whiteware. Southampton's role as a port was made sustained through the exchange of imported goods, principally wine, indexed through the wide distribution of Saintonge Whiteware, which would appear to have been marketed in the same way as regional products. Other wares, including Dorset and Laverstock-type wares, as well as certain wares from northern France, index wider engagements between the occupants of Southampton and its region, perhaps coming to Southampton through more private exchange mechanisms. Most imports have a very restricted distribution, suggesting that they were ships' equipment or the personal possessions of merchants, perhaps used to maintain their cosmopolitan lifestyle, rather than being wares which were widely traded in Southampton.

This analysis has demonstrated how a market for pottery developed in Southampton, from the localised networks in *Hamwic* to the urban market of the high medieval town and how the agency for its emergence and durability were distributed through continued engagements with pottery. We can trace the drop off of localised manufacture and redistribution from the Norman conquest onwards, as well as seeing the introduction of wares for the urban market, particularly in the late Saxon period. As a port Southampton has always attracted imports, but these were not all widely available. A clear contrast can be drawn between wares brought for re-sale, through which Southampton's role as a commercial port was partly distributed and which were widely exchanged, and less common types, with more defined distributions, which perhaps played a role in translating a cosmopolitan material setting into the homes of Southampton's immigrant population (chapter 10). These may have been the personal possessions of immigrants, travellers or merchants, or have been exchanged to members of the town's population as gifts.

6. Categorisation Through Use

The previous chapter demonstrated that in the marketplace the source of pottery loses some significance with new categories emerging, based on marketing and distribution. Once in the home vessels became recategorised again, through the ways that they were used. This recategorisation did not take place in isolation, for example, vessels fulfilling particular functions became prototypes in the market place. Analysis focussed on those vessels whose use relates to food consumption. Industrial vessels and those with non-food related functions (such as lamps) are treated as a separate class of artefacts for the purpose of this study and were not recorded. Wasters, which are a waste product of production and were never used, were also excluded from the study. Usewear analysis led to the identification of a myriad of categories based on the traces present. For the purpose of this analysis these have been simplified into four categories:

- *Cooking Pots:* Vessels which exhibit sooting or evidence of heating, such as spalling. These can be divided into two main types; those placed into the fire, which exhibit black carbonised sooting, and those suspended above, or placed next to the fire, which exhibit glossy black sooting (see Skibo 1992).
- *Processing Vessels:* Vessels which show no evidence of heat exposure, but have internal attrition. There is some overlap with storage vessels, as vessels used for storing certain substances may develop non-abbrasive attrition indicators.
- *Storage Vessels:* Vessels which exhibit no evidence of use, or only exhibit external attrition. These may, for example, have been cisterns or used for storing solid foodstuffs. Some may have had non-food related uses.
- *Serving Vessels:* As storage vessels, but the form is suggestive of a serving function (e.g. jugs).

These categories are fuzzy (chapter 2), many vessels likely fulfilled several functions. Some processing or serving activities may have involved heating, whilst some cooking activities need not have exposed pottery to direct heat. We shall also see that some categories are more clearly defined than others, with the class of serving vessels being particularly fuzzy. Therefore, although presented as differentiated groups, one must be aware of overlaps in function which demonstrate how these vessels worked together, along with vessels in other materials, in the enactment of household activities. The engagements which we can reconstruct can be viewed as technological choices (chapter 3) and are determined by both the material properties of the artefact and associated substances, as well as cultural associations. Engagements created fuzzy

functional categories (for example jugs used for serving and processing) and radial categories of user (for example of cook), blurring distinctions based on production traits.

Many body sherds did not exhibit usewear but may have belonged to vessels from which other sherds displayed evidence of use, exaggerating the quantity of storage/serving vessels. This effect appears consistent throughout the study period, so the quantities of these categories in each period should be seen as a relative index of use, rather than an absolute measure.[15]

6.1 Cooking Pots

In phase 1 of *Hamwic*, 30% of vessels were identified as cooking pots (Table 25). The quantities varied by site; there are considerably less in the south east of *Hamwic* and considerably more at SOU 24 (Figure 103). In *Hamwic* as a whole, two thirds of these exhibit black carbonised sooting and a third exhibit glossy black sooting (Table 26) although at some sites (SOU 14, SOU 24) these sooting types are present in equal quantities, but these quantities are very small. At SOU 11 there are no sherds with glossy black sooting but there is a low quantity of cooking vessels here. The high proportion of processing vessels at SOU 11 may indicate the use of pot boilers (see Hagen 2006, 287), or an emphasis on the processing, rather than cooking, of food.

SOU	4	11	14	24	169	Total
Cooking	32%	22%	27%	40%	18%	30%
Storage	41%	44%	38%	40%	41%	39%
Processing	28%	33%	35%	20%	41%	31%
MVC	76	27	60	20	17	250

Table 25: Function of Organic-tempered Ware vessels from sites in *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

SOU	4	11	14	24	169
Black Carbonised	64%	100%	56%	50%	67%
Glossy Black Sooting	36%		44%	50%	33%
MVC	22	6	16	8	3

Table 26: Sooting on Organic-tempered Ware vessels from *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

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[15] To minimise discrepancies between the author's recording and the data collected by Timby (1988) mid-Saxon Sherds were only recorded at the ware, rather than fabric level. No detailed analysis of the *Hamwic* material has been undertaken by form, as only very small quantities could be assigned to a specific form type and these were mostly jars (see appendix 3).

Figure 103: The function of Organic-tempered Ware vessels at sites in *Hamwic* (max. vessels).
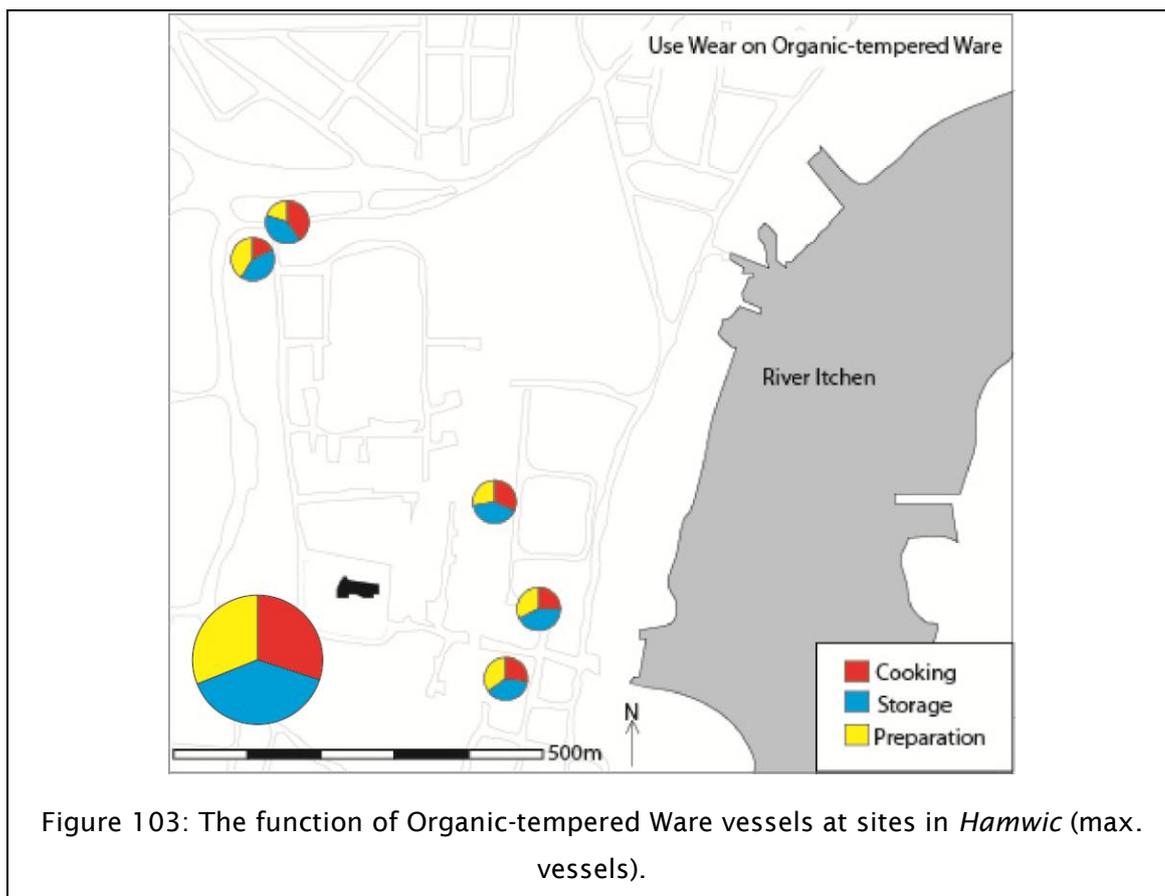
Twenty-eight percent of phase 2 vessels are cooking pots (Table 27), 30% of the Sandy Ware vessels fulfilled this function, as did 22% of the Chalk-tempered Wares. The proportion of cooking pots in site assemblages is relatively consistent across *Hamwic* (Figure 104). At sites in the south east, over 65% of the cooking vessels exhibit black carbonised sooting (Table 28). Identifiable bases were rare, but the occurrence of one with black carbonised sooting and exterior attrition supports the suggestion that these vessels were placed into a fire rather than being suspended above it.[16] At Six Dials glossy black sooting is more common. There may be some differences in cooking practices between these two areas of the settlement in phase 2. The differences in cooking technologies may have some relationship to the provisioning networks through which pottery was exchanged (chapter 5). The suspension of vessels, illustrated by glossy black sooting, would have required the use of other pieces of equipment, such as the metal pot hooks and chains found in *Hamwic* and elsewhere (chapter 4). The lower quantity of Chalk-tempered Ware cooking pots supports the suggestion that these were exchanged as containers (chapter 5). The sooting on these

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[16] Skibo (1992, 114) noted exterior attrition on the base of cooking vessels set onto or dragged along hard ground surfaces.

wares generally mirrors that on the Sandy Wares at any given site (Figure 105), suggesting that they were generally used in the same way as the Sandy Ware vessels. There are a slightly higher proportion with glossy black sooting and this could relate to the more porous nature of the fabric, which kept the vessel surface cooler.

Twenty sherds of Sandy Ware and three of Chalk-tempered Ware were submitted for residue analysis (appendix 5). This demonstrated that vessels were used to cook a range of foodstuffs, with fish, meat and vegetables being cooked in most vessels. Most sherds had evidence of the heating of ruminant fat and it would seem that the cooks had no problems with cooking meat and fish in the same vessels. One sherd displayed indicators of a flavouring agent, such as juniper, which may indicate that the cooks using the vessels were deliberately flavouring food and perhaps following a recipe. Such traces are rare and this must therefore remain only a suggestion.

	SOU	1	4	5	6	11	14	24	26	30	31	169	1019	Total
Sandy Ware	Cooking	28%	35%	35%	28%	24%	33%	28%	33%	30%	23%	29%	42%	**30%**
	Storage	46%	43%	42%	43%	46%	50%	47%	50%	36%	57%	36%	42%	**48%**
	Processing	25%	23%	23%	29%	30%	17%	25%	17%	34%	20%	34%	16%	**21%**
	MVC	71	142	105	86	125	743	157	569	70	458	151	55	2732
Chalk-tempered Ware	Cooking	22%	31%	22%	8%	19%	19%	22%	20%	16%	17%	39%	45%	**22%**
	Storage	65%	63%	56%	62%	54%	62%	42%	50%	63%	59%	36%	36%	**53%**
	Processing	14%	6%	22%	31%	26%	19%	36%	30%	21%	24%	26%	18%	**24%**
	MVC	51	16	113	13	125	201	114	101	19	191	129	22	1095
Phase 2 Total	Cooking	25%	34%	28%	25%	22%	30%	25%	31%	27%	21%	34%	43%	28%
	Storage	43%	39%	39%	38%	51%	46%	38%	33%	36%	55%	38%	34%	43%
	Processing	32%	27%	33%	36%	27%	24%	36%	36%	37%	24%	29%	23%	29%
	MVC	122	158	218	99	250	944	271	670	89	649	280	77	3827

Table 27: Function of Phase 2 vessels from *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

	SOU	1	4	5	6	11	14	24	26	30	31	169	1019	Total
Sandy Ware	Black Carbonised	67%	74%	69%	74%	83%	73%	38%	81%	52%	64%	49%	87%	71%
	Glossy Black	33%	26%	31%	26%	17%	27%	62%	19%	48%	36%	51%	13%	29%
	MVC	18	47	36	23	29	245	39	187	21	99	43	23	810
Chalk-tempered Ware	Black Carbonised	22%	60%	57%	100%	47%	76%	48%	44%	67%	57%	41%	60%	54%
	Glossy Black	78%	40%	43%	0%	53%	24%	52%	56%	33%	43%	59%	40%	46%
	MVC	9	5	23	1	19	38	25	18	3	28	37	10	216
Total Phase 2	Black Carbonised	52%	73%	64%	75%	69%	73%	42%	78%	54%	62%	45%	79%	67%
	Glossy Black	48%	27%	36%	25%	31%	27%	58%	22%	46%	38%	55%	21%	33%
	MVC	27	52	59	24	48	283	64	205	24	127	80	33	1026

Table 28: Sooting on Phase 2 vessels from *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

186
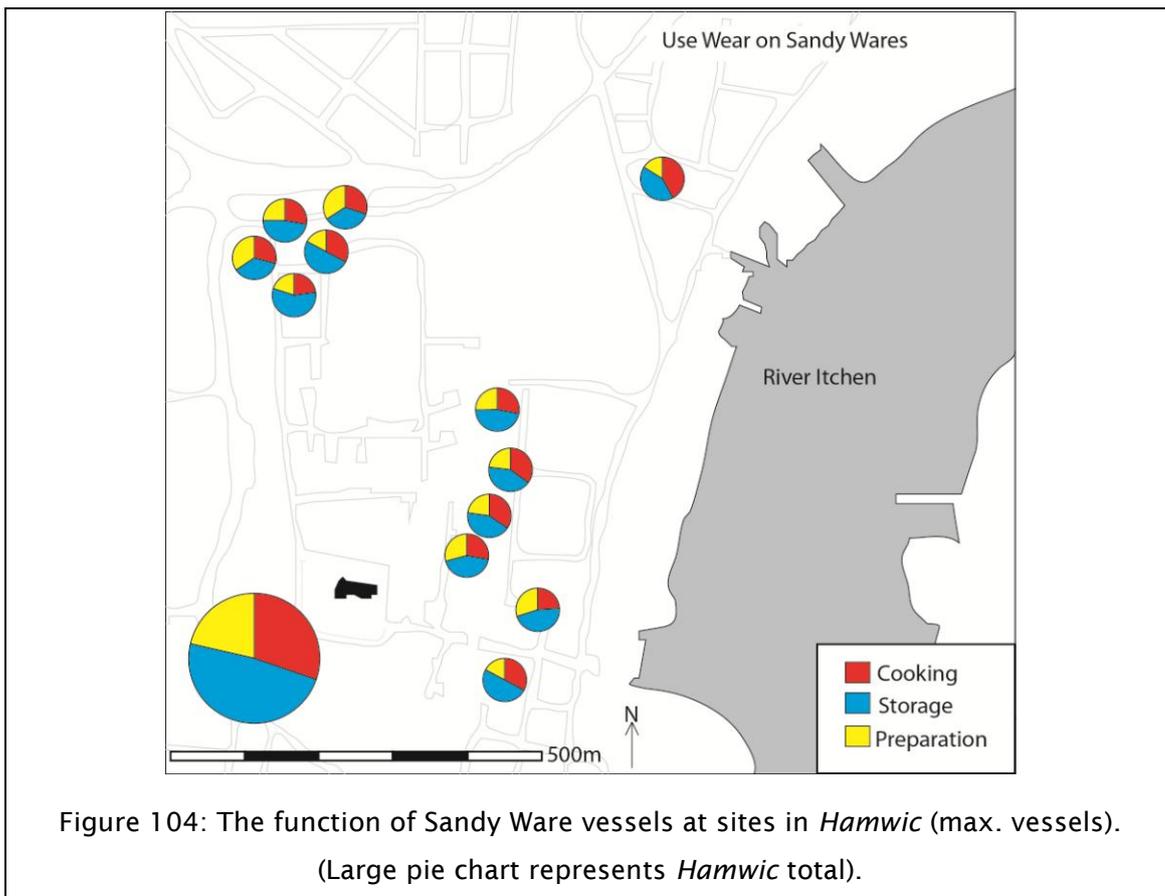
Figure 104: The function of Sandy Ware vessels at sites in *Hamwic* (max. vessels).
(Large pie chart represents *Hamwic* total).
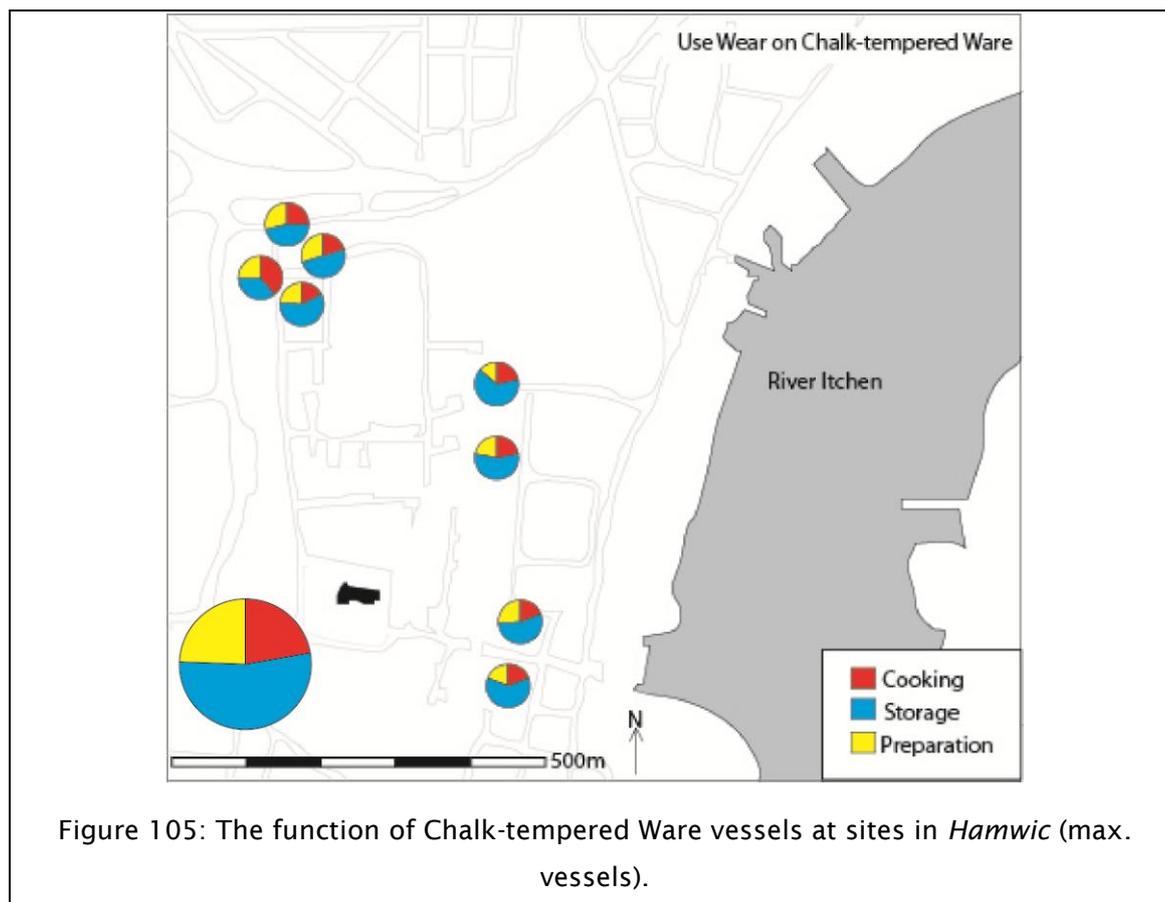
Figure 105: The function of Chalk-tempered Ware vessels at sites in *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

The Flint-tempered and Mixed-grit-tempered Wares will be considered together as low quantities of the former were present. In phase 3 there is considerable variability in the proportions of assemblages comprised of cooking vessels, varying from 15% at SOU 5 to 40% at SOU 24 (Table 29). As a whole a slightly higher proportion of Flint-tempered than Mixed-grit-tempered Wares were cooking vessels. There are only a small quantity of Shelly Wares, 20% were cooking vessels. The variability in the quantity of cooking pots may relate to differences in the way that households were provisioned in this phase (Figure 106). This may also be reflected in the increase in the size of cooking vessels throughout the occupation of *Hamwic* (Figure 107). Glossy black sooting is infrequent, accounting for less than a quarter of the sooting traces at most sites (Table 30). The only exception is SOU 169, one of the sites where glossy black sooting is common in phase 2. Although we see differences in the quantity of cooking vessels in phase 3, the way that they were used is consistent across *Hamwic* and one base is present with black carbonised sooting which also exhibits exterior attrition. There is a higher incidence of glossy black sooting on the Shelly Wares. If these were used by immigrants, this may be indicative of them carrying out different cooking practices (chapter 8). One vessel in fabric 56 (potentially belonging to phase 2) is in a typical French cooking pot form, with suspension holes built into the vessel. This form is rare

in Wessex and, perhaps, suggests that local potters started to produce vessels better suited to these continentally influenced cooking practices.

	SOU	1	4	5	6	11	14	24	26	30	31	169	1019	Total
Flint-tempered Ware	Cooking			29%	67%	33%	20%		25%		21%	39%	71%	29%
	Storage		100%	50%		56%	40%		44%	50%	53%	14%	14%	42%
	Processing			21%	33%	11%	40%	100%	31%	50%	25%	46%	14%	29%
	MVC		1	14	3	9	5	1	16	2	75	28	7	161
Mixed-grit-tempered Ware	Cooking	25%	38%	15%	33%	37%	18%	40%	21%	19%	16%	34%	53%	22%
	Storage	50%	50%	30%	50%	40%	56%	38%	36%	57%	65%	44%	30%	50%
	Processing	25%	13%	55%	17%	23%	25%	23%	43%	24%	19%	22%	17%	27%
	MVC	8	24	344	6	70	353	146	92	21	764	333	30	2191
Shelly Ware	Cooking			14%					38%		16%	29%		20%
	Storage	50%	100%	31%				100%	31%		62%	42%		44%
	Processing	50%		49%					23%		46%	38%		43%
	MVC	2	1	35				1	13		37	24	2	115
Total Phase 3	Cooking	25%	38%	15%	33%	37%	18%	40%	21%	19%	16%	34%	53%	22%
	Storage	50%	50%	30%	50%	40%	56%	38%	36%	57%	65%	44%	30%	50%
	Processing	25%	13%	55%	17%	23%	25%	23%	43%	24%	19%	22%	17%	28%
	MVC	8	24	344	6	70	353	146	92	21	764	333	30	2467

Table 29: Function of Phase 3 vessels from *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

	Flint-tempered Ware			Mixed-grit-tempered Ware			Shelly Ware			Total Phase 3		
SOU	Black Carbonised	Glossy Black	**MVC**	Black Carbonised	Glossy Black	**MVC**	Black Carbonised	Glossy Black	**MVC**	Black Carbonised	Glossy Black	**MVC**
1				100%		**1**				100%		**1**
4				67%	33%	**6**				67%	33%	**6**
5	100%		**4**	80%	20%	**49**		100%	**5**	74%	26%	**58**
6		100%	**1**		100%	**1**					100%	**2**
11	100%		**2**	78%	22%	**23**				80%	20%	**25**
14	100%		**1**	85%	15%	**62**				86%	14%	**63**
24				74%	26%	**54**				74%	26%	**54**
26	100%		**4**	61%	39%	**18**	50%	50%	**4**	65%	35%	**26**
30				100%	0%	**4**				100%		**4**
31	64%	36%	**11**	73%	27%	**109**	100%		**6**	74%	26%	**126**
169	78%	22%	**9**	52%	48%	**103**	29%	71%	**7**	53%	47%	**119**
1019	60%	40%	**5**	67%	33%	**15**				65%	35%	**20**
Total	**76%**	**24%**	**37**	**71%**	**29%**	**445**	**45%**	**55%**	**22**	**70%**	**30%**	**504**

Table 30: Sooting on Phase 3 vessels from *Hamwic* (max. vessels).
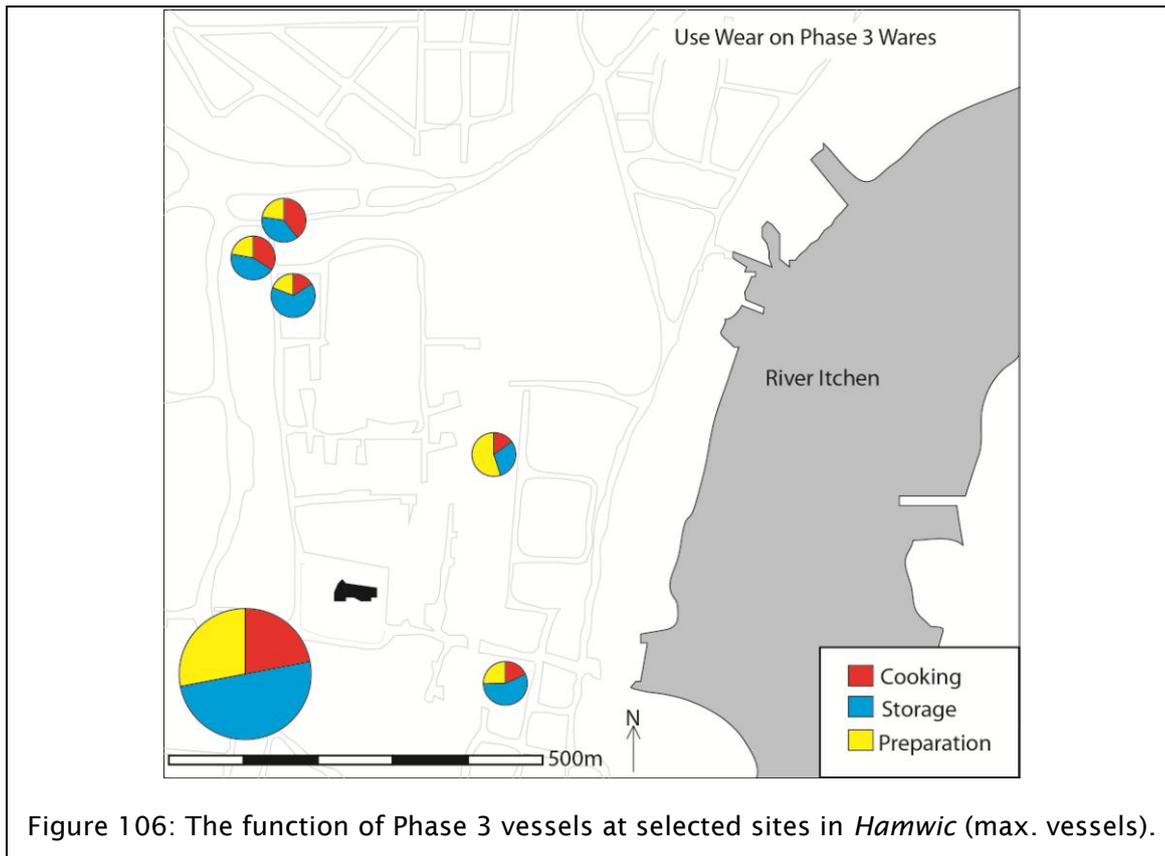
Figure 106: The function of Phase 3 vessels at selected sites in *Hamwic* (max. vessels).
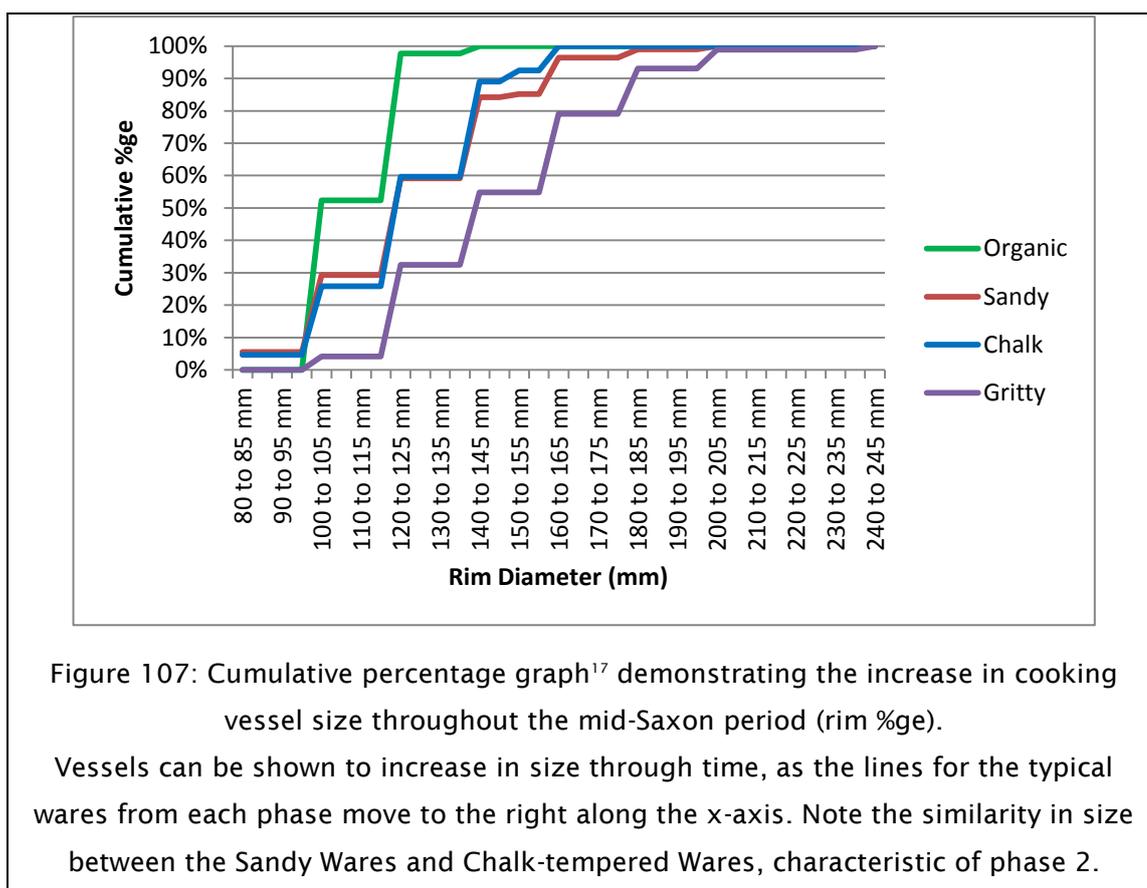
Figure 107: Cumulative percentage graph[17] demonstrating the increase in cooking vessel size throughout the mid-Saxon period (rim %ge).

Vessels can be shown to increase in size through time, as the lines for the typical wares from each phase move to the right along the x-axis. Note the similarity in size between the Sandy Wares and Chalk-tempered Wares, characteristic of phase 2.

Of the imported wares, only Greyware cooking vessels were found across *Hamwic*, with this function accounting for 15%-30% of the vessels at any given site (Table 31). Whiteware and Blackware cooking pots were rare in the sample. Other imported cooking pots are present at all of the sites, with this function being most common at Melbourne Street and Six Dials. Therefore, imported cooking pots would appear to have been used by all members of the settlement's population, or the immigrant community were widely dispersed through *Hamwic.* The widespread use of imported cooking vessels may be one set of engagements through which the agency for the shift in the prototype fabric, from Organic-tempered Wares to Sandy Wares, in *Hamwic* was distributed. The sooting patterns on the Greywares are similar to those on the local Sandy Wares, demonstrating that the two were used in the same way, possibly being interchangeable (Table 32). Glossy black sooting is most common at Six Dials, as for the Sandy Wares. The small quantity of Whiteware cooking pots examined exhibit similar sooting patterns, but there are a higher quantity of glossy black deposits on the Blackware cooking vessels, suggesting that these were used differently possibly because these vessels are more commonly pitchers than jars. A similar pattern can be

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[17] The distance the line stretches between 0% and 100% along the x-axis illustrates the range. The slope of the graph indicates the skew of the data, the flatter the slope, the more evenly spread the values are. The median average is read at 50%.

observed for the other imported wares. A more intensive study of a larger sample, coupled with analysis of other finds, is required to assess the likelyhood of glossy black sooting on these wares relating to the presence of immigrants.

	SOU	1	4	5	6	11	14	24	26	30	31	169	1019	TOTAL
Black-ware	Cooking		50%	29%		50%	7%					11%		9%
	Processing			57%	43%	50%	70%	100%	50%	83%	50%	67%	50%	57%
	Storage	100%	50%	14%	57%		23%		50%	17%	50%	22%	50%	34%
	MVC	1	4	7	23	8	30	5	10	6	14	9	4	121
Grey-ware	Cooking		29%	25%	20%	15%	19%	13%	18%		15%	29%	6%	18%
	Processing		57%	56%	50%	65%	36%	39%	56%		33%	52%	29%	45%
	Storage		14%	19%	30%	19%	45%	48%	26%	100%	53%	19%	65%	37%
	MVC		7	16	10	26	47	23	34	1	40	31	17	252
White-ware	Cooking						32%						50%	27%
	Processing					100%	36%							33%
	Storage						32%				100%	100%	50%	40%
	MVC					2	22				2	2	2	30
Other Import	Cooking	33%	60%	47%	18%	17%	21%	40%	44%	20%	23%	23%		29%
	Processing	33%		18%	18%	25%	29%	40%	32%	40%	35%	20%	17%	27%
	Storage	33%	40%	35%	64%	58%	50%	20%	24%	40%	42%	57%	83%	44%
	MVC	3	10	17	11	12	24	10	25	15	43	30	6	206

Table 31: Function of Imported Vessels from *Hamwic* (max. Vessels).

	SOU	1	4	5	6	11	14	24	26	30	31	169	1019	Total
Black-ware	Black Carbonised					75%	50%					100%		45%
	Glossy Black		100%	100%		25%	50%							55%
	MVC		2	2		4	2					1		11
Grey-ware	Black Carbonised		100%	67%		100%	75%	67%	75%		100%	86%		77%
	Glossy Black			33%			25%	33%	25%			14%		23%
	MVC		2	3	2	4	8	3	4		5	7	1	39
White-ware	Black Carbonised						67%						100%	71%
	Glossy Black						33%							29%
	MVC						6						1	7
Other Import	Black Carbonised	100%	50%	40%	50%	50%	80%	75%	78%	100%	86%	50%		69%
	Glossy Black		50%	60%	50%	50%	20%	25%	22%		14%	50%		31%
	MVC	1	4	5	2	2	5	4	9	2	7	4		45

Table 32: Sooting on Imported Vessels from *Hamwic* (max. Vessels).

Cooking pots generally account for between a third and a half of the late Saxon assemblages studied (Table 33; Figure 109) and Flint-tempered Ware cooking pots are typically smaller than vessels used for storage and processing (Figure 112).[18] Around a quarter of vessels with sooting have glossy black sooting, with the remainder having black carbonised deposits (Table 34; Figure 108). Noticeably this pattern is reversed at SOUs 124, 125 and 149 (Figure 110), forming a cluster near the waterfront. The Late Saxon Sandy Wares typically have a similar use profile to the Flint-tempered Wares. Non- locally produced cooking vessels are rare, although a consistent minority of Chalk-tempered Wares, often jars, exhibit black carbonised deposits, suggesting that some were cooking pots. Imported Whiteware cooking pots are present in most assemblages, being most common in the north of Southampton and are not limited to the waterfront. Other imported cooking vessels are rare.

When the area of the vessel which is sooted is considered, differences can be observed in cooking practices (Figure 111). On local wares glossy black sooting is most common on vessel mid-sections, indicating that this was the coolest part of the pot. Glossy black sooting is more evenly spread across Chalk-tempered Ware vessels, perhaps due to their porosity. The placing of locally produced vessels into the fire is further supported by the appearance of exterior attrition, in the form of pitting and scratching on 20% of sooted bases, whilst imports lack this attrition. Glossy black sooting is most common at the tops of imported vessels, indicating that this was the coolest part. Black carbonised deposits formed on the lower parts of vessels. These pots may have been suspended over a fire, causing the upper parts to remain cooler. The sample of imported cooking pots is too small to investigate this further.

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[18] All but one of the Flint-tempered Ware vessels analysed were jars, the exception being a bowl.

	SOU	25	111	124	125	129	106	1355	142	149	175	859	861	Total
Late Saxon Flint	Cooking Pot	37%	49%	33%	45%	0%	12%	35%	46%	37%	51%	58%	54%	51%
	Processing	11%	35%	19%	12%	100%	41%	17%	19%	35%	13%	8%	14%	13%
	Storage	52%	16%	48%	43%	0%	47%	48%	35%	28%	36%	34%	32%	35%
	MVC	**227**	**51**	**21**	**74**	**1**	**17**	**77**	**143**	**60**	**272**	**742**	**942**	**2627**
Late Saxon Sandy	Cooking Pot	25%	0%	33%	60%			25%	0%		21%	59%	57%	44%
	Processing	25%	0%	33%	0%			0%	50%		7%	9%	22%	15%
	Storage	50%	100%	33%	40%			75%	50%		71%	32%	22%	41%
	MVC	**4**	**1**	**6**	**5**			**4**	**2**		**14**	**22**	**23**	**81**
Late Saxon Chalk	Cooking Pot	0%		33%					40%		3%	26%	22%	21%
	Processing	17%									28%	28%	26%	25%
	Storage	83%		67%			100%	100%	60%		69%	46%	52%	54%
	MVC	**6**		**3**			**3**	**2**	**5**		**36**	**104**	**104**	**263**
Late Saxon Organic	Cooking Pot				100%									50%
	Storage												100%	50%
	MVC				**1**								**1**	**2**
Late Saxon Shell	Storage											100%		100%
	MVC											**1**	**1**	**2**
Michel-mersh	Cooking Pot										11%			3%
	Processing									100%	18%	44%	15%	25%
	Storage	100%			100%						82%	44%	85%	71%
	MVC	**2**			**1**					**1**	**22**	**27**	**34**	**87**
Port. Ware	Storage				100%								100%	100%
	MVC				**1**								**1**	**2**
Late Saxon Glazed	Processing											50%	0%	33%
	Storage											50%	0%	33%
	MVC											**2**	**1**	**3**
Late Saxon Blackware	Cooking Pot	50%										13%	25%	20%
	Processing	25%										57%	8%	38%
	Storage	25%			100%							30%	67%	43%
	MVC	**4**			**1**							**23**	**12**	**40**
Late Saxon Grey-ware	Cooking Pot	0%			100%							56%	9%	25%
	Processing	25%									100%		18%	14%
	Storage	75%							100%		0%	44%	73%	61%
	MVC	**4**			**1**				**2**		**1**	**9**	**11**	**28**
Late Saxon White-ware	Cooking Pot	21%	25%	100%				50%	26%	30%	14%	49%	19%	31%
	Processing	18%	13%					50%	15%	20%		2%	10%	11%
	Storage	61%	63%						59%	50%	86%	49%	71%	58%
	MVC	**28**	**8**	**1**				**2**	**27**	**10**	**7**	**45**	**31**	**159**
Late Saxon Red Painted	Processing	100%	100%		100%				25%				38%	26%
	Storage								75%		100%	100%	63%	74%
	MVC	**1**	**2**		**3**				**4**		**1**	**20**	**8**	**39**
Total		**276**	**62**	**31**	**86**	**2**	**20**	**85**	**183**	**71**	**354**	**994**	**1169**	**3333**

Table 33: Function of late Saxon vessels from Southampton (max. vessels).

	SOU	25	111	124	125	106	1355	142	149	175	859	861	Total
Flint-tempered	Black Carbonised	76%	88%	29%	33%	50%	63%	98%	64%	77%	81%	75%	77%
	Glossy Black	24%	12%	71%	67%	50%	37%	2%	36%	23%	19%	25%	23%
	Total	**85**	**25**	**7**	**33**	**2**	**27**	**66**	**22**	**139**	**432**	**511**	**1349**
Sandy	Black Carbonised			100%			100%			33%	62%	92%	66%
	Glossy Black	100%			100%					67%	38%	8%	34%
	Total	**1**		**1**	**3**		**1**			**3**	**13**	**13**	**35**
Chalk-tempered	Black Carbonised							50%	100%		88%	65%	75%
	Glossy Black			100%				50%			12%	35%	25%
	Total			**1**				**2**	**1**		**26**	**23**	**53**
Organic-tempered	Black Carbonised				100%								100%
	Total				**1**								**1**
Michel-mersh	Black Carbonised										33%		33%
	Glossy Black										67%		67%
	Total										**3**		**3**
Blackware	Black Carbonised	50%									100%	100%	88%
	Glossy Black	50%											13%
	Total	**2**									**3**	**3**	**8**
Greyware	Black Carbonised				100%						100%	100%	100%
	Total				**1**						**5**	**1**	**7**
Whiteware	Black Carbonised	100%		100%			100%	86%	50%	100%	77%	83%	79%
	Glossy Black		100%	0%				14%	50%		23%	17%	21%
	Total	**6**	**2**	**1**			**1**	**7**	**2**	**1**	**22**	**6**	**48**
Total		**94**	**27**	**10**	**38**	**2**	**29**	**75**	**24**	**144**	**504**	**557**	**1504**

Table 34: Sooting on Late Saxon vessels from Southampton (max. vessels).

Figure 108: Sooting on Late Saxon Flint-tempered Ware and Scratch Marked Ware vessels (max. vessels).

Figure 109: The function of vessels at late Saxon sites in Southampton (max. vessels). (Large pie chart represents Southampton total).

Figure 110: Sooting on Late Saxon Flint-tempered Ware at sites in Southampton (max. vessels). (Large pie chart represents Southampton total).
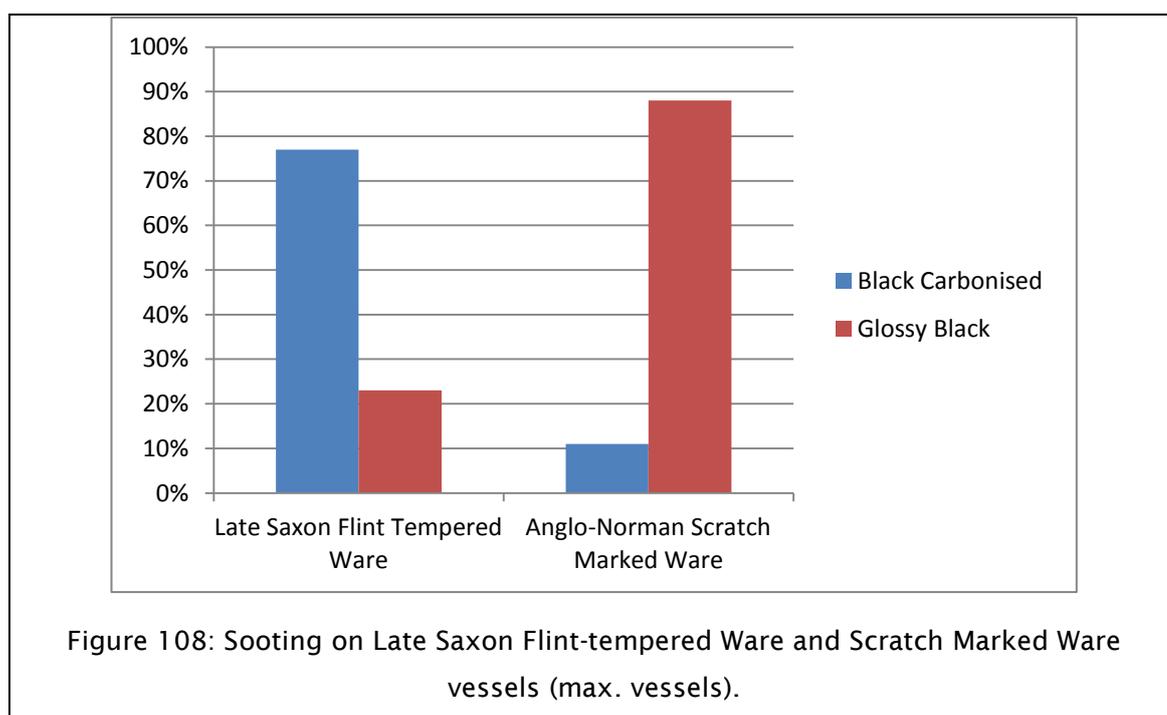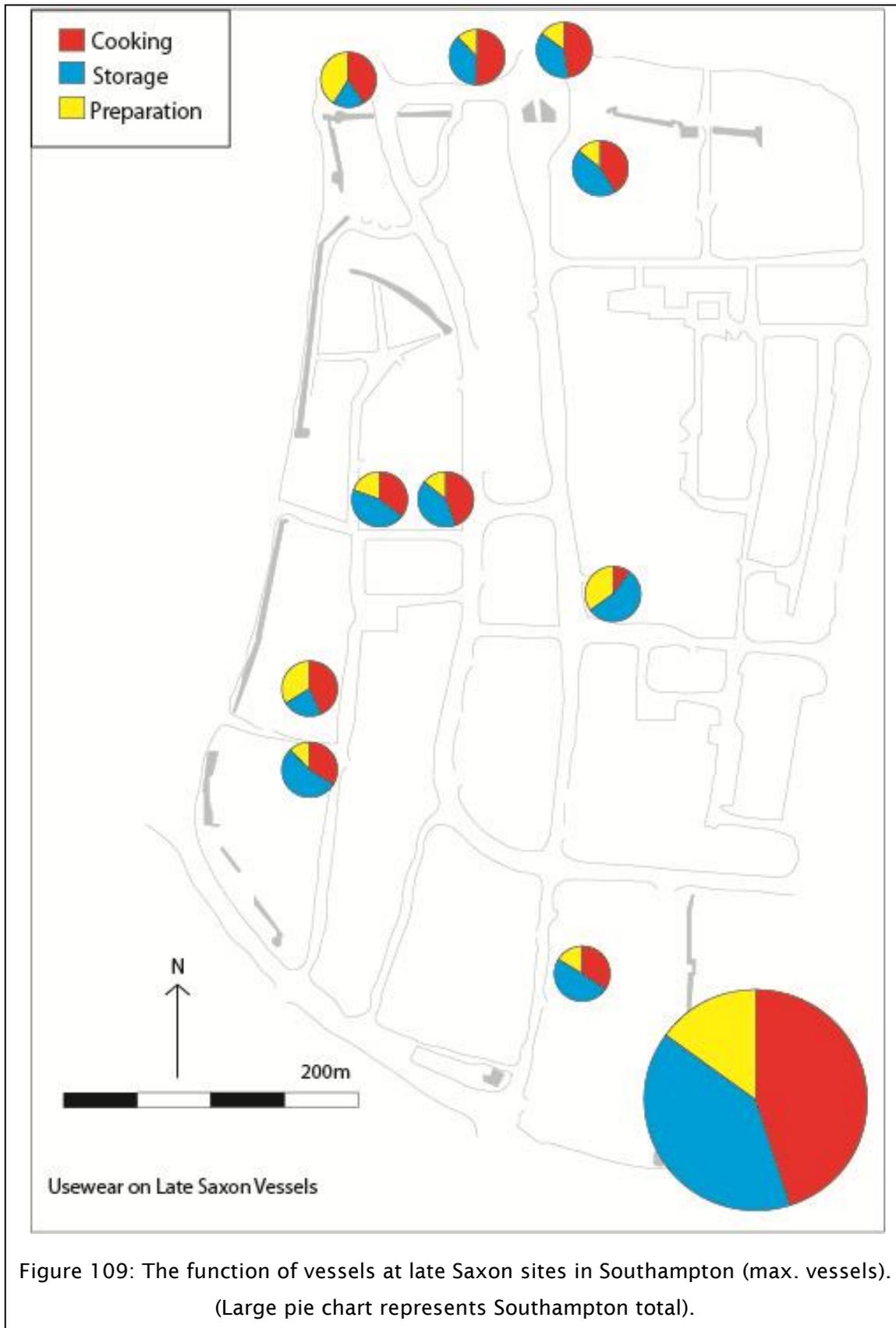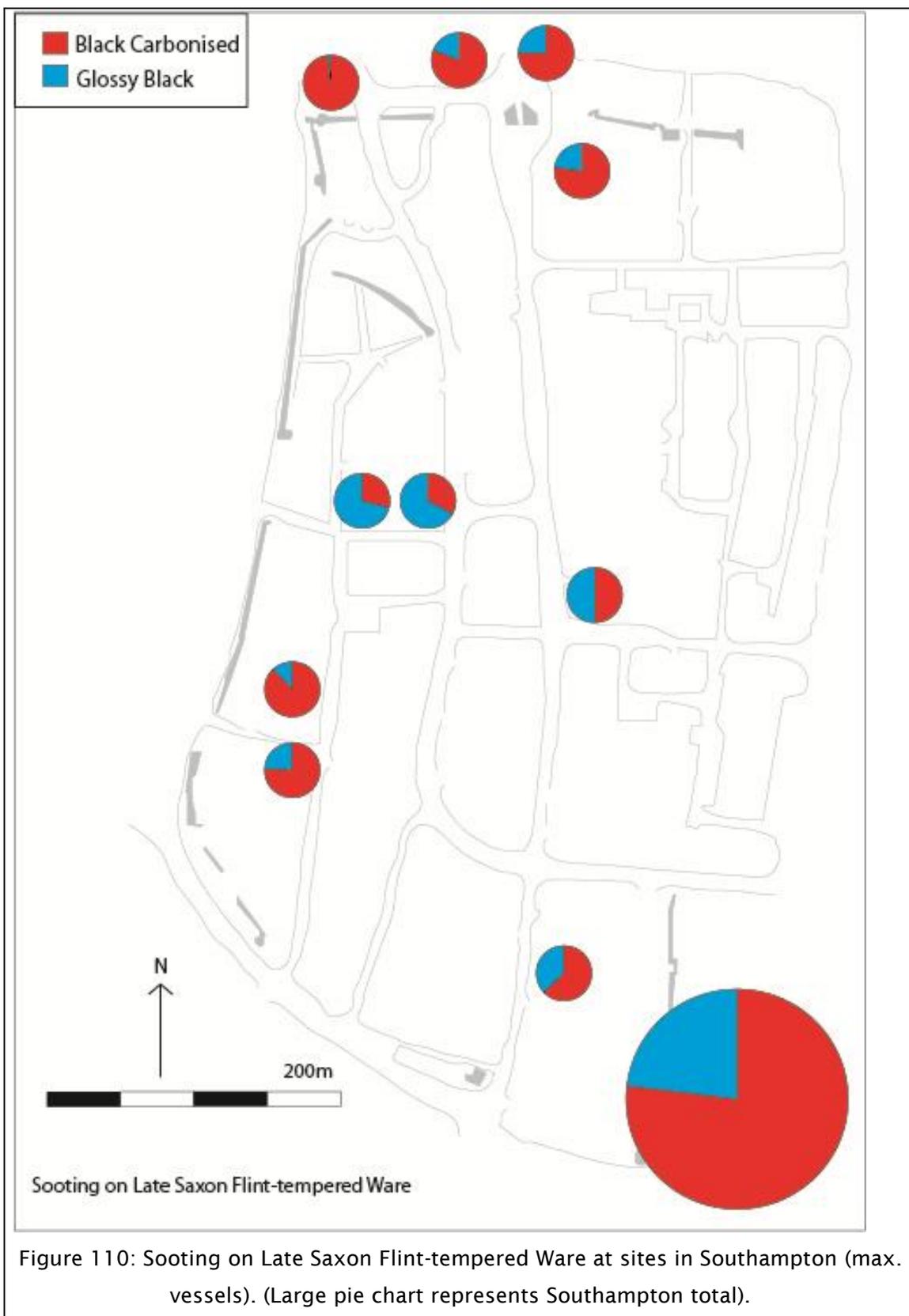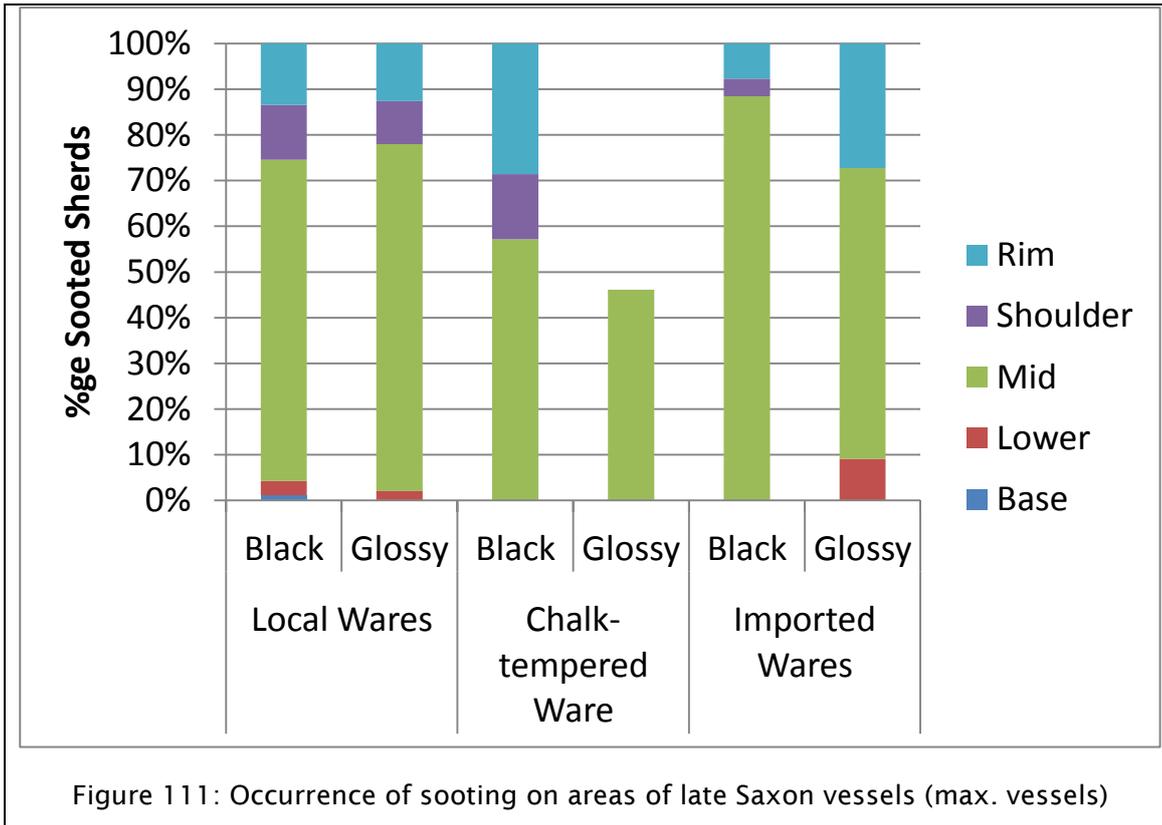
Figure 111: Occurrence of sooting on areas of late Saxon vessels (max. vessels)
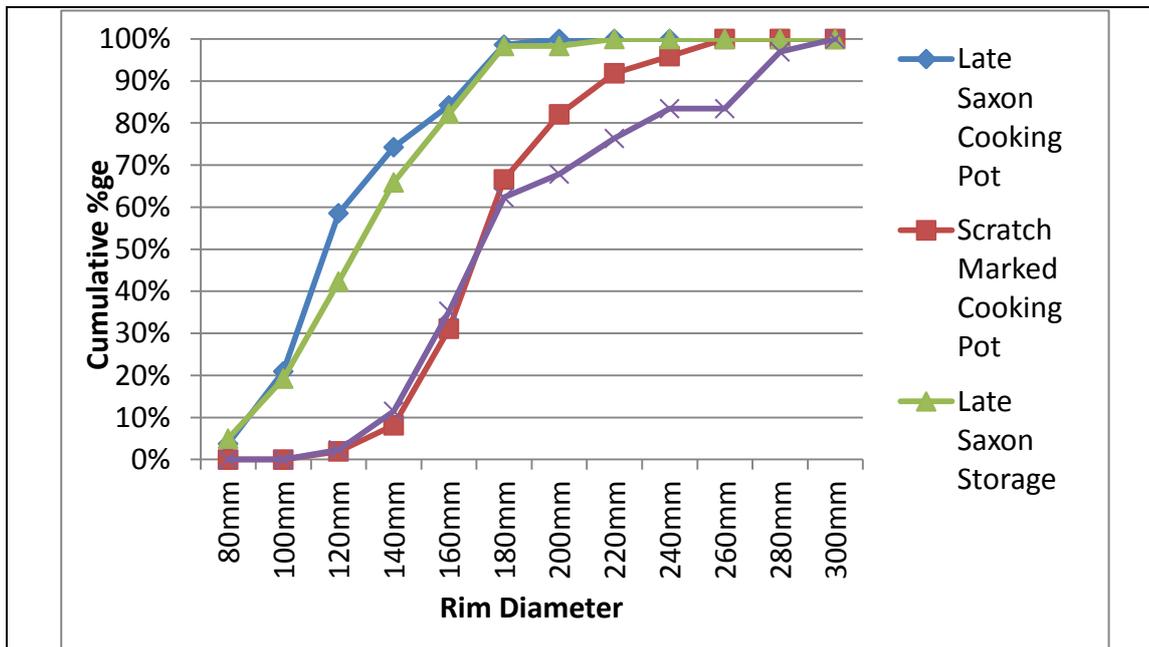
Figure 112: Comparison of rim diameter of Late Saxon and Anglo-Norman cooking and storage jars from Southampton (cumulative percentage; max. vessels).

Vessels can be shown to increase in size through time as the Scratch Marked Ware lines are to the right of the Late Saxon lines. Similarly, in both phases, cooking vessels can be shown to be smaller than storage vessels.

Most Anglo-Norman cooking vessels are Scratch Marked Ware jars (Table 35). A total of 38% of these vessels were used for cooking, although at several sites over half of the Scratch Marked Ware jars fulfilled this function. Small quantities of cooking vessels are present in other coarseware fabrics and it is possible that late Saxon-type vessels continued to be used for this function in some areas.[19] The majority of these jars exhibit glossy black sooting (Table 36; Figure 108), suggestive of the continuity of cooking practices in the west of the town from the late Saxon period (Figure 113). This is supported by the lack of abrasion around the base of Scratch Marked Ware cooking vessels. Vessel suspension may have been more widely adopted in the Anglo-Norman period. The vessels themselves change; cooking vessels are larger than their late Saxon equivalents (Figure 112) and a small number are present with eared handles or pierced holes, suggesting that they were designed to be suspended (see Figure 134). This sooting is also present on a small number of sherds of Normandy Gritty Ware and a North French Sandy Ware jar, supporting the suggestion that cooking techniques were subject to French influences. From the relative absence of these wares in the east of the town, we can infer that late Saxon cooking practices may have continued here, as it is unlikely that these areas were unoccupied in this period.

Varying proportions of high medieval jars were cooking vessels (Table 37). The highest quantities were recovered from the merchants' houses at Westgate Street (SOU 25) and West Hall (SOU 110), and from deposits associated with the castle (SOU 125) (Figure 114). These higher quantities of cooking vessels may be indicative of the larger kitchens at these sites. Few sherds of fabrics other than Southampton Coarseware were identified as being from cooking pots. Southampton Sandy Ware was rarely used for this function. Single examples of French cooking pots were recovered from SOU 25 and SOU 124, both sites in the western, merchants' quarter of the town. At all sites, glossy black sooting is most common (Table 38), suggesting that in all homes pottery was now suspended over a fire, or placed on a trivet, rather than in the embers. This is supported by the absence of exterior attrition from cooking pot bases, an indicator which occurs on six of ten unsooted Southampton Coarseware jar bases. Slower cooking techniques were adopted across Southampton. Other vessels used in cooking include pipkins and dripping pans, associated with the roasting of meat (Brown 2002, 137). These were principally recovered in the west of the town and may be indicative of people in this area having access to a wider range of foodstuffs, being able to consume it in more wasteful ways and employing specialist cooks. Small quantities of jugs exhibit evidence of sooting, suggesting that their contents was heated. It is unlikely

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[19] No assemblages from the east of the town were analysed, as none were large or secure enough for analysis.

that these were used as cooking vessels, with this perhaps being part of serving or processing activity.

	SOU	25	110	123	124	125	393	Total
Scratch Marked Ware	Cooking Pot	23%	12%	64%	56%	37%	52%	38%
	Processing	3%	4%			2%	14%	4%
	Storage/Serving	74%	85%	36%	44%	60%	34%	59%
	TOTAL	**39**	**52**	**14**	**54**	**166**	**44**	**369**
Other Coarseware	Cooking Pot			45%	50%	100%	25%	33%
	Processing			9%	50%			7%
	Storage/Serving	100%	100%	45%			75%	59%
	TOTAL	**2**	**3**	**11**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**27**
Early Medieval Glazed Ware	Storage/Serving					100%		100%
	TOTAL					**25**		**25**
Normandy Gritty Ware	Storage/Serving		100%					100%
	TOTAL		**2**					**2**
Other French	Cooking Pot							
	Storage/Serving			100%				100%
	TOTAL			**1**				**1**
Decorated Import	Storage/Serving	100%						100%
	TOTAL	**1**						**1**
TOTAL		**42**	**57**	**26**	**56**	**192**	**52**	**425**

Table 35: Function of Anglo-Norman jars from Southampton (max. vessels).

	SOU	25	110	123	124	125	393	Total
Scratch Marked Ware	Black Carbonised	23%	27%	13%	4%	5%	14%	11%
	Glossy Black	77%	70%	85%	96%	94%	86%	88%
	Glossy Black & Black Carbonised		2%	3%		1%		1%
	Total	**44**	**44**	**40**	**95**	**143**	**123**	**489**
Other Coarseware	Black Carbonised	40%	25%	18%			27%	14%
	Glossy Black	60%	75%	82%	100%	100%	73%	86%
	Total	**5**	**8**	**17**	**5**	**24**	**11**	**70**
Early Medieval Glazed Ware	Black Carbonised		25%			2%		3%
	Glossy Black	100%	75%	100%	100%	98%	100%	97%
	Total	**1**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**51**	**1**	**61**
Normandy Gritty Ware	Black Carbonised		22%			50%		25%
	Glossy Black		78%		100%	50%		75%
	Total		**9**		**5**	**6**		**20**
Other French	Black Carbonised		33%		3%			3%
	Glossy Black		67%		97%	100%	100%	97%
	Total		**3**		**37**	**23**	**1**	**64**
Paffrath	Glossy Black		100%		100%			2
	Total		**1**		**1**			**2**
Decorated Import	Glossy Black				100%		100%	3
	Total				**2**		**1**	**3**
TOTAL		**50**	**69**	**60**	**146**	**247**	**137**	**709**

Table 36: Sooting on Anglo-Norman vessels from Southampton (max. vessels).

	SOU	25	110	123	124	125	175	861	Total
Southampton Coarseware	Cooking	33%	60%	50%		50%	29%	14%	30%
	Processing	15%		50%	13%	25%	2%	43%	12%
	Storage/Serving	52%	40%	0%	88%	25%	69%	43%	58%
	TOTAL	**33**	**5**	**2**	**8**	**4**	**42**	**7**	**101**
Southampton Sandy Ware	Processing			100%		33%		98%	93%
	Storage/Serving	100%				66%		2%	7%
	TOTAL	**1**		**1**		**3**		**51**	**56**
Southampton Whiteware	Storage/Serving	100%							1
	TOTAL	**1**							**1**
Other Oxidised Sandy Ware	Processing	100%							100%
	TOTAL	**1**							**1**
Other Whiteware	Storage/Serving	100%							100%
	TOTAL	**8**							**8**
Other Coarseware	Cooking	100%							100%
	TOTAL	**1**							**1**
French Coarseware	Cooking	100%			100%				100%
	TOTAL	**1**			**1**				**2**
TOTAL		**46**	**5**	**3**	**9**	**7**	**42**	**58**	**169**

Table 37: Function of high medieval jars from Southampton (max. vessels).

Figure 113: Sooting on Scratch Marked Ware vessels at sites in Southampton (max. vessels). (Large pie chart represents Southampton total).
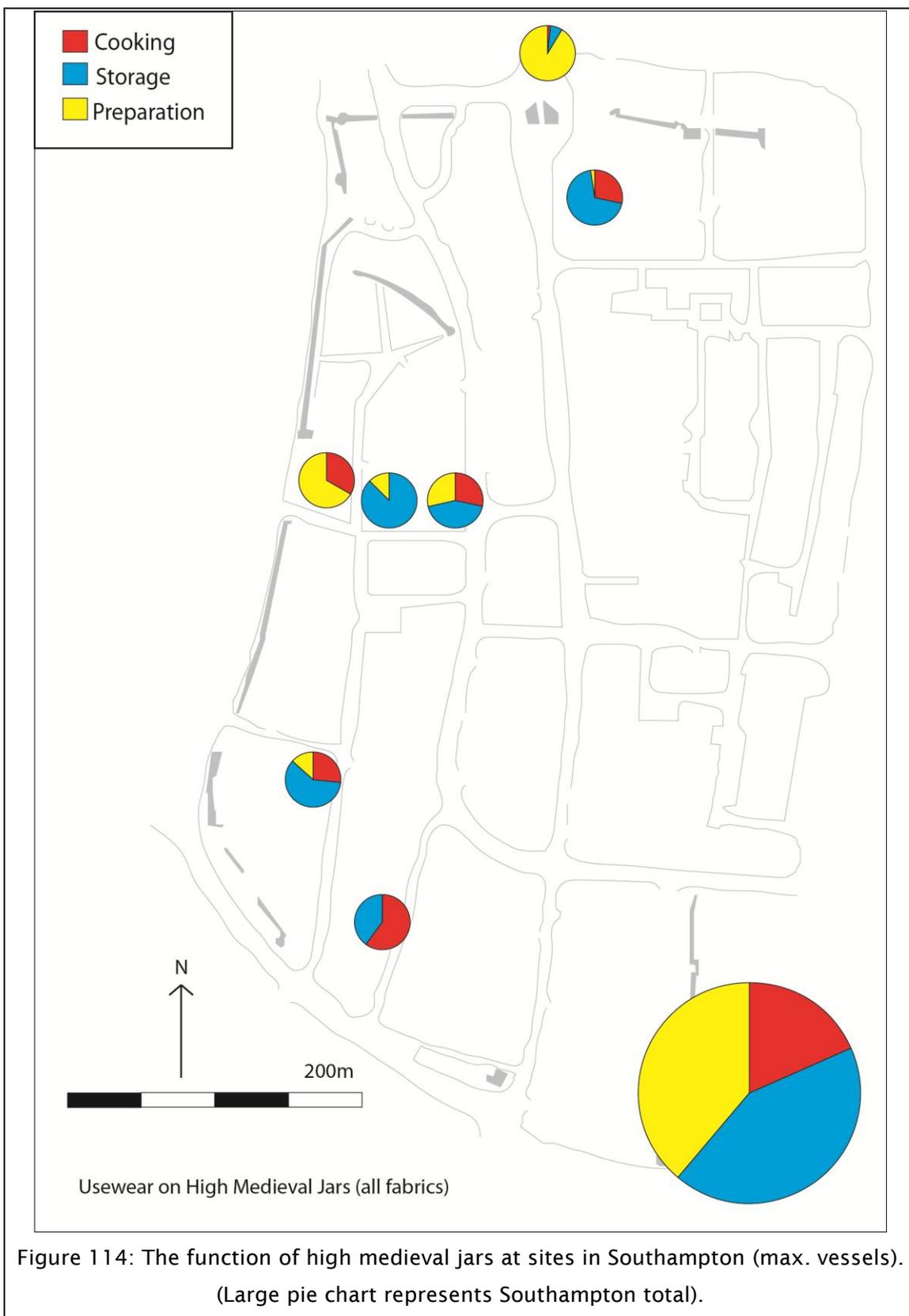
Figure 114: The function of high medieval jars at sites in Southampton (max. vessels). (Large pie chart represents Southampton total).

	SOU	25	110	123	124	125	175	861	Total
Southampton Coarseware	Black Carbonised	31%	50%		60%		27%	11%	27%
	Glossy Black	69%	50%	100%	40%	90%	73%	89%	72%
	Grey/Black					10%			1%
	Total	**26**	**6**	**1**	**5**	**10**	**73**	**9**	**130**
Southampton Sandy Ware	Black Carbonised								
	Glossy Black	100%			100%	100%		100%	100%
	Total	**2**			**2**	**1**		**1**	**6**
South Hampshire Redware	Black Carbonised	25%			13%				13%
	Glossy Black	50%			88%		100%		80%
	Grey/Black	25%							7%
	Total	**4**			**8**		**3**		**15**
Other Oxidised Sandy Ware	Glossy Black				100%		100%		100%
	Total				**1**		**1**		**2**
Other Whiteware	Black Carbonised			100%					1
	Glossy Black	100%							1
	Total	**1**		**1**					**2**
Saintonge Whiteware	Black Carbonised	33%							1
	Glossy Black	66%							2
	Total	**3**							**3**
French Decorated	Glossy Black	100%							2
	Total	**2**							**2**
Other Coarseware	Black Carbonised	100%							2
	Glossy Black							100%	1
	Total	**2**						**1**	**3**
Other French	Glossy Black	100%			100%				2
	Total	**1**			**1**				**2**
Total		**41**	**6**	**2**	**17**	**11**	**77**	**11**	**165**

Table 38: Sooting on high medieval vessels from Southampton. (max. Vessels)

6.2 Processing Vessels

There are varying quantities of processing vessels amongst the phase 1 assemblages (Table 25). They are most common at the peripheral, possibly semi-rural (Morton 1992, 41) sites (SOUs 11, 14 and 169) (Figure 103). At Melbourne Street and Six Dials processing vessels only accounted for around a quarter of assemblages. Chemical attrition, for example pitting, is rare on Organic-tempered Ware vessels, occurring on 10% of unsooted vessel mid-sections. Abrasion is more common, occurring on 20% of unsooted vessel mid-sections, suggesting that processing in this phase was focussed

more on the processing of sticky or gritty substances (perhaps a dough) rather than processes such as dairying or brewing (see Reid and Young 2000).

Between 15%-25% of the phase 2 Sandy Ware vessels were used for processing, although, as in phase 1, there are slightly higher quantities at SOUs 11 and 169 (Table 27; Figure 104). Slightly higher proportions of Chalk-tempered Wares were used for this function (generally 20%-30% of vessels) (Figure 105). If used as containers, this may be indicative of the removal, or processing, of the contents, or their reuse for this function. Non-abrasive usewear indicators are only marginally more common in phase 2, with pitting occurring on 13% of unsooted Sandy Ware mid-sections and 3% of unsooted Chalk-tempered Ware mid-sections, suggesting that dairy products and beer were processed outside of *Hamwic*, or were processed or stored in non-ceramic vessels. Abrasive usewear is more common, occurring on 18% of unsooted Chalk-tempered Ware mid-sections but only 13% of unsooted Sandy Ware mid-sections. The evidence suggests that in phase 2 all households processed at least some foodstuffs, but that this function may have been more common at the periphery of the settlement and that the emphasis was on the processing of sticky or gritty substances, rather than on dairying and brewing.

In phase 3, processing vessels account for 13%-55% of the vessels, with high quantities being present in assemblages from the centre, as well as the periphery of *Hamwic* (Table 29; Figure 106). This suggests that the population had to process higher quantities of foodstuffs themselves, which may relate to changes in provisioning observed in the faunal and ceramic evidence (chapters 4 and 5). Although processing vessels are more common, the processes undertaken appear similar to in earlier phases, with pitting occurring on 7% of unsooted phase 3 ware mid-sections and abrasion on 22%. This may also be reflected in the relative stabiltity in the size of processing vessels throughout the mid-Saxon period, in comparison with cooking and storage vessels (Figure 115).[20]

Between a half and a third of Greyware vessels were used for processing, some may have been containers (Table 31). Pitting occurs on over 20% of Greyware, Whiteware and Blackware unsooted mid-sections, suggesting that these were used to process or store substances which caused non-abbrasive attrition, perhaps wine. Similarly, high quantities of Blackwares and other imports exhibit interior abrasion, which occurs on

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[20] Although there is some evidence of a decrease in the size of processing vessels in this period, perhaps relating to processing being undertaken at a household level, although quantities are too small to propose this with certainty.

over 20% of imported unsooted mid-sections. The small sample size makes it impossible to determine whether there were functional differences between these wares. The presence of Blackware pitchers may suggest that at least some of this attrition was caused during serving, perhaps the stirring of liquids to remove sediment (Biddulph 2008, 94).
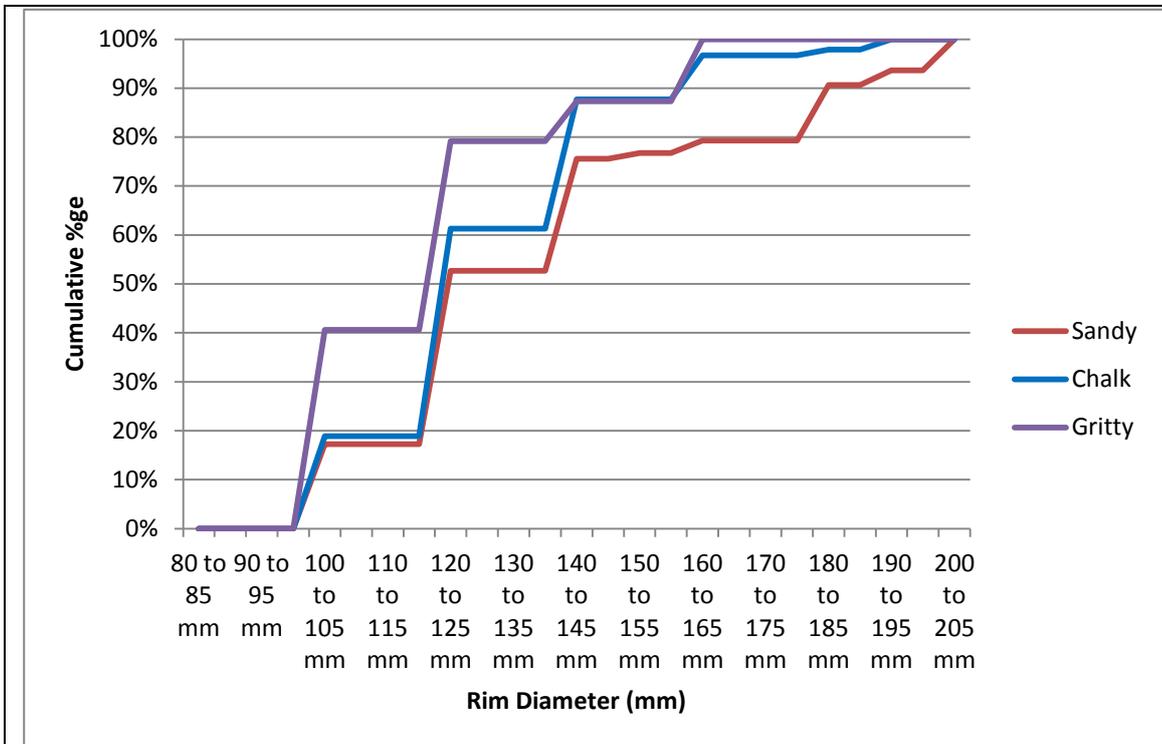
Figure 115: Chart illustrating the general consistency in processing vessel size through the mid-Saxon period (rim %ge). Organic-tempered Wares omitted due to low quantity.

Processing vessels are uncommon in the late Saxon town, typically accounting for no more than a third of vessels and often less than 20% (Table 33; Figure 109). This function was fulfilled by a small proportion of locally produced Flint-tempered Ware and Sandy Ware vessels at all of the sites considered. There are particularly high quantities at SOUs 106, 111 and 142/149. The reasons for this are unclear, but may suggest the presence of some specialist processing activity in these areas. Michelmersh-type Wares (present as jars and pitchers) have a distinctive usewear pattern; over half of the vessel mid-sections exhibit internal pitting, an indicator often associated with brewing (Arthur 2003). At some sites, particularly in the north of the town (SOUs 175, 859, 861), between a quarter and a third of Chalk-tempered Ware vessels have interior attrition, usually heavy abrasion, indicative of a processing function, perhaps the processing of a sticky or gritty substance and indicating a difference in function between Chalk-tempered and Michelmersh types (Figure 116).

Imported wares were rarely used for processing, only 11% of whiteware vessels[21] were used for this function and the Red Painted Wares with interior attrition were probably serving vessels, pitting perhaps indicating the presence of wine or beer. These are particularly common at the waterfront sites (SOUs 25 and 111). Very few Anglo-Norman vessels display evidence of being used in processing food. This may indicate that foodstuffs were more commonly brought to the town or marketed in a processed state, rather than being processed in individual homes.

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[21] Only jars were identified in the assemblage analysed.

Figure 116: The function of Chalk-tempered Ware vessels in Southampton (max. vessels).

(Large pie chart represents Southampton total).

Few high medieval jars had a processing function (Table 37). Those that did were generally Southampton Sandy Ware vessels and a difference in function between these and Southampton Coarseware cooking pots can be observed. Southampton Sandy Ware jugs exhibit little usewear, but may fit into this group (Table 39). They are generally undecorated and possibly had a short use life, breaking before attrition could develop.

It is likely that these were used in kitchen activities, perhaps for processing, as urinals or as transport vessels.[22] Processing clearly occurred across the medieval town, as is evidenced by the presence of other artefacts, such as stone mortars.

	SOU	25	110	123	124	125	175	861	Total
Southampton Coarseware	Cooking		100%						100%
	TOTAL		**1**						**1**
Southampton Sandy Ware	Processing				50%				10%
	Storage/Serving	100%			50%		100%	100%	90%
	TOTAL	**3**			**2**		**1**	**4**	**10**
South Hampshire Redware	Cooking						9%		4%
	Processing	14%			22%				8%
	Storage/Serving	86%	100%		88%		91%		88%
	TOTAL	**14**	**3**		**9**		**22**		**48**
Southampton Whiteware	Processing	17%					50%		20%
	Storage/Serving	83%	100%				50%	100%	80%
	TOTAL	**6**	**1**				**2**	**1**	**10**
Other Oxidised Sandy Ware	Processing		100%	100%			50%		43%
	Storage/Serving	100%			100%	100%	50%		57%
	TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**		**7**
Other Whiteware	Processing	17%							7%
	Storage/Serving	83%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	93%
	TOTAL	**6**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**14**
Saintonge Whiteware	Processing	25%			50%				16%
	Storage/Serving	75%	100%		100%	50%	100%	100%	84%
	TOTAL	**16**	**3**		**7**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**32**
French Decorated	Storage/Serving	100%	100%		100%		100%		100%
	TOTAL	**1**	**1**		**5**		**1**		**8**
Other French	Processing		29%						22%
	Storage/Serving	100%	71%						78%
	TOTAL	**2**	**7**						**9**
TOTAL		**49**	**19**	**3**	**25**	**4**	**32**	**7**	**139**

Table 39: Function of jugs at high medieval sites in Southampton (max. vessels).

Attrition and sooting occur on a small number of South Hampshire Redware jugs, demonstrating that the contents were sometimes stirred or heated. Exterior attrition attests to regular handling. These vessels functioned as an 'everyday' household jug. The presence of decoration suggests a longer predicted use life than for the Southampton Sandy Ware jugs. Other oxidised sandy ware jugs commonly exhibit

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[22] This is indicated in part through the pattern of distribution at SOU 175, where they are associated with deposits rich in kitchen waste (see Jervis forthcoming; Chapter 7).

interior attrition. Saintonge Whiteware jugs exhibit a range of attrition indicators and seem to have been used in the same 'everyday' way as locally produced wares. This attrition is generally in the form of mechanical abrasion, suggestive of stirring, rather than being chemical attrition caused by vessel contents. It is noticeable however that a third of Saintonge Whiteware mid-sections exhibit internal pitting, possibly the result of continued use as wine jugs in some areas of Southampton (principally SOU 25). Interior attrition is less common on locally produced whiteware vessels, suggesting a possible difference in function, although the quantities are small. Some of the imported jugs found in the merchants' quarter also exhibit a range of attrition indicators, perhaps indicating these had a similar functional role to locally produced jugs, maybe coming to Southampton as part of a ships' equipment, rather than as traded serving vessels.

6.3 Storage Vessels

Storage vessels consistently account for around 40% of the vessels present in phase 1 assemblages, demonstrating that most households likely had some surplus to store (Table 25; Figure 103). Half of the phase 2 vessels fulfilled this function, including some particularly large Sandy Ware jars (e.g. Timby 1988 no. 78). A total of 48% of Sandy Ware pots and 53% of Chalk-tempered Ware vessels were storage vessels (Table 27). This further demonstrates that Chalk-tempered Wares may have acted as containers, as does the presence of exterior attrition, suggestive of vessels being moved around. Twenty-two of 99 unsooted rims are chipped, suggesting that lids were used on these vessels.[23] One sherd of Chalk-tempered Ware contained beeswax residue, indicating it likely functioned as a container (appendix 5). No site has a particularly high number of storage vessels in phase 2 (Table 27; Figure 104; Figure 105). Chipped rims also occur on a number of Sandy Ware vessels which do not exhibit sooting, perhaps indicating the use of lids on these vessels (see chapter 4).

Half of the phase 3 vessels fit into this group, but the proportions of individual site assemblages varies from 30%-65% (Table 29; Figure 106). It would appear that some households were storing large surpluses in this phase and this is also reflected in an increase in vessel size in this phase (Figure 117). Lids may have been used on some of these vessels, with chipped rims occurring on a third of unsooted Mixed-grit-tempered Ware rims. Generally between 25%-40% of imports exhibit no attrition or only have exterior attrition (Table 31). At least some appear to have been used for storage. It

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[23] No ceramic lids were present in the assemblage, it is likely lids would have been made from wood, or perhaps large pot sherds could have been re-used for this function.

should also be considered that given the form of some of these vessels (particularly pitchers), some may have been used in serving. Pottery was not the only medium used for storage in this period, barrels have been excavated from *Hamwic* (Morton 1992, 43) and it is likely that foodstuffs were stored in sacks too.
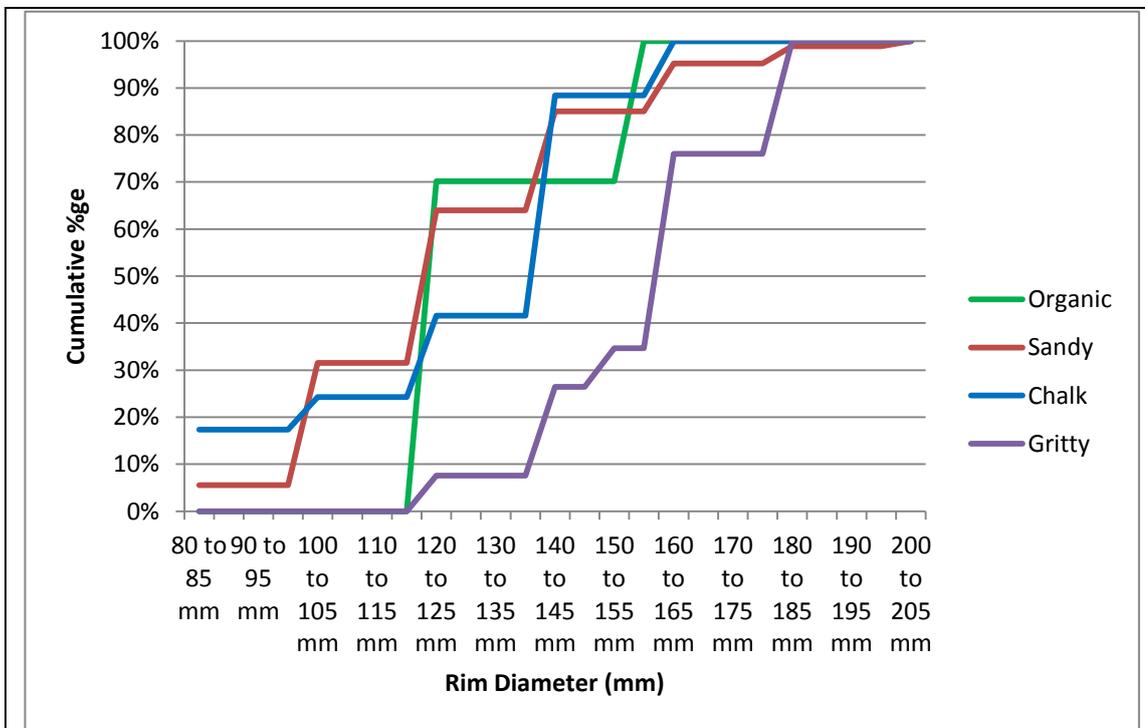
Figure 117: Chart illustrating the increase in storage vessel size through the mid-Saxon period (rim %ge).

Vessels can be shown to increase in size through time as the lines for the typical wares from each phase move to the right along the x-axis. Note that the median size (read at 50%) is similar for Organic-tempered Wares and Sandy Wares, but is considerably larger for Chalk-tempered Wares and Gritty Wares.

Across the late Saxon town around half of vessels may have been used for storage (Table 33). Flint-tempered Ware storage jars are particularly common in western Southampton (SOUs 111, 124, 142, 149) (Figure 118). These sites are close to the quay and may have been used to store surpluses for export or use on ships. These storage vessels are generally larger than the cooking pots in the same fabric (Figure 112). Imported Whiteware jars were commonly used for storage across Southampton and may have been imported as containers. A similar explanation can be made for the large proportions of Chalk-tempered Wares which fit into this group, perhaps continuing a pattern of supply from the mid-Saxon period.

Figure 118: The function of Flint-tempered Ware vessels at late Saxon sites in Southampton (max. vessels).
(Large pie chart represents Southampton total).
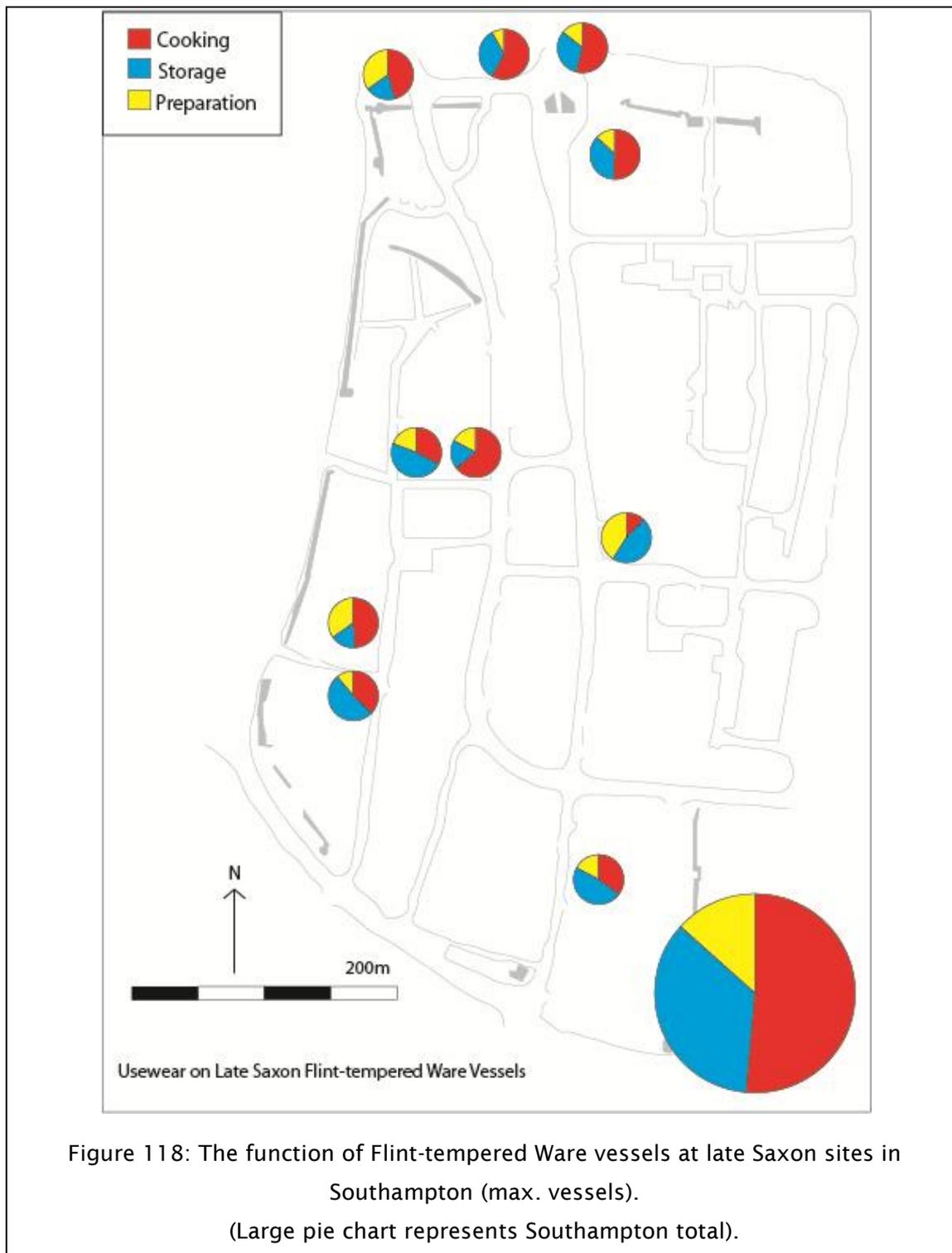
Around half of the Anglo-Norman Scratch Marked Ware jars were identified as storage vessels (Table 35). These are larger than the locally produced late Saxon equivalents (Figure 112). This may relate to households being provisioned in part from rural holdings, meaning that there was a need to store larger surpluses, or to larger households being present in this period (chapter 10). The other Anglo-Norman

coarsewares also had a role in storage. The Dorset wares in particular appear to have fulfilled this function, perhaps indicating that these were exchanged as containers. This trend continues into the high medieval period, where relatively high proportions of Southampton Coarseware and Southampton Sandy Ware jars at all sites exhibit no evidence of use (Table 37; Figure 114).

6.4 Serving Vessels

In all periods food was probably eaten from wooden vessels, using utensils made from wood, bone and metal (chapter 4). The serving role of pottery principally relates to the serving of liquids, either as decanting or drinking vessels. Serving vessels were clearly present in the *Hamwic* assemblage, principally as imported wares. These were only present in small quantities in the groups analysed for this project (Table 31). The vessels are primarily pitchers which may have used to decant liquids into glass drinking vessels (chapter 4). In the late Saxon town there is a higher quantity of possible serving vessels (Table 33). The imported vessels generally only have pitting or impact marks, indicative of stirring and a possible use in serving, perhaps of wine. Vessels fulfilled this function across the settlement, but these vessel and ware types (particularly Red Painted Ware) are more common in the west of Southampton (chapter 5).

A small number of locally produced tripod pitchers exhibit internal or external pitting, indicative of a role in serving or processing, perhaps the mixing of wine or serving of beer (Table 40). The bases of some tripod pitchers were sooted, indicating that the contents was heated (in a process such as mulling). It is unlikely that these acted as cooking vessels in the normal sense, but the tripod base did allow vessels to be placed onto a heat source. The French glazed wares exhibit a limited amount of attrition indicators, which suggests that these were most probably used in serving.

Serving jugs are present in the high medieval assemblage (Table 39; Figure 119). Small quantities of South Hampshire Redware jugs exhibit no attrition and may have fulfilled this function, especially in the north and east of the town. In the west there are higher quantities of local whitewares and imported vessels (including highly decorated wares), which exhibit no evidence of use and were probably serving vessels, perhaps to decant wine into glass drinking vessels. In this area a specific class of serving vessel emerged, whereas in the north and east this function was one part of a wider 'everyday' function of jugs, blurring the distinction between processing and serving.

	SOU	25	110	123	124	125	393	Total
Other Coarseware	Cooking Pot			0%	0%		100%	9%
	Processing			11%	0%		0%	9%
	Storage/Serving			89%	100%		0%	82%
	TOTAL			**19**	**1**		**2**	**22**
Early Medieval Glazed Ware	Cooking Pot			18%		100%		55%
	Storage/Serving			82%		0%		45%
	TOTAL			**11**		**9**		**20**
Normandy Gritty Ware	Cooking Pot		100%				0%	33%
	Storage/Serving		0%				100%	67%
	TOTAL		**1**				**2**	**3**
Other French	Cooking Pot		100%			32%	0%	22%
	Processing		0%			2%	5%	3%
	Storage/Serving		0%			66%	95%	75%
	TOTAL		**1**			**41**	**21**	**63**
Decorated Import	Storage/Serving	100%		100%				100%
	TOTAL	**1**		**2**				**3**
TOTAL		**1**	**2**	**32**	**1**	**50**	**25**	**111**

Table 40: Function of jugs/pitchers at Anglo-Norman sites in Southampton (max. vessels).

Figure 119 : The function of jugs at high medieval sites in Southampton (max. vessels). (Large pie chart represents Southampton total).

6.5 Summary

The fragmentation of the population observed through the distribution of the two main Organic-tempered Wares fabrics in Phase 1 of *Hamwic* can also be observed in the variation in culinary practices, as households were remade through domestic engagements, in turn making durable the associations and learning mechanisms through which cooking techniques were transferred. The provisioning of *Hamwic* was distributed through engagements with storage and processing vessels. Some households appear to have specialised in the processing of foodstuffs, whilst storage vessels are present at all sites. Continuity can be seen to flow through ceramic use in phase 2. Cooking technologies continue to differ between sites and all households undertook some food processing, although there continue to be an exceptionally high proportion of processing vessels at SOU 169. Chalk-tempered Wares entered *Hamwic* as containers, sometimes being reused principally as storage and processing vessels, with a small quantity being used for cooking. It is likely that these empty containers fulfilled roles in the home as and when required, meaning that they have no consistent pattern of use. The fragmentation observed in distribution in phase 3 is also apparent through engagements in use. Cooking practices appear consistent across *Hamwic*, but the varying proportions of storage and processing vessels present may index wider changes in provisioning, observed in the environmental and faunal remains (chapter 4). The imported wares are difficult to interpret, due to the small quantities present. Engagements with imported cooking pots, principally Greywares and Whitewares may have been one reason for the adoption of Sandy Wares in *Hamwic*, and the distinction between these types in use is fuzzy. The high proportion which have interior attrition may indicate a function as processing vessels, or as containers. Some were clearly used as serving vessels, a role not obviously catered for amongst the local wares; engagements through which personal relationships could be negotiated and associations with Europe could be remade (chapter 10).

Differing engagements with cooking vessels in the late Saxon period would appear to have been active in the construction of different 'social realities'; as those in the waterfront area enacted continentally influenced cooking technologies, whilst continuity from *Hamwic* was distributed through cooking practices in the majority of homes. The emergence (or continuity) of a group of processing specialists was distributed through engagements with Michelmersh-type Ware processing vessels, which occur principally in the north and west of Southampton. Southampton's role as a port was distributed through the use of imported vessels, but also perhaps through the high quantity of storage (possibly used in supplying ships, the storage of surpluses) and serving vessels (perhaps used in the negotiation of trading relationships) around

the waterfront. The port's durability was also distributed through imported cooking pots, used across the town, some of which may have reached Southampton as containers. The same may be true of some of the Chalk-tempered Wares. There appears to be an increasingly fuzzy boundary between local and non-local wares from a functional perspective. Serving vessels were not produced locally but there appears to be no distinction between imported and English types (e.g. Winchester-ware), although the latter are rare.

Due to the limitations of assemblages in the east of the town we can only gain a partial picture for the Anglo-Norman period. It seems that cooking pots were commonly suspended over the fire around the waterfront, expanding upon a trend which developed through the late Saxon period and remaking links with northern France, where these cooking techniques were more common (chapter 8). The general lack of processing vessels may index the decline of processing specialists. These engagements were potentially being replaced by stronger links with rural areas, with foodstuffs being sold ready processed. These links are also indexed through the large quantities of storage vessels through which these changes in provisioning were partly distributed (chapter 10). Changes in domestic organisation were also distributed through new engagements with serving vessels, particularly in western Southampton (chapter 10). These types are rare in the east where it is possible that continuity was brought about through engagements in use, particularly the persistence of late Saxon culinary technologies.

By the high medieval period engagements through cooking appear to mediate a degree of social cohesion across Southampton, as all households used Southampton Coarseware vessels, generally for slow cooking. This cohesion is not marked in other functions however, with the proportions of processing and storage/serving vessels varying considerably. Processing vessels are rare, but where they do occur they are typically in Southampton Sandy Ware. Several categories of jug can be identified. The market's durability was in part distributed through Southampton Sandy Ware jugs used for transportation, as well as in the kitchen. Most jugs (including Saintonge Whitewares) fit into a class of 'everyday' vessels, seemingly used for a range of functions, engagements with which made durable different types of household organisation and brought about varying 'social realities' (chapters 9 and 10). This patchwork of realities of urban life was also formed through the engagements which led to the emergence of serving vessels in western Southampton. The source of vessels seems to bear little relationship to their function, but distinctive serving vessels were typically exchanged through more limited supply mechanisms, whilst those exchanged more widely appear to have had a range of uses and engagements with them built a

patchwork of associations within and between domestic contexts in Southampton (chapter 10).

This analysis has identified some general trends in pottery use. Cooking has consistently been a function of pottery but cooking technologies vary as wider associations, continuity and change came to be distributed through these engagements. These vessels were generally locally produced, although exchanged at different scales. Throughout the medieval period there has been a general decline in the quantity of processing vessels, suggesting that food was increasingly processed in the countryside and supplied to the town in a prepared state (chapter 8). Provisioning strategies were distributed through the storage vessels, common throughout Southampton's history and, although probably over-represented, these vessels often account for large proportions of assemblages. Serving vessels have also been present throughout Southampton's history. Initially these would appear to have been used by all households, with these engagements serving to build connections between the occupants of *Hamwic* and their continental trading partners. Through time a specific class of 'serving vessel' became used only by a portion of the town's population, and different engagements with these vessels, and with more multi-functional jugs and pitchers, were active in the construction of a patchwork of realities of urban life.

7. Categorising Pottery Through Deposition

The final stage of an object's biography considered in this study is deposition, when a vessel becomes recategorised as 'waste'. Following LaMotta and Schiffer (1999) we can define four broad categories of waste:

- *Primary waste*: *In situ* deposits, such as the cooking pots found around the hearth following a roof collapse at Dina Clerks (Devon) (Beresford 1979). These are uncommon in Southampton, only being present as components of surfaces, over which a vessel was broken, therefore, these will not be considered any further.
- *Secondary waste*: Waste deposited directly into a pit or other negative feature. This is a quick process of deposition and sherds in negative features are generally large and unabraded.
- *Tertiary waste*: Waste redeposited from a midden or negative feature, either into another feature or spread over a surface. Sherds are generally highly fragmented and often abraded.
- *Provisional waste*: Waste dumped onto a midden or into a pit which is available for reuse.

This approach is useful methodologically but we need to understand how and why these categories emerged. This process, whereby vessels and categories created in use fragment, with the pieces accumulating to form a new assemblage, or category, of waste, can be termed 'fragmentation and accumulation' (Chapman 2000). In this process the distinctions between pottery and other objects become blurred with use based distinctions no longer being relevant. In Latour's terms we would see this fragmentation and accumulation as the breaking up of the ties of a use network and the formation of new links through the depositional process (chapter 2). We are not only dealing with the physical fragmentation of artefacts but the breaking up of categories of both pottery and people.

There is a great deal of variability in the ways that secondary and tertiary deposits are materialised, however, the processes behind them are largely similar. We need to see deposition as a process of recategorising material as rubbish, or as a resource for reuse. Following Lakoff (1987) we can see depositional activity as creating 'radial categories' of waste (chapter 2), which have similar processes behind them, but which materialise as different types of deposit (Figure 120). Like the categories which emerge in pottery production and use we can conceptualise these categories as the result of

variation in the 'technologies of deposition', whereby choices made in deposition are seen as embedded in, and constitutive of, the social context in which deposition occurs.[24]

Figure 120: Diagram demonstrating how secondary and provisional waste are radial categories of rubbish, and how these themselves have radial categories.
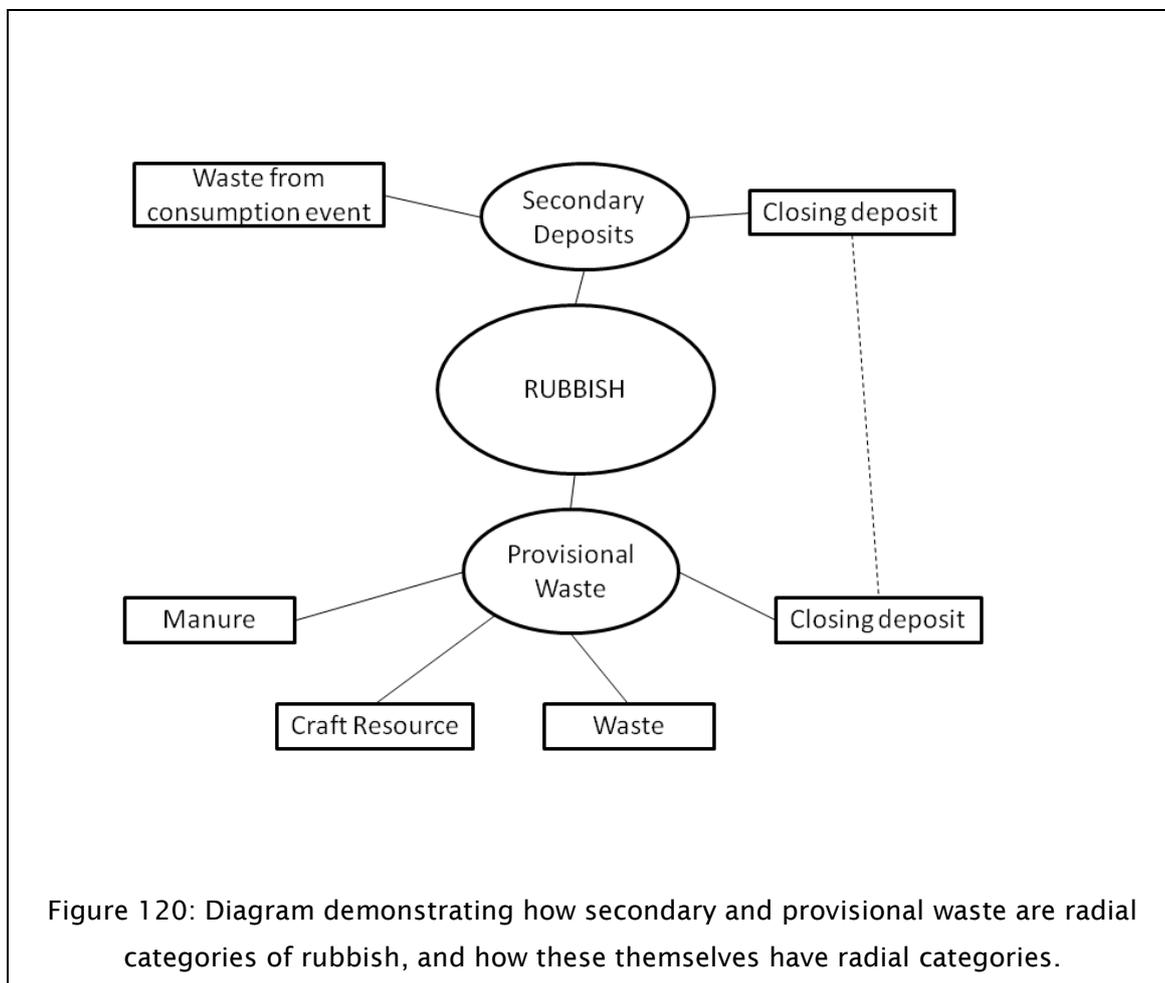
7.1 Secondary Deposits

Secondary deposits are uncommon in the phase 1 and 2 deposits in *Hamwic*. The earliest example is the grubenhäus at SOU 16 (Table 41). Here, several near complete but broken vessels were deposited during the closure of this structure, along with redeposited midden material. Such closing deposits containing near complete vessels have been termed, within the context of early Anglo-Saxon England, as ritualised 'special deposits' (Hamerow 2006). Tipper (2004) has demonstrated that these complete vessels are usually deposited with at least some midden material. Rather

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[24] This idea has also been used in mortuary archaeology, where the term 'technologies of remembrance' has been coined (see Jones 2003; Williams 2006).

than seeing this deposition as a ritual activity, Morris and Jervis (forthcoming) prefer to see it as part of a continuum of depositional practice, not completely functional, but

Area	Key Elements of Deposition
Melbourne Street (SOUs 1, 4, 5, 6 and 20)	Pits were typically filled quickly on abandonment, but were originally dug for different functions (e.g. boundary pits at SOU 4 and cess pits at SOU 20). The boundaries were kept clear of waste and filled very slowly prior to abandonment. A midden base was excavated at SOU 4. At SOU 6 several pits were filled at once, possibly relating to clearance after a fire, based on the presence of burnt material.
Chapel Road (SOU 14)	A line of boundary pits appear to have been slowly filled with domestic waste. Craft waste is focused in the yard area, with some mixing of this material at the fringes of these two zones. See discussion in main text.
Clifford Street (SOUs 15 and 32)	At both sites pits were filled with tertiary waste during the remodelling of the area in phase 3. New pits were dug through graves at SOU 32 suggesting that the layout was fluid and people had little concern for past activities on the site.
North of Chapel Road (SOUs 7, 8, 11 and 33)	Cross fits between pits at SOUs 7 and 11 suggest filling from a common surface deposit. Some pits have larger average sherd weights, suggesting that they may been filled with a mixture of secondary and tertiary waste. At SOU 33 several pits have primary deposits of near-complete vessels and may be related to feasting (see discussion in main text). In area C there are pit alignments which may have formed boundaries. Some may have been filled in single events, suggesting a remodelling of the plot.
Southern Periphery (SOU 16)	A midden appears to have built up beside a sunken featured building. This material was mixed with secondary waste in the filling of the abandoned structure (see discussion in main text).
Western Periphery (SOUs 36 and 99)	Cross fits at SOU 36 suggest the filling of pits from local middens. There is some zoning in the occurrence of particular types, suggesting middens may have been organised at a household level. At SOU 99 pits contained very fragmentary and, therefore, probably redeposited, material.
Six Dials	Many pits were filled from surface deposits, often with little waste in lower fills, with larger quantities (sometimes including secondary material) in the upper fills. Boundary and storage pits were kept clear of waste during their use but were closed quickly on abandonment, or during the remodeling of areas. Some pits demonstrate 'reverse stratigraphy' demonstrating that they were filled from a surface deposit. Sherds are also associated with floor layers, demonstrating that floors were not kept immaculately clean.

Table 41: Summary of depositional activity at sites in *Hamwic*. Information from Holdsworth 1980, Morton 1992 and Andrews 1997.

not completely ritualised either. The objects present do not appear to have been selected especially for deposition but, through the associations built with the feature and the disposer, they become recategorised as a closing deposit, perhaps becoming 'icons of memory'[25]. They were active in the citation of previous closing events (Chapter 8) as well as actively marking transition in the life of the settlement (at this point the growth of the population and increasing economic specialisation), a meaning which was distributed through all of the actors involved in the process. The redeposited midden material was also active, perhaps having a more obvious role in marking change, as the positive feature would become diminished through this depositional process.

Figure 121: Simplified chaîne opératoire detailing the choices made in deposition at SOU 16.
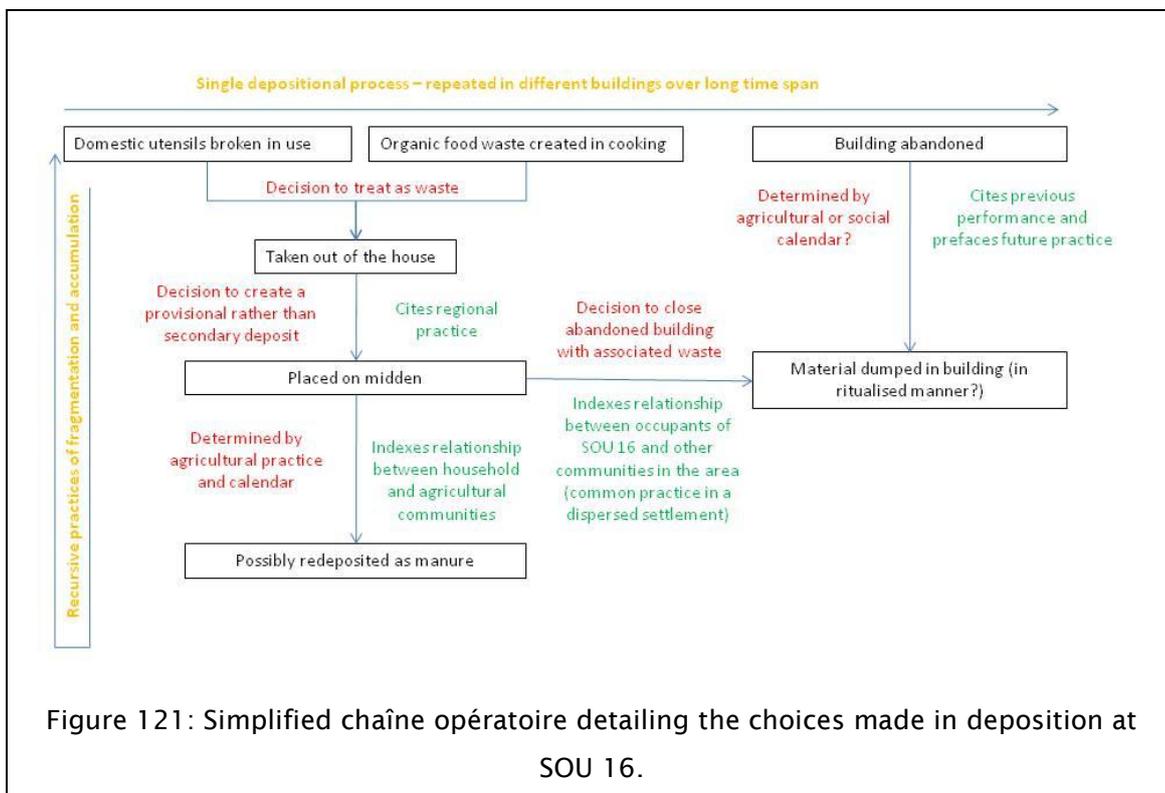
A secondary deposit in a cess pit at SOU 33 may relate to feasting, as the deposit contains a high quantity of imported serving vessels and animal bone. It is close to St. Mary's Church, so this may have been a religious event. Like the grubenhäus deposit, sherds were dumped directly into the pit, with some redeposited material. This material was dumped quickly, suggesting recategorisation as waste. This perhaps emphasises the temporary nature of the event which may have been enacted on a

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[25] That is, engagements with them cue memories of past, similar engagements and the associations connected with these engagements (see Jones 2007).

seasonal or yearly cycle, contrasting the bulk of deposits which are the materialisation of more durable ties remade on a day to day basis (see chapter 10).

Further secondary deposits at Clifford Street and Six Dials (Table 41) are generally combined with large quantities of tertiary material, so are considered below. By their nature secondary deposits close features. Although the process of deposition is similar the quick dumping of large sherds, the associations between the disposer, waste and the feature vary. These secondary deposits have a different set of technological choices behind them and gained very different meanings, which can be termed as radial categories of secondary waste. In the case of SOU 16 the act of deposition was important as part of a citational process, potentially bringing an element of continuity to a changing settlement landscape. At SOU 33 the deposit indexes a large scale consumption event through the rapid disposal of the waste it produced, causing these objects to be recategorised as rubbish. This quick recategorisation is different to the slower processes enacted through day to day disposal practices and was active in marking this event as part of a different temporal cycle of social reproduction, perhaps related to the religious calendar. Effectively the deposition at SOU 16 can be seen as geared towards memory building, whereas that at SOU 33 was more focussed on forgetting.

Secondary waste deposits are rare in late Saxon Southampton but are more common in the Post-Conquest period, particularly in the merchants' quarter (Table 42). This is a fuzzy category of waste as some tertiary material was often mixed with a secondary deposit, for the same function. At Westgate Street (SOU 25), for example, secondary dumps of Post-Conquest material are present in pits (Figure 123). Anglo-Norman pottery is typically present as secondary waste (small quantities of larger sherds, circled in red) whilst late Saxon matieral is more fragmented and probably redeposited (larger quantities of smaller sherds, circled in blue). Similar dumps have been identified at Winkle Street (SOU 162) and The Woollen Hall (SOU 393). The sherds are generally large and unabraded and were used to fill redundant features. It is likely that this only represents a small amount of the waste produced at these sites, with the rest being removed altogether (Figure 122). In this process of removal objects were immediately recategorised by the disposers as useless waste, possibly indexing the development of notions of disposability, as opposed to being perceived as having utility, for example as fertiliser. Again, we can observe subtleties in the way secondary waste was understood, with the emphasis in southern and western Southampton being on disposing of waste, whereas in the north and east it was on closing features (see below). These are radial categories of secondary waste as they leave similar archaeological traces, but function in subtly different ways, the choices behind them

being embedded in very different sets of associations (see Needham and Spence 1997, 79; Beck and Hill 2004, 305). These practices can be related to the growth of the urban population which meant that there was more pressure on space, so waste needed to be removed from tenements. These changes can also be related to the ways that these households were structured and provisioned, contrasting households in the east of Southampton, who engaged in horticultural activity (see below) and who identified the affordances of waste differently to those in the west (see Reno 2009, 32). Within this context, depositional activity was active in creating an increasingly hierarchical society within Southampton (chapters 9 and 10).

Figure 122: Simplified chaîne opératoire illustrating depositional choices at SOU 25 in the Anglo-Norman period.

Site	Summary of Depositional Activity
199 (Friary)	Most of the pottery was recovered from layers. There are a small number of Anglo-Norman pits containing a mixture of late Saxon and Anglo-Norman material.
162 (Winkle Street)	Most pottery recovered from pits. Sherds are often large, suggesting the presence of secondary waste.
175 (York Buildings)	*Several pits may have been cess pits. These have small quantities of pottery in lower fills, with primary sealing deposits (sometimes shell layers) and then layers of mixed material, possibly from a midden, which close the features. It is likely that there was a mixed pattern of deposition, much like in phase 3 of* Hamwic. *Build up of deposits into Anglo-Norman period.* Anglo-Norman pottery was principally recovered from slumped layers in the top of late Saxon pits, or from the upcast of the rampart. Anglo-Norman pottery probably accumulated on the ground surface and was not redeposited in pits.
859/860 (West Quay)	*Probable cess pits have low quantities of pottery in the lower fills and are then sealed with layers of secondary waste. Some pits were filled quickly, with sherds of the same vessel present in several layers, whilst others appear to have been filled with redeposited material. The level of redeposition and surface build up is unclear. The higher quantity of pottery and greater integrity between deposits may suggest faster deposition than in* Hamwic. Pits were filled with redeposited material. Deposition was probably similar to that at York Buildings.
25 (Westgate Street)	*Deposition in pits. Cross fit analysis suggests some redeposition from surface deposits.* Some pits contain redeposited material (mixture of Saxon and Anglo-Norman pottery), however later pits feature secondary deposits of Anglo-Norman material.
110 (West Hall)	Deposition in layers, pits and garderobe. Large sherds from the garderobe and pits are possibly secondary deposits. Difficult to interpret further due to limited stratigraphic information.
29, 123, 124 (Castle)	A large deposit of secondary waste was recovered from the garderobe at SOU 123.
393 (Woolen Hall)	Several pits contain large deposits of secondary waste, including large, joining sherds of Scratch Marked Ware.

Table 42: Summary of depositional activity at late Saxon and Anglo-Norman sites in Southampton. Comments relating to the late Saxon period are in italics, those relating to the Anglo-Norman period are not.

Secondary deposition was common in the west of the town in the high medieval period too, for example at West Hall (SOU 110) and at Westgate Street (SOU 25). This is demonstrated by the large average sherd weight, which contrasts with the smaller sherds excavated in eastern Southampton, where much material was redeposited (Figure 124). Several pits, probably reused latrines or quarry pits, rather than purposefully dug 'rubbish pits' (see also Buteux and Jackson 2000) at SOU 25 contain secondary dumps, probably closing deposits. Some pits contain higher quantities of kitchen waste (principally animal bone) and redundant pits acted as 'bins' for the dumping of rubbish of all materials. Reclassification as rubbish was a quick process and demonstrates that this waste was seen as disposable (Jervis forthcoming a). Large quantities are likely to have been removed from the site altogether, partly due to the pressure on space. As in the earlier periods the technology of deposition was guided by other concerns and was active in constructing social order, for example, through keeping yards and gardens clear of waste (see also Pollard 2001, 321; chapter 10).

We see an increase in secondary deposition throughout Southampton's history, with it being brought about through a particular set of relationships between waste, disposers, the wider urban population and physical elements of the urban landscape. Rubbish was only categorised in this way in some (generally wealthier) households.
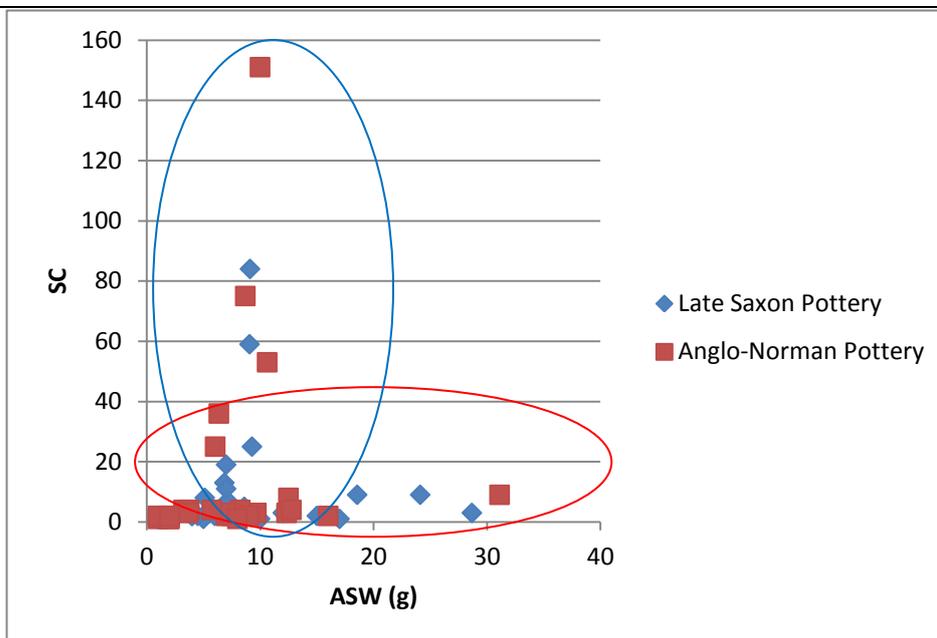
Figure 123: The correlation between mean sherd weight and sherd count in early medieval pits at SOU 25, demonstrating the difference in fragmentation between late Saxon and Anglo-Norman pottery.

Figure 124: Comparison of the mean sherd weight in high medieval pits at SOU 25 and SOU 175.

The left hand y-axis relates to the bar chart and the right hand to the cumulative percentage charts.

Site	Summary of Deposition
25 (Westgate Street)	Several pits contain large, joining sherds or near complete vessels, indicating that secondary deposits are present. Some cross fits between pits suggest the mixing of secondary waste with tertiary material.
29, 123, 124 (Castle/Bugle Street)	The castle bailey appears to have been kept relatively clean. A deposit of secondary waste was dumped into a limekiln at SOU 123 as a closing deposit. The motte ditch contained a mix of material, seemingly dumped over a long period of time. Material built up as surface deposits in the gardens of properties along Bugle Street.
105 (High Street)	The stratigraphy is heavily disturbed by later activity, but most pottery was recovered from layers, suggesting the build-up of surface deposits.
175 (York Buildings)	The majority of pottery was recovered from surface deposits. There is some difference in the deposition of these deposits, with those in the garden containing a higher quantity of Southampton Coarseware and Southampton Sandy Ware than deposits in the yard, suggesting perhaps that kitchen waste was deposited straight onto gardens. Pits contain fragmented material, suggestive of them being closed with tertiary waste. It is possible that some lined pits were used as compost bins and were regularly emptied, leading to the presence of residual material in these features.
199, 1355 (Friary)	The Friary precinct was largely kept clear of waste, with pottery mostly being residual in graves, layers and construction features. It likely built up in surface deposits before being moved away from the site.
934/997 (Pouparts Warehouse)	As at York Buildings, the majority of pottery came from garden soil layers, with only a small quantity being present in pits. There is a high level of residuality, confirming the presence of surface deposits.

Table 43: Summary of depositional activity at high medieval sites in Southampton.

7.2 Tertiary Deposits

Much of the material recovered from pits in *Hamwic* falls into this category. At Clifford Street and Six Dials for example, there are large numbers of pits filled with tertiary material and a small quantity of secondary waste. These date to phase 3, when areas of the settlement were remodelled (Morton 1992, MF:D2). This can be contrasted with pits marking a boundary at SOU 4 (Cottrell 1980). These were kept relatively clear of waste with only small remnants from surface deposits being swept into them, a process indexed by the presence of cross fitting sherds between these pits (Figure 125; Figure 130). The lower fills of several of the Clifford Street pits contain small quantities of fragmented material (Figure 126), illustrative of them having a role in marking a boundary prior to closure, through the dumping of large quantities of tertiary waste (Figure 128). At Six Dials the pits considered exhibit cross fitting sherds, suggesting that they were filled from a surface deposit as part of the same dumping event (Timby 1988, 119). At SOU 14 there appears to be some differentiation between pits used to dump craft waste and those which contain redeposited, largely domestic, midden material (Morton 1992, 150) (Figure 127; Figure 129). Relationships between people and their waste acted to define space within tenement plots and across *Hamwic* as a whole. Therefore these concerns were one influence on the choices made in practicing a particular technology of deposition and in defining radial categories of tertiary waste (for example domestic or craft; swept remnants or closing deposit).
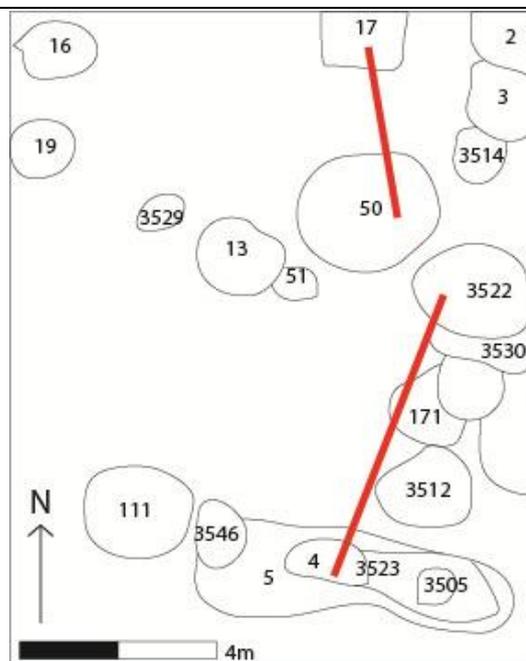
Figure 125: Cross fits (red lines) between boundary pits at SOU 4.

Plan redrawn from Holdsworth (1980).
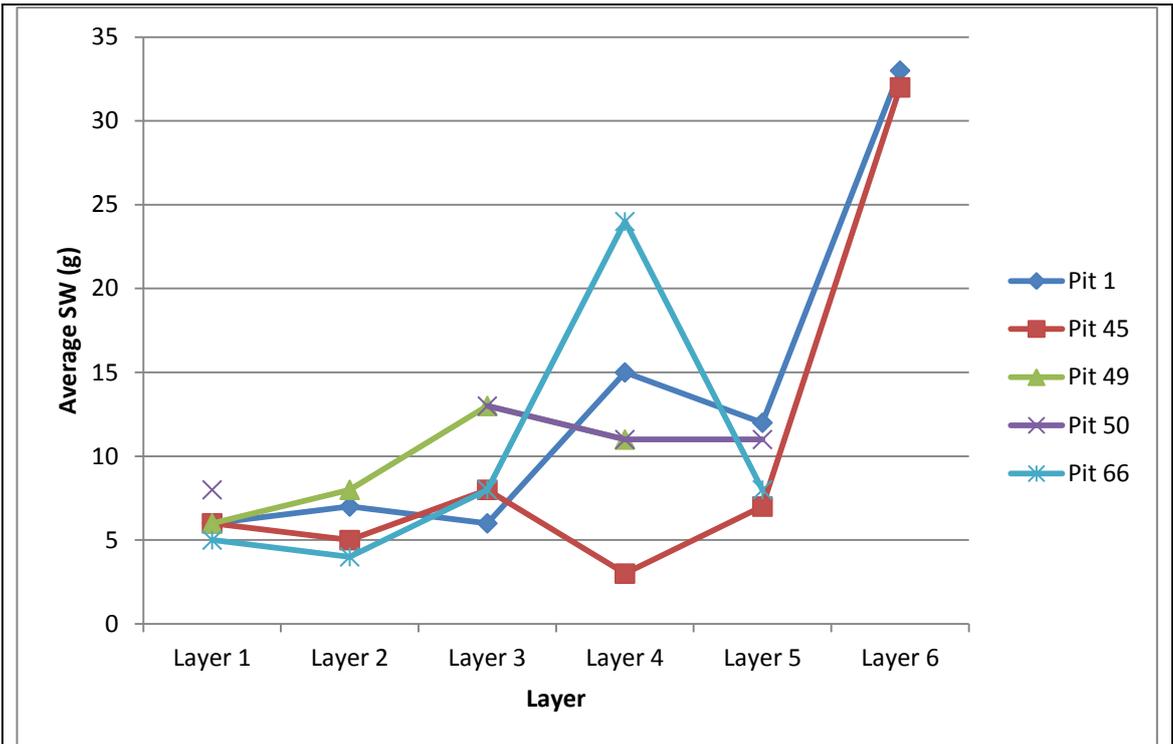
Figure 126: Average sherd weight by stratigraphic layer in selected pits at SOU 15, illustrating a general decrease in fragmentation levels in the upper fills of pits.
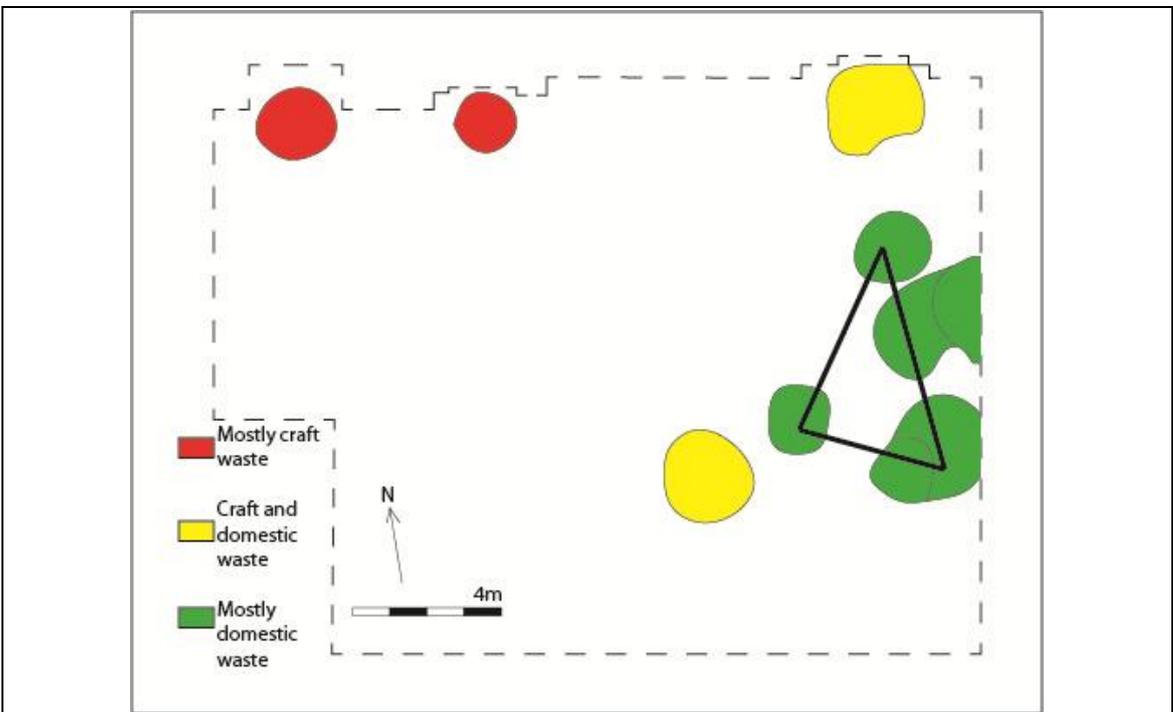
Figure 127: Site plan of SOU 14 showing zoning of waste and cross fits between pits. Plan redrawn from Morton (1992).
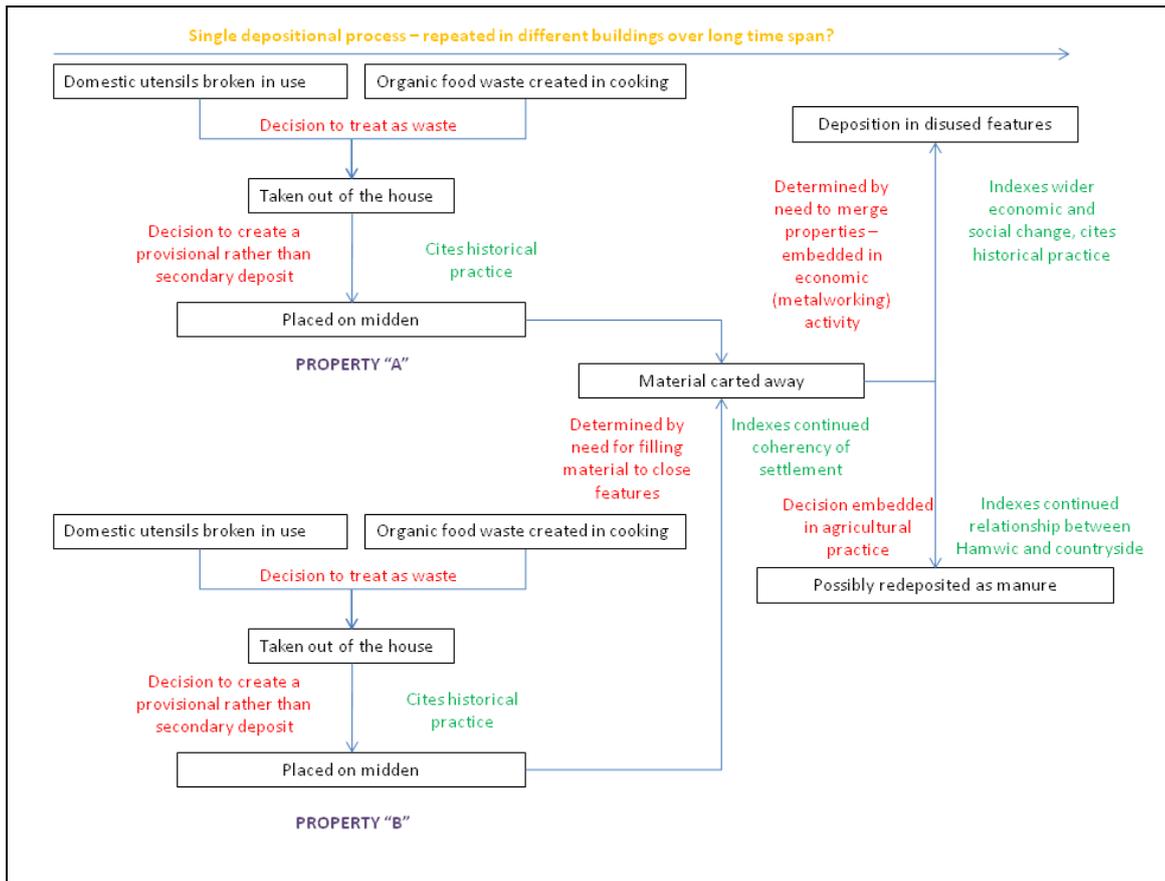
Figure 128: Simplified chaîne opératoire for depositional activity at SOU 15.
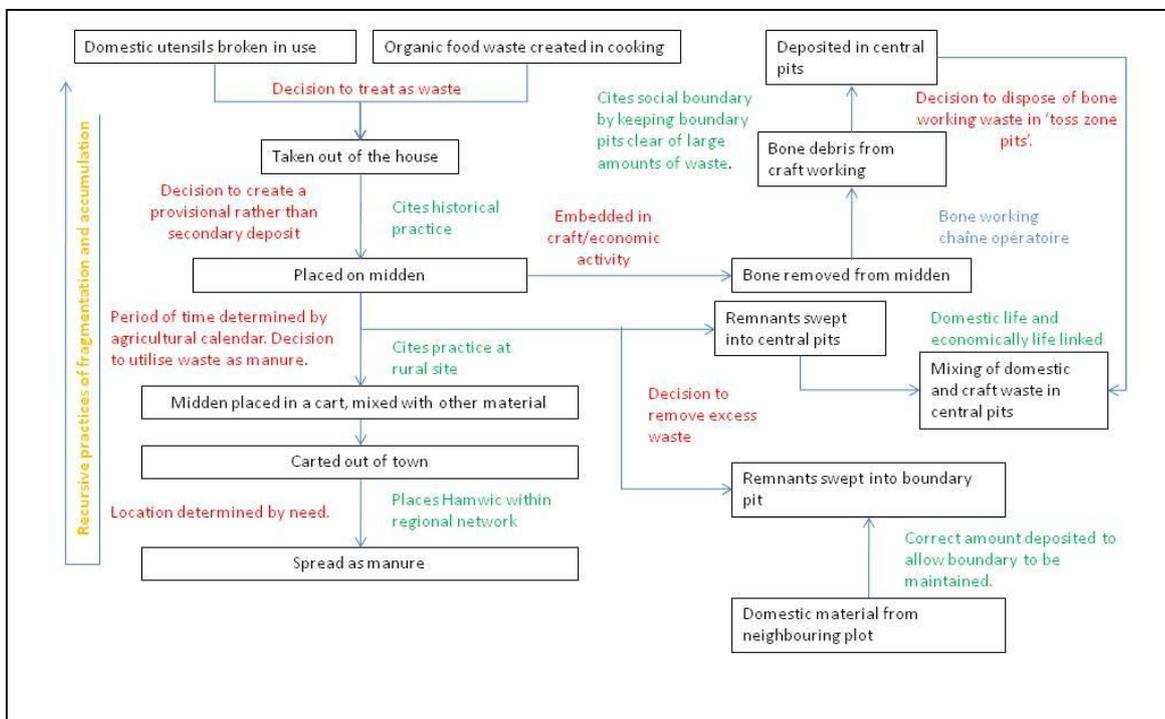
Figure 129: Simplified chaîne opératoire for depositional activity at SOU 14.

Tertiary deposition leads to two processes of recategorisation. Firstly, the waste was dumped onto a midden as provisional waste (see below). In the case of the large dumps this was then redeposited into pits as a closing deposit, meaning that the waste found utility in dissolving physical boundaries and the social ties materialised by them (Figure 128; Figure 129). They were one actor present in a process of social change, which also included *Hamwic's* occupants and connections built through trade and political activities. In the case of material in boundary pits a different process of recategorisation occurred. These were remnants of provisional waste which lost their utility and were swept away as rubbish (Figure 130). The pits into which they were swept were generally kept clear meaning that waste management, the network which existed between disposer, waste and feature, was active in maintaining boundaries in the settlement. The function of these pits constrained mass deposition, illustrating what Gosden (2005) calls the active role of space in formalising social relations; mediating ties between members of *Hamwic's* population. Waste was recategorised through redeposition in all of these cases, but the relationships between people, features and waste varied, leading to the formation of radial categories of tertiary waste.

Figure 130: Simplified chaîne opératoire for deposition in the boundary pits at SOU 4.
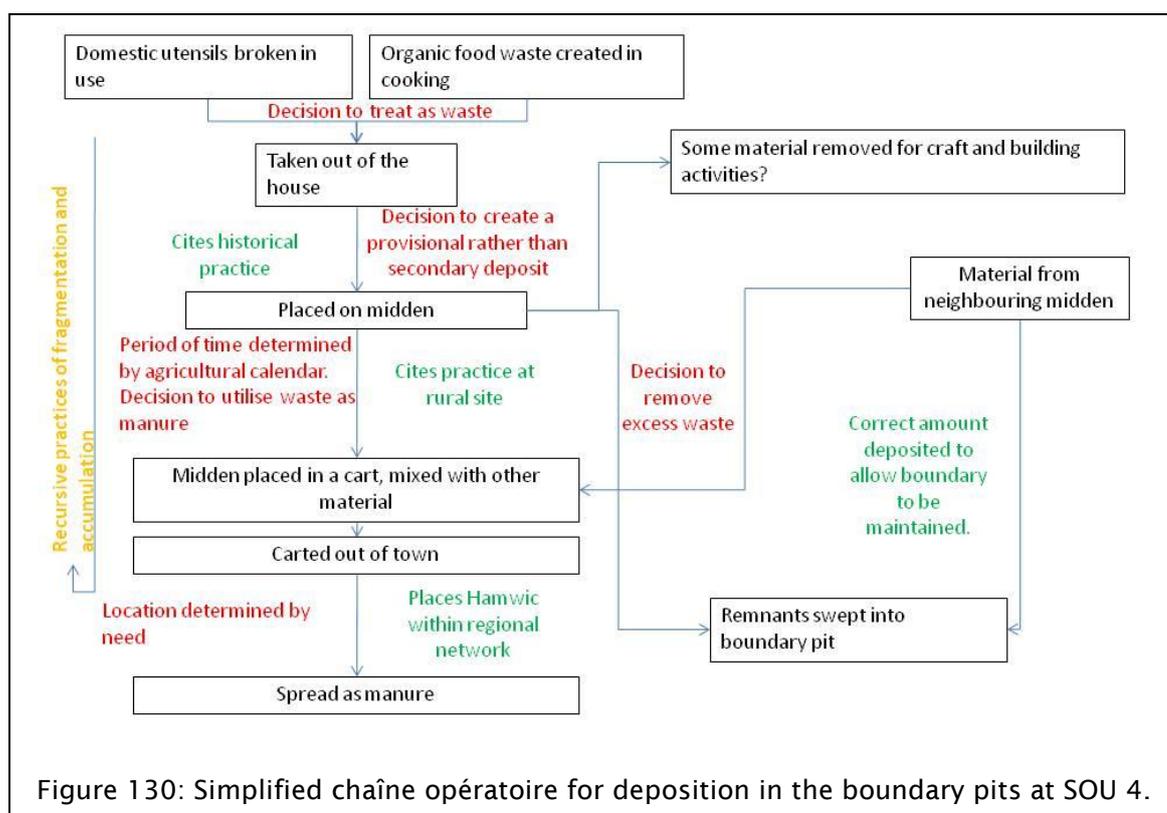
Most material from late Saxon Southampton was recovered from pits, with the levels of fragmentation indicating that this was typically redeposited waste (Table 42). There is variability in this process of filling, even within a single site. At York Buildings (SOU

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175), for example, cess pits contain little waste in their primary fill, but have large quantities of dumped waste as closing deposits in the upper fills (pits 105 and 320). Others contain dumps of waste all the way through (pits 56, 82 3203 and 6858) and one has several dumps present, sealed by layers of shell (pit 1544) (Jervis unpub. a). These sealing layers may have developed because there was not enough waste present to fill the pit in one event. At sites in the east of the town, Post-Conquest pottery was present in the upper fills of these pits, indicating the presence of surface deposits which had slumped into them. This pattern of redeposition from surface deposits suggests a general continuity in the way that waste was categorised and recategorised through the mid- and late- Saxon periods, and at sites in the east of the town into the Post-Conquest period as well.

Figure 131: Simplified chaîne opératoire for Saxo-Norman depositional practice at SOU 175.
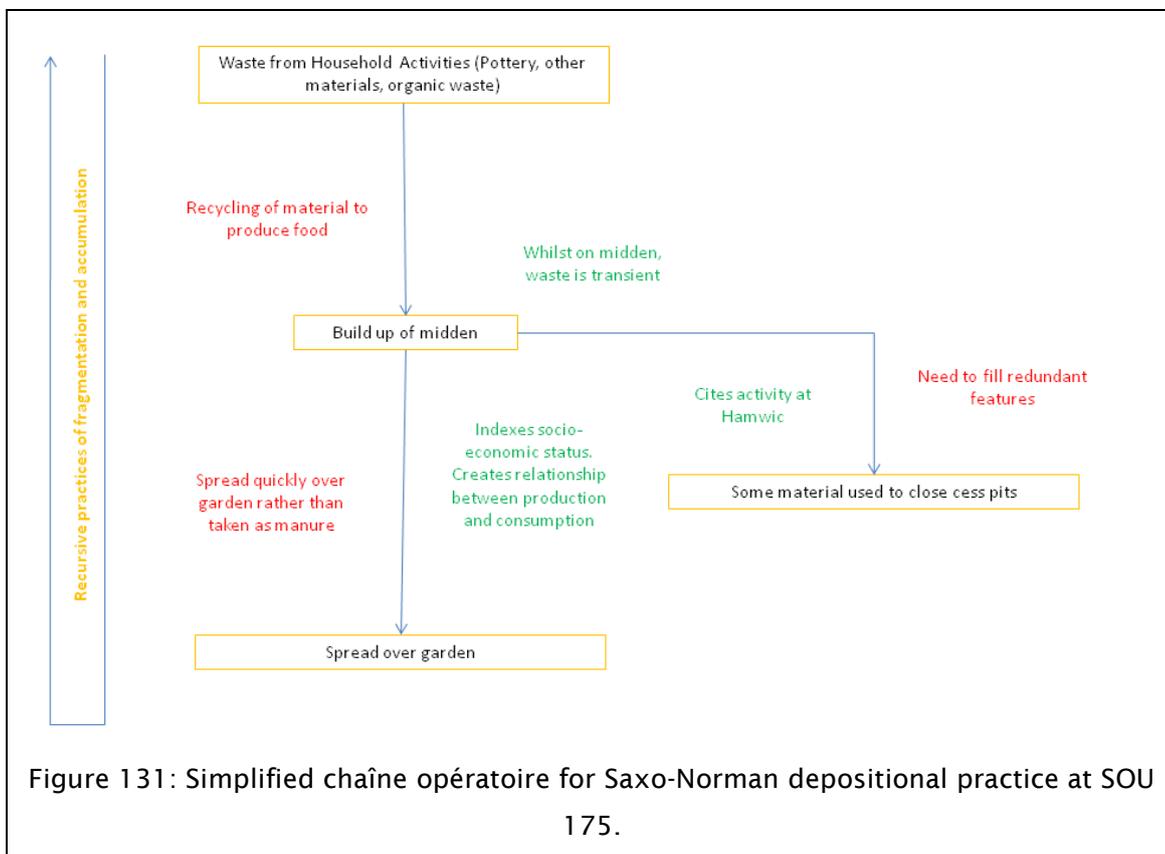
There are contrasts with *Hamwic* however. The pottery from high medieval garden layers at York Buildings (SOU 175) suggests that horticultural activity was carried out here in the Anglo-Norman period and possibly before. Unlike in the south of the town, no large Post-Conquest secondary deposits occur. A further radial category of waste used as fertiliser within the town, rather than outside of it developed. Whilst this may suggest that the plot lay vacant in the Anglo-Norman period, this is unlikely as Domesday Book does not list any 'waste' plots in Southampton (Welldon-Finn 1962, 344). Documentary evidence demonstrates that some towns in Normandy had a semi-

agrarian basis and therefore horticultural activities within towns are unlikely to have
been discouraged (Creighton 2002, 162). This depositional technology was influenced
by a need to grow food (see chapter 10) as well as Norman attitudes and an element of
tradition (Figure 131). Whilst in the merchants' quarter a contrast can be drawn in the
treatment and perception of waste through the adoption of secondary deposition
between the late Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods, this cannot be observed in eastern
Southampton. Instead, as in *Hamwic*, redeposited waste was used as fertiliser or to fill
redundant features. This suggests an element of continuity in these areas, although
the introduction of horticultural activity within the town does break with the pattern
observed in *Hamwic*.

The treatment of tertiary waste as fertiliser is one radial category of redeposition which
emerged through a particular set of engagements between people, their waste and
other actors, particularly those constituting the 'market' (chapter 10). Dumps in
redundant features are another radial category with wider currency through the town.
They merge into the group of secondary deposits discussed above. For example, there
is evidence that middens developed at Southampton Castle (see below) and that
tertiary material was used to close some features (for example the garderobe; see
Brown 1985), with much of the waste being removed from the site. Waste was seen as
disposable and as a disordering presence here.

Figure 132: Distribution of the high medieval assemblage from SOU 175 by feature
type. N=17.2 kg.
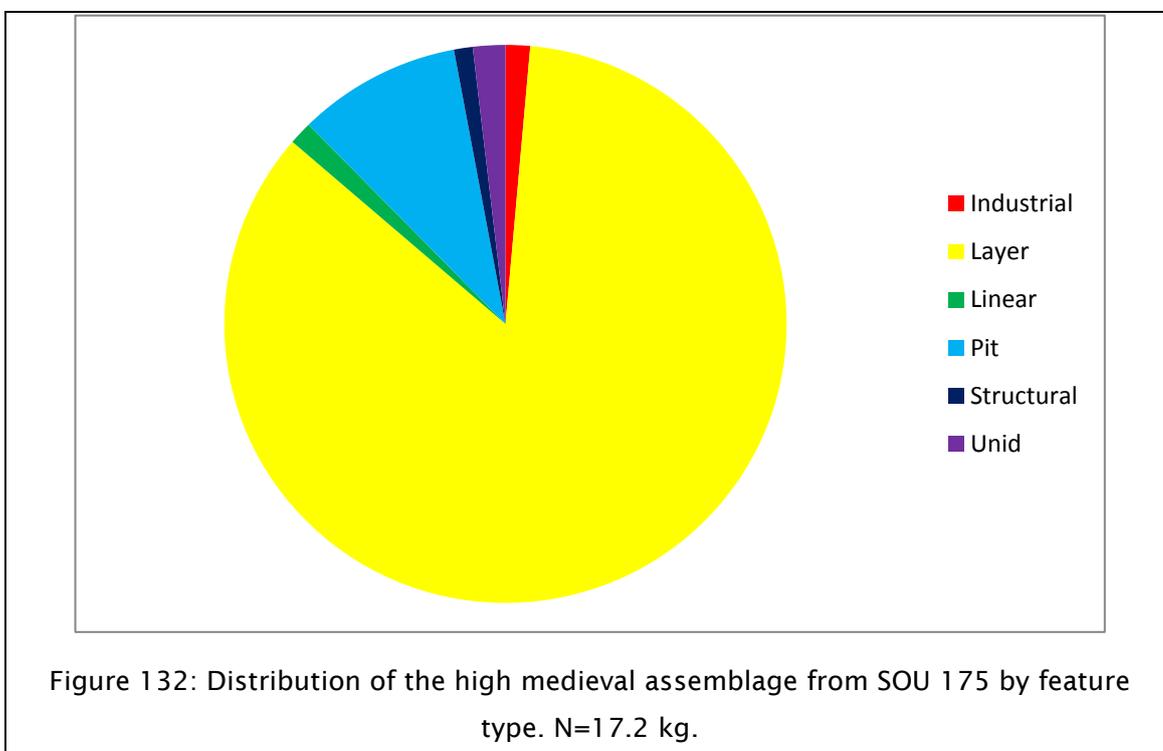
Tertiary deposition continued in the east of the town into the high medieval period, for example at Pouparts Warehouse (SOU 934/997) and York Buildings (SOU 175). At York Buildings most of the pottery was recovered from garden layers (Figure 132), although it is unclear whether they represent a communal area or bounded gardens related to specific homes. Noticeably, the town defences, the rampart and rampier (an open space behind the rampart), appear to have been kept clear of waste in the earlier part of the period, but waste started to be dumped in the rampier during the fourteenth century (Jervis forthcoming a). This continued gardening activity suggests that people here continued to engage in horticulture, a practice common in poorer urban households in the medieval period (Dyer 1994, 129). Kitchen waste was typically spread across these gardens as a whole, this presumably included organic remains, as well as bone and pottery. Pits also contained redeposited material, generally jugs, perhaps suggesting objects broken outside of food processing were used to close features, saving the nutritional content of kitchen waste.[26] As in the Anglo-Norman period we see a fuzziness between the use of secondary and tertiary waste to close features. This practice was common across the town, but the type of waste used relates to how it was perceived, either as material for immediate dumping, or as a resource, of which one function was to close features. The continuity in disposal practices at households in eastern Southampton suggests that people continued to engage with and perceive waste in the same way as in the Pre-Conquest period, and that the networks in which this activity was situated remained relatively stable.

Tertiary deposition is common throughout Southampton's history, but the exact relationships between disposer and waste subtly changed, with people increasingly engaging with their own waste in domestic level horticulture, rather than seeing it carted out of town for use on fields. This waste had a continued function in closing features and thus bringing about order in domestic spaces, a function which blurred the distinction between secondary and tertiary waste. A range of technologies of deposition were practised in Southampton, with the choices behind them being influenced by a range of cultural, economic and practical factors (chapter 10).

7.3 Provisional Waste

It is likely that much of *Hamwic's* waste was deposited, initially at least, on middens, principally evidenced through the presence of redeposited material in negative features. The process of midden building does not appear to discriminate between

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[26] Similar zoning in waste deposition was observed by Blinkhorn (1999a) at West Cotton (Northants).

organic and inorganic objects. We can see the categories formed in use being replaced by a broader understanding of these objects as waste with utility. One function of this waste could have been as manure, carted into the rural hinterland for use on the fields which provisioned *Hamwic*. Bone waste may have been recovered from these dumps for use in bone working (Figure 129). One example of reuse is the use of cooking vessels as cremation urns in the cemetery at St. Mary's Stadium (Mepham 2005). This is early in the *Hamwic* sequence, but late in terms of cremation cemeteries in Wessex. The process of middening cites activity at rural sites, such as the early-Saxon site at Cowdery's Down (chapter 8), and demonstrates how the domestic and economic lives of the inhabitants of these settlements were enmeshed in one another.

In the midden objects occupied a transient position, both conceptually and physically, as a pile of rubbish with utility which may have been used as a craft resource, to close features, or as fertiliser (Edensor 2005, 315; Joyce and Pollard 2010, 301-2). It occupies a position between domestic material culture and waste. This transience is a period of renegotiation, in which objects are drawn into new associations and existing associations take on a different character. This provisional waste was central to the formulation of categories of people in *Hamwic*, as in this state material had the potential to be used to reformulate or enforce social boundaries, to build links with the hinterland and provide people with the resources required to become craft specialists. This role will be explored in chapter 9.

As in *Hamwic*, the argument for middens in the late Saxon and Anglo-Norman towns is reliant on the presence of redeposited material in negative features. Differences can be observed in the way that these middens are likely to have developed. Sherds in some pits are larger than in *Hamwic*, suggesting that waste was redeposited more quickly, a pattern also observed in the faunal remains (Bourdillon 1985, 7). This may be indicative of household middens being used in household level horticultural activity and to fill features in individual plots, rather than this being centrally organised, as has been suggested for *Hamwic* (Morton 1992, 40). These middens developed for a particular function, but in the Anglo-Norman period radial categories of midden develop. At the castle, and perhaps in some merchant households, they developed as dumps of disposable waste for removal, rather than reuse. This is demonstrated through the presence of tertiary material in features such as the castle garderobe and the absence of horticultural layers in this area. Although some of this waste may have been used in agricultural activity outside of Southampton a contrast can be drawn between waste perceived as a resource, and disposable waste, stored prior to removal.

Much rubbish was removed from high medieval Southampton, perhaps dumped in the sea, or spread on fields, for example in the medieval agricultural layers at Cook Street (SOU 254) (Jervis unpub. b) and Orchard Place (Russel 2010), where this process began in the late Saxon period. Interestingly at Orchard Place a high quantity of imports (principally North French Glazed Wares) were present, suggesting waste was derived from the merchants' quarter, whilst at both sites very few imports were present amongst the high medieval material, suggesting that it may have derived from the east of the town (*ibid*), possibly with this area immediately outside of the wall being cultivated by the occupants of the suburbs. In the 15th century a workman was paid to clean the High Street and to carry waste to the sea (Platt 1973, 171) and it is likely that this practice stretches as far back as at least the high medieval period. For example, at Winkle Street, which lies only a few meters from the shoreline, little high medieval pottery was recovered, despite the presence of high medieval occupation (Jervis unpublished c; Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a). This may also explain the absence of large rubbish deposits in the area of Southampton Friary (Jervis forthcoming b). It is unclear whether this earlier activity created a specific, 'professional' identity, as in later periods, or was one facet of a broader domestic identity. The Oak Book of c.1300 states that "No butcher or cook throws any filth or other matter into the street under pain" and "That no man have before his house muck or dung" (Studer 1910, 53), suggesting that residents of Southampton were responsible for dealing with their own waste. Waste tips built up prior to transportation out of the town, with this provisional waste developing a range of meanings, to the disposer rubbish, but to others, perhaps farmers, a resource; value and disposability were constructed through engagements with the material (Brück 1999, 330; Pollard 2001, 321). As in the Anglo-Norman period, two classes of midden developed, the other being a resource utilised at a household scale. There is some evidence, in the form of very small and fragmented ceramic assemblages and preserved wood from York Buildings (SOU 175) (Kavanagh unpub.), that this was stored in lined pits, rather than as surface deposits (Figure 124).

Throughout the study period the evidence for provisional waste has been circumstantial. This category of waste was probably a continued presence and its transience led to it being perceived in different ways by members of Southampton's population; as a tip of disposable rubbish, as a pile of useful fertiliser or as containing materials which could be reused for activities such as craft production. These perceptions varied as people engaged with the waste, alongside other actors, in a variety of ways.

7.4 Summary

As interactions between people, objects and urban space, technologies of deposition were active in defining space and categories of people throughout Southampton's history. Engagements with waste material led to the development of broad categories of rubbish, which were further defined as radial categories by the nature of this engagement.

In *Hamwic* much material was initially recategorised as provisional waste, some of which was carted out of town to be redefined as manure and some objects may have been reused. Some provisional waste was recategorised as tertiary waste, taking on a role of closing features, often during the remodelling of the settlement. At other points waste was generally kept from some features, meaning that it was active in maintaining boundaries. Some waste may have been dumped outside of *Hamwic* to achieve this aim. The agency to bring about change or continuity in the urban landscape was distributed in part through waste. Secondary waste was also used to close features, in some cases citing actions undertaken at rural sites in *Hamwic's* hinterland, perhaps bringing a level of continuity to an ever changing landscape. Other waste deposits are indexical of different temporal rhythms in the settlement. Clearly not all waste was categorised in the same way, and much went through several processes of recategorisation. In some cases it became rubbish and in others a resource; categories created through the relationship between waste and other actors, including the physical features of *Hamwic's* landscape and the people who occupied this space, which sub-divided into radial categories of waste, linked by the physical processes behind their deposition.

Continuity into the late Saxon town was partly distributed through waste disposal, as strategies appear similar to those in *Hamwic*, although horticulture developed within the settlement. People's relationship with rubbish may have changed as they perceived it more as a resource for their own use, a change that is likely to have been distributed through rural agricultural practices and the market network (chapter 10). In the Anglo-Norman period contrasts emerge in the ways that waste was categorised in different areas of Southampton. In the merchants' quarter it was seen as disposable, whereas in the east it continued to be seen as a resource. Radial categories of tertiary and provisional waste emerged, one focussed on disposal and one on reuse. These changes are distributed not only through the disposers and the waste, but also their role in a market network, perhaps their relationships with the ruling classes (as tax burdens may have limited the buying power of poorer members of the population) and the physical context of deposition, the tenement plot.

The high medieval period sees a general continuity and solidification of the patterns observed in Anglo-Norman Southampton. Waste continued to be used in horticultural activity in eastern Southampton, whilst it was seen as more disposable in the merchants' quarter. The same deposit would have developed a plethora of meanings, depending upon how people engaged with it. A blurring of secondary and tertiary waste occurred in the closing of features, a role which waste fulfilled throughout the study period. Much waste was removed from Southampton, spread onto outlying fields or dumped into the sea.

Categories of waste emerged through people engaging with it alongside other human, environmental and material actors. It was active in the ordering and creating urban space, be it through the maintaining of boundaries in *Hamwic*, or the closing of pits in medieval yards. It also acted as a resource for horticultural activity inside and outside of the town. As networks of trade and use developed we see an increased differentiation in the ways that rubbish was categorised, with a notion of disposability emerging. Through the citation of rural or earlier practices waste disposal brought about continuity in the urban landscape. Technologies of deposition, and with them perceptions of waste, emerged based on factors such as wealth, access to foodstuffs and consumption practices. These were closely tied to the ways that pottery, along with other objects and resources, was categorised through exchange and consumption.

8. Southampton's Pottery in Context

In order to contextualise Southampton's pottery, we must consider material from elsewhere in Hampshire, as well as other similar towns and continental sites. Few assemblages have been published from small towns in Hampshire, so analysis of pottery from sites in Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c), Alton (Jervis forthcoming d), Christchurch (Jervis forthcoming e) and Andover was undertaken, along with an assessment of material from local rural sites.[27] This analysis has been supplemented by published data. Pottery has been characterised by fabric, where possible the terminology used in Southampton has been adopted, and form. Usewear analysis was not undertaken on this material, due to time constraints and because many of the assemblages were either highly fragmented or unstratified. The pottery is discussed below by period, with individual discussions of distribution, use and deposition being presented.

8.1 The Early-Mid Saxon period

A number of rural sites dating to the early-mid Saxon period have been excavated within the area of modern Hampshire, or just outside of its borders.

8.1.1 Distribution

Organic-tempered Ware is the most common pottery type in Hampshire (Table 44). It is generally considered that wares were produced locally. For example at Collingbourne Ducis (Wiltshire), the fabrics suggest the utilisation of clays from the Vale of Pewsey immediately to the north (Timby 2001, 97), whilst the level of variability in fabrics at Goch Way (Andover) has been taken as indicative of small scale, domestic potting (Mepham 2004, 123). Williams (1998, 100) has identified similarities between organic-tempered fabrics from Micheldever and Abbots Worthy, both close to Winchester, which, whilst possibly related to the use of similar raw materials, could demonstrate some movement of pottery over wider areas than single settlements.

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[27] Where sites are listed without a reference they were analysed as part of this project. Details of the sites and their assemblages can be found in appendix 2.
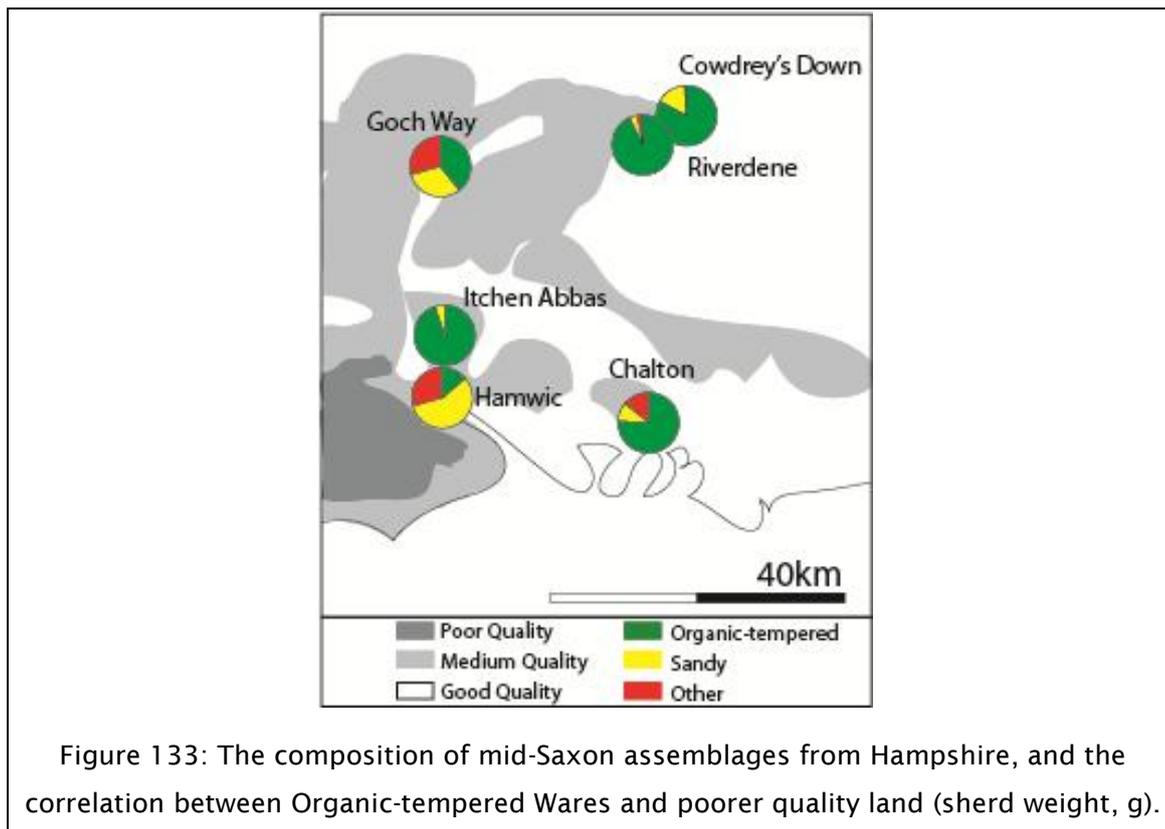
Figure 133: The composition of mid-Saxon assemblages from Hampshire, and the correlation between Organic-tempered Wares and poorer quality land (sherd weight, g).

The Sandy Wares present in *Hamwic* have very few parallels in rural areas of Hampshire. The largest collection comes from Chalton (Jervis forthcoming d). Their presence here, and general absence at other sites in the county, may be indicative of an exchange relationship with *Hamwic* (see Hinton 1996, 99). The ubiquitous nature of clays in this area of the Hampshire basin leaves open the possibility that these are local products (chapter 5). In areas of north Hampshire, and particularly north of the Thames, as well as in Sussex, the early Anglo-Saxon Sandy Ware tradition continued into the mid-Saxon period, and Organic-tempered Wares were not adopted in any quantity (e.g. Timby 2001, 99; Blinkhorn and Cotter 2007, 169). In Hampshire the distribution of Organic-tempered Wares appears to relate to the presence of shifting settlements on marginal agricultural soils, with these wares perhaps being adopted as they are well suited to a transitory lifestyle (see Schiffer *et al* 1989).[28] In Flanders, Organic-tempered Wares have a similar distribution, being found on the marginal coastal plain, with Grog-tempered or Sandy Wares being used inland (Hamerow *et al* 1993; Paepe and Impe 1991). The dating of these wares demonstrates that they did not come to England as part of a 'migration' process, but instead would appear to have arisen as a response to particular circumstances affecting people living in the North Sea coastal zone in the late 5th-7th centuries. The agency for their emergence (and

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[28] Due to the fact that vessels are light and can be made from 'short' clays, meaning that potters did not need to continually exploit the same resources for potting.

decline) was distributed through a number of factors, including the physical landscape and climate, as well as people producing and using pottery. Sandy fabrics continued to be used in areas of better agricultural soil, where settlements settled more quickly. The readoption of Sandy Wares in *Hamwic* is likely to relate to a number of stimuli, the more stable nature of this settlement meant that Sandy Wares were a more suitable pottery type, whilst its adoption may also have been stimulated by engagements with imported pottery, the development of Ipswich-type Ware and contact with areas further north, where Sandy Wares were still being used.

	Organic-Tempered	Sandy	Gritty/Flint	Chalk-tempered	Shelly	Total (g)
Itchen Abbas	90%	5%	<1%	4%		11726
Nursling	100%					503
Chalton	76%	10%	7%	7%	<1%	5979
Cowdrey's Down	83%	16%	1%			554
Riverdene	93%	4%		3%		8850
Goch Way	39%	31%	29%			2533
King's Sombourne	63%	<1%	29%	8%		511
Collingbourne Ducis	94%	6%		1%		21780
Hamwic (excl. Imports)	9%	35%	36%	18%	2%	502705

Table 44: Composition of Mid-Saxon assemblages in the study area (sherd weight, g).

In *Lundenwic* (Blackmore 1988; 1989; 2003), as in *Hamwic*, the earliest phase is characterised by Organic-tempered Wares. *Lundenwic* also sees a Sandy Ware phase, but rather than being characterised by local wares, it is defined by the presence of Ipswich-type Wares (Blackmore 2003, 234. It is possible that the emergence of Sandy Wares in *Hamwic* was, in part, stimulated by developments in *Lundenwic* and *Gippeswic*, brought about through contacts between these sites. This would appear to be part of a wider European trend, with finer sandy fabrics also being adopted in the 8th century at Dorestad (Van Es and Verwers 1980, 68). The later phase in *Lundenwic* is characterised by a development of Shelly Wares (Blackmore 2003, 236-8), with an adoption of coarser Shelly Wares also occurring at *Quentovic* (Worthington 1993). *Hamwic* follows this general trend (chapter 10), although these coarser types are generally Mixed Grit- or Flint-tempered Wares, a pattern common across Hampshire in the late Saxon period.

The assemblage from *Quentovic* consists of a similar range of types to those found in *Hamwic*, with Blackwares, Greywares and Whitewares being present from a range of sources (Worthington 1993), including the kilns at La Londe (Hodges 1991). Whilst the proportions are different, the variety of wares present demonstrates that *Quentovic*,

like *Hamwic*, received pottery from a range of sources. The wares imported into *Lundenwic* are different in character, generally being Rhenish products (Blackmore 2001, 36), probably reflecting a greater trade with Dorestad. As in Hampshire, imported wares are rare at rural sites in the London area and, therefore, are likely to have principally been marketed in the *wic* (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 157). They have, however, been found at sites in the Thames Valley, such as Old Windsor (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 157), a site with possible royal or ecclesiastical connections (*ibid*, 158). The presence of occasional concentrations of imported wares and metalwork may be indicative of regional markets or meeting places outside of the *wic* centres (see Ulmschneider 2000).

Hamwic fitted into two spheres of pottery consumption. In the earliest phase, the pottery used is similar to that produced in rural Hampshire. The Sandy Wares relate *Hamwic* more closely to the other *wics* and their development occurs in tandem with the emergence of finer sandy wares on the continent and also in *Gippeswic* and *Lundenwic*. A contrast can be drawn in Hampshire between the Organic-tempered wares, used at transitory rural settlements and the Sandy Wares used in the more stable settlement of *Hamwic*. The supply of imported pottery to *Hamwic* places it in a cross-channel exchange network, with wares being present from a range of sources, a pattern matched at *Quentovic*. The development of Mixed Grit-tempered Wares in the later phases appears to be a localised version of a wider shift, which sees the development of coarser fabrics in other *wics*, such as *Lundenwic* and *Quentovic*.

8.1.2 Use

At most sites in Hampshire, as in *Hamwic*, the majority of forms are likely to have been multi-functional jars (e.g. Timby 2001, 97; Timby 2003, 87; Johnstone 1998, 100; Davies 1980, 169; Mepham 2006, 95) (Table 45). Bowls and dishes are rare (e.g. Timby 2001, 97; Timby 2003, 87; Johnson 1998, 100, Davies 1980, 169). It can tentatively be suggested that locally produced dishes/bowls are more common at rural sites than in *Hamwic*, a pattern also observed in relation to *Lundenwic* (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 145). Bowls and dishes likely served a range of functions as drinking vessels, lamps and in specialist rural tasks such as dairying. The Organic-tempered and Ipswich-type Wares found in *Lundenwic* display a similar range of usewear indicators to those from *Hamwic*, although a few sherds have purple dye stains, suggestive of their use in textile manufacture (Blackmore 1988; Blackmore 1989).

	Jar	Bowl
Old Down Farm	55	10
Itchen Abbas	44	28
Chalton	108	1

Table 45: Occurrence of Jars and Bowls in mid-Saxon Assemblages from   Hampshire (max. vessels).

Figure 134: Examples of suspended cooking vessels.
A) A sandy ware from *Hamwic* (redrawn from Timby 1988). B) A vessel from northern France (redrawn from Routier 2004). C) A Scratch-marked Ware vessel from Southampton (redrawn from Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975b).
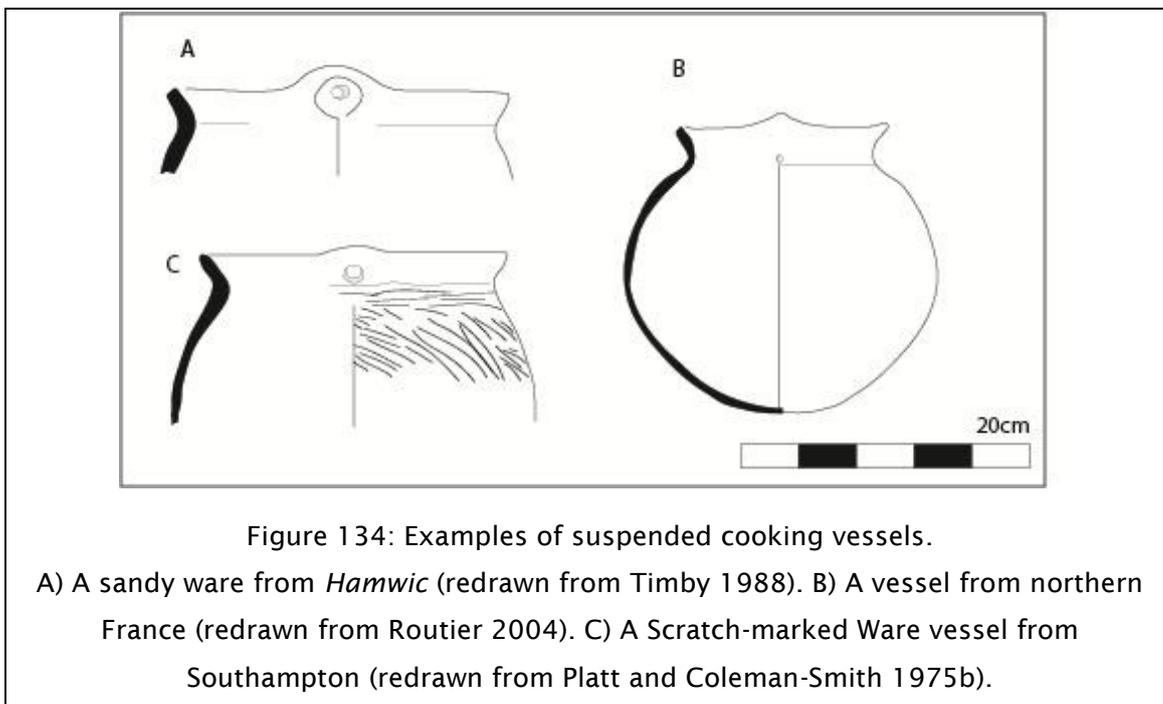
The most common imported types in *Hamwic* are open forms; bowls and flanged jars. It can be demonstrated that only a small range of the pottery produced and used in northern France was used in *Hamwic*. For example at Saulsotte (Champagne), bowls are rare in 7th-10th century contexts (Chatelet 1993) and open forms account for only 15% of the vessels produced in kilns at Fretelliere (Loire Valley) (Dubillot and Valais 2004, 51) and are rare in kiln material from La Calotterie (Routier *et al* 2010) and La Londe (Hodges 1991)[29]. A similar pattern is present in *Lundenwic*, whereby the imported types most commonly found are present only in small quantities at Dorestad (Blackmore 2001, 34) and Medemblik (Netherlands) (Besteman 1974). There does appear to be a general decline in the quantities of serving vessels produced on the continent in the Carolingian period (see papers in Piton 1993 and Hincker and Husi 2004), perhaps part of more profound social changes, as is also demonstrated by other phenomena, such as the emergence of *wics*. In northern France, cooking practices appear to differ from those in southern England, with large vessels being

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[29] Comparison with Quentovic must await the publication of this assemblage.

present which are designed to be suspended over, rather than placed in, a fire (e.g. Georges-Leroy and Lenoble 1993; Dubillot and Valais 2004; Mahé-Hourlier 2004; Routier 2004). Analysis has focussed on production sites in this area, so their relationship to more standard jar forms remains unclear. Vessels are present in *Hamwic* which were produced to imitate this form (Timby 1988, 86), possibly indexing some engagement between local people (or potters) and French practices.

In regard to imports, the emphasis in both *Lundenwic* and *Hamwic* is on serving, rather than cooking and storage vessels (Blackmore 2001, 72). In the English *wics* imported wares supplemented local cooking vessels, either coming in as serving vessels or as containers. The most commonly traded vessels are those forms not produced locally. The vessels present formed a contrast between 'urban' and 'rural' living in England, with an 'urban' mode of consumption emerging, characterised by a clear distinction between (generally) locally produced cooking and processing vessels and imported serving vessels, in pottery and other materials.

8.1.3 Disposal

At most early-mid Anglo-Saxon settlements, the majority of waste was recovered from grubenhäuser. Tipper's (2004) study has demonstrated a great deal of variability in the way that these features were filled. Generally, this material is identified as a secondary deposit or as tertiary waste (chapter 7). At Micheldever, Johnstone (1998, 88-9) suggests that the grubenhäuser were filled quickly with redeposited material and a similar conclusion has been reached at Riverdene (Hall-Torrance and Weaver 2003, 84). Hamerow (2006) has discussed the presence of 'special deposits' in Anglo-Saxon settlements, with the deposition of complete vessels, curated objects or associated bone groups perhaps serving to mark some transition in the life of the settlement and its inhabitants (chapter 7). In this light, we can question Fasham and Whinney's (1991, 76) argument that material was wasted at Abbot's Worthy, when it was dumped into grubenhäuser, rather than being used as manure. Instead, we can see the material as active in marking and bringing about change in the settlement, with its utility as filling material being identified over its utility as manure. A different pattern of filling was identified at Goch Way (Andover), whereby grubenhäuser are characterised by a fine fill of occupation debris, followed by a gradual silting up of the redundant feature (Wright 2004).

The filling of grubenhäuser was clearly varied, but the condition of much of the material recovered from them would suggest that it accumulated in middens before being redeposited. This interpretation developed following the lack of rubbish

excavated at Cowdery's Down (Basingstoke) (Millet and James 1983), meaning that negative evidence has been used to support their use. There is increasing archaeological evidence for midden use; the presence of Anglo-Saxon pottery in excavated agricultural layers, as at Trowbridge (Wiltshire) (Graham and Davies 1993, 143) excavated surface deposits, such as those at Flixborough (Loveluck 2001, 91) and biological remains which demonstrate the growth of weeds on middens, (e.g. Yarnton (Oxfordshire) (Hey 2005, 69)). It is likely that middens, rather than grubenhäuser, were the main foci of deposition. There is a general absence of pits at rural sites of this date, although they were identified at Abbots Worthy (Fasham and Whinney 1991).

The deposition of waste material in *Hamwic* closely relates to depositional activity at nearby rural sites. Middens seem to have developed, with much of the material being removed from sites for use as manure, with other waste being dumped into redundant features. One key difference is the nature of these features. Grubenhäuser are uncommon in *Hamwic*, most of the waste being recovered from pits and wells. A similar pattern of deposition has been noted in *Lundenwic*, with pits developing alongside denser occupation and most waste gathering as surface deposits, before being carted away (Malcom, Bowsher and Cowie 2003, 102). The evidence from continental *wic* sites is more vague, in Dorestad large quantities of waste were dumped into the harbour (Van Es and Verwers 1980).

The processes of deposition in *Hamwic* can be seen as a translation of rural depositional practices into the urban context. Middens still provided a resource for filling and for agriculture and redundant features were filled with waste. It was the subtleties in engagements with waste which were active in creating distinctions between urban and rural landscapes.

8.2 The Late Saxon Period

A small number of late Saxon sites have been excavated in Hampshire (Hughes 1984), including the high status site at Portchester and sites in the towns of Winchester and Romsey.

8.2.1 Distribution

As in the mid-Saxon period, most of the pottery used in late Saxon Hampshire was locally produced. For example, in Winchester (Holmes and Matthews forthcoming), the majority of late Saxon pottery is Chalk-tempered Ware (Table 46). This is also common at other sites in the Winchester area, for example at Itchen Abbas (probably mid-Saxon)

(Fasham and Whinney 1991), Old Alresford, Micheldever and Owslebury, as well as further afield, in Amesbury (Powell *et al* 2009), Alton (Jervis forthcoming d) and Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c). Flint-tempered Wares are also widespread in this period. Chalk and Flint-tempered Wares are present in Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c) and Andover, as well as at Chalton. Further south, for example at Swaythling (Mepham 1995), Fareham (Brown unpub; Holmes 1978) and Portchester (Cunliffe 1976), Flint- or Mixed Grit-tempered Wares dominate assemblages. The distribution of the main late Saxon types can be tied closely to the geology of the region, with Chalk-tempered Ware being most common in downland areas and Flint- or Mixed Grit -tempered Wares being more common on the coastal gravel terraces (Figure 135).

The late Saxon period also sees the development of three wheelthrown pottery industries; at Michelmersh (Mepham and Brown 2007), in the Winchester area (producing glazed Winchester-type Ware) (Biddle and Barclay 1974) and near Portchester (Cunliffe 1976). The distribution of Michelmersh-type Ware is centred on Winchester, with quantities also being found in the Test Valley, at Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c) and in Andover (Figure 136). The wares are found as far west as Amesbury (Powell *et al* 2009) and as far north as Oxford (Mellor 2003a, 332). Portchester-type Ware has only been found in any quantity in Portchester itself, with small quantities reaching Winchester (Holmes and Matthews forthcoming), Southampton (Brown 1994), Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c), Chichester (Jervis 2009b) and Bishop's Waltham (Lewis 1985). The distribution of Winchester-type Ware is limited to Winchester and Romsey, where it may have been consumed at the abbey.

Like the industry which developed in Chichester (Jervis 2009b), it is likely that these relatively short lived industries were founded to supply the new burghal towns. The distribution of the products is fairly localised, supporting the idea that the industries were founded for markets in these new towns (see also McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 83). These industries were active in giving towns a distinctive identity, but also in relating the towns to one another through the development of craft specialists (Jervis 2007; Symonds 2003). Southampton is unusual in that although small quantities of Michelmersh-, Portchester- and Winchester- Wares were consumed, no wheelthrown industry developed here. Perhaps the continuity of settlement in the Southampton area, in contrast with the founding or expansion of Winchester and Portchester, promoted continuity in the production and distribution networks.

	Flint	Chalk	Mixed Grit	Shelly	Sandy	Michel-mersh	Port-chester	Win-chester	Non-local	Import	Total
Alton	1%	95%			3%						**475**
Kingsclere		24%			76%						**290**
Portchester (SC)	81%						17%		1%	1%	**807**
Fareham	98%	1%								1%	**4443**
Swaythling	81%	<1%	13%	6%	1%						**3600**
Winchester	1%	86%	5%	<1%	7%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	**128964**
Old Alresford	25%	48%	27%								**1677**
Owslebury	71%	8%	10%			9%			2%		**489**
Micheldever	7%	57%	30%			6%					**103**
Sparsholt	40%	26%	34%								**468**
Abbots Anne	73%	10%	5%		12%						**329**
Andover	37%	37%			2%	24%					**1972**
Romsey	96%	3%	<1%	<1%					<1%		**10459**
Amesbury	7%	65%				28%					**5038**
Southampton	76%	8%		<1%	2%	3%	<1%	<1%		12%	**107157**

Table 46: Composition of late Saxon assemblages from the study area (sherd weight, g, unless otherwise stated).

Figure 135: Composition of late Saxon assemblages from the study area (sherd weight, g).
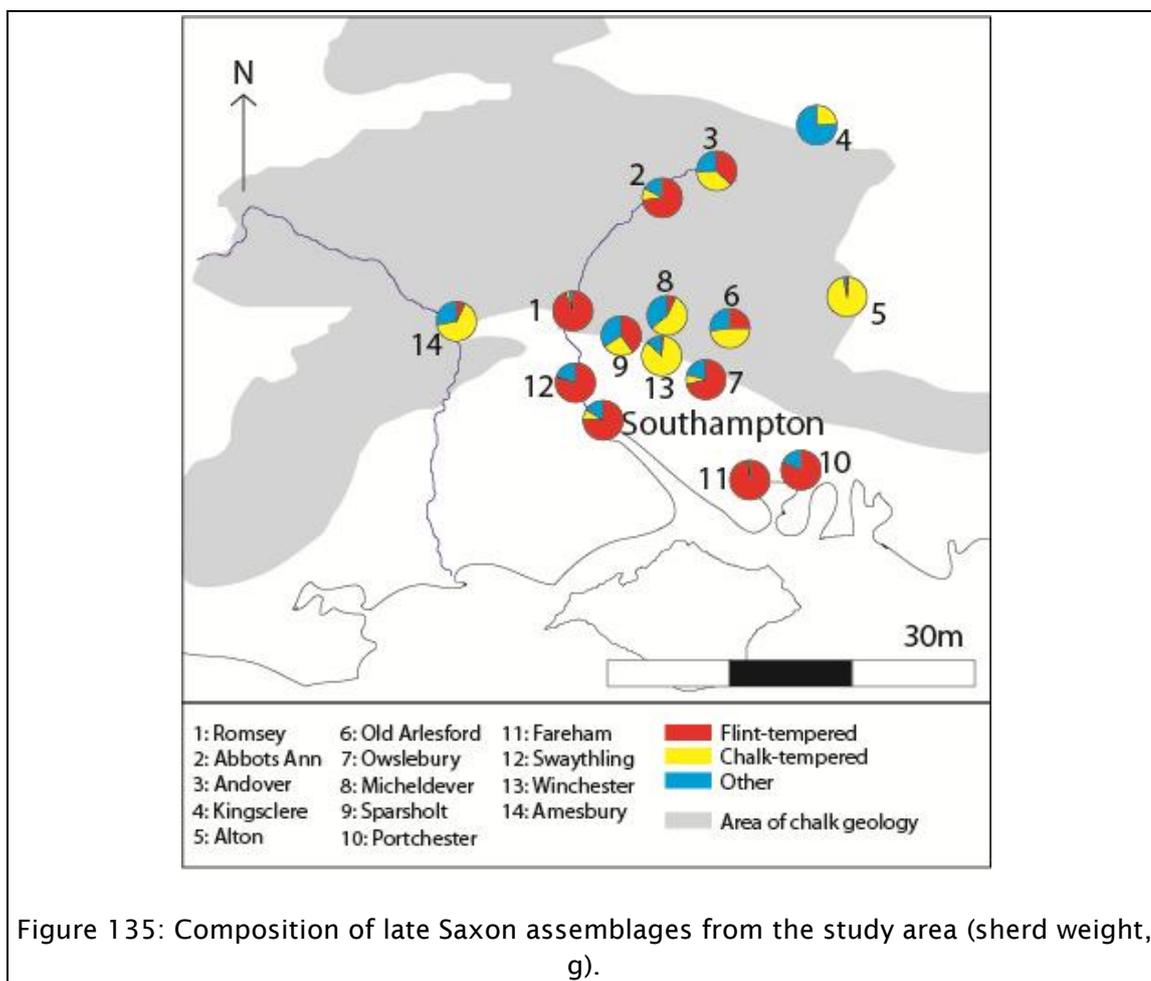
In order to test the suggestion that the continuity in Southampton may be related to the longer settlement history we can compare with London, where, Shelly Wares continue in varying forms through the 10th-12th centuries (Vince 1991 40-5). London shares some commonalities with Southampton; regional and continental imports support an existing local tradition of pottery manufacture and distribution, rather than the founding of new industries to support the town. The short lived nature of these burghal industries may relate to the movement of pottery industries away from towns in the 11th century, a pattern which can also be observed in French towns such as Douai (Louis and Leroy 2010). Changes can be observed elsewhere in northern France, with the emergence of Red Painted Ware production in the Paris region for example (Barton 1966a). Bouillon (2010) has suggested that the 8th-10th centuries sees the emergence of larger centres to supply more southerly towns such as Tours and Orleans and, like the Michelmersh industry, these were strategically located to exploit river systems. The picture is not uniform across France however, particularly in the east localised centres emerged, producing coarsewares, some of which were handmade (Routier 2004; Routier *et al* 2010; Prouteau *et al* 2010; Thullier 2010). As in southern England it may be possible to see rural areas being supplied by local workshops, with larger centres growing as part of a process of urbanisation during the 11th-12th centuries (Bull 2002, 6-7; Schofield and Vince 2003, 24), but this requires further research.

Imported wares are rare in Hampshire. Small quantities were recovered in Portchester and Winchester but, as in the mid-Saxon period, the distribution of these wares is focussed on Southampton. They are generally rare in other burghs, with only small quantities being recovered in Oxford (Mellor 2003a, 330-33) and Chichester (Hodges 1978, 352), for example. The presence of imports may be a further reason that a wheelthrown industry was not founded in Southampton, as it would need to compete with an established trade in pottery. Southampton is an anomaly in its local context, being differentiated from other Hampshire burghs by continuity in pottery production and supply, rather than being supplied by a new industry. As in London, the presence of regional and continental imports also demonstrate continuity rather than change, in contrast to the new burghal settlements at Winchester and Portchester.

Figure 136: The distribution of Michelmersh-type Ware at sites in the study area.
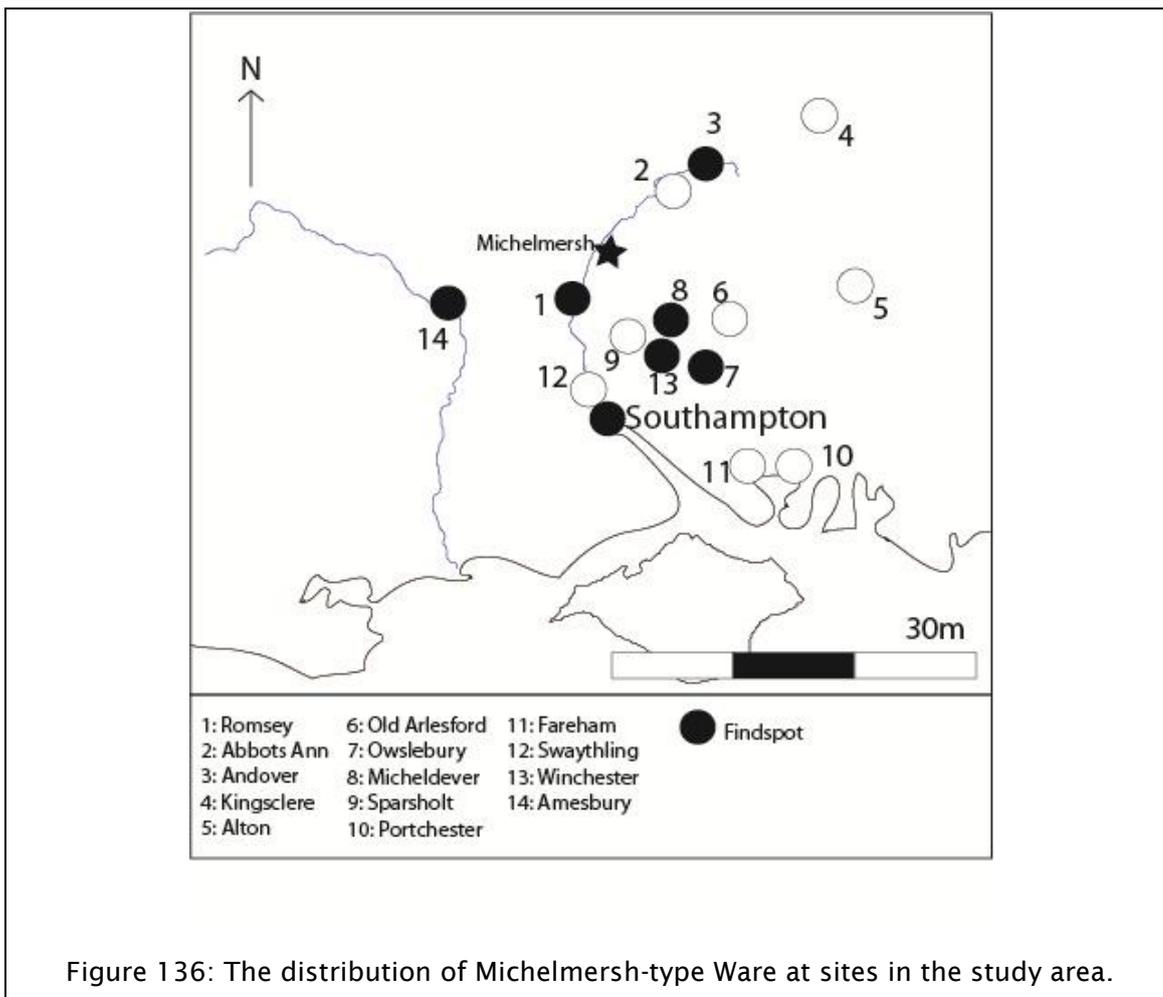
8.2.2 Use

Very little vessel form data exists for the late Saxon sites in the study area, due to deficiencies in the publication of pottery assemblages, but also to the fragmented nature of many groups. At all of the sites with data the most common vessel form is the jar, as in the mid- Saxon period, with bowls being a small but consistent component of assemblages across Hampshire (Table 47). One characteristic of Southampton's late Saxon assemblage is the contrasts in sooting identified in different areas of the town (chapter 6). Similar differences were observed in Oxford (Mellor 2003b, 345) and this is associated with St. Neots Ware. This ware has a distinct distribution in relation to Oxford Shelly Ware and may be indicative of some 'ethnic' division in cooking practices in the town (Blinkhorn 2009), or alternatively may relate to changing cooking practices over time (Mellor 2003b, 345).

Pitchers are considerably more common in Southampton than at surrounding rural sites, a pattern which can also be seen in relation to other Wessex burghs (Jervis 2007, 87), suggesting that these vessels were principally an urban phenomenon. It is

noticeable that the pitcher tradition is fairly short lived outside of Southampton, the Michelmersh industry had declined by the mid 11th century, whereas in Southampton there was a long lived tradition of pitcher use, with its ancestry in the imported vessels consumed in *Hamwic.* Rural consumers may not have adapted to these vessels, either continuing to use other vessels for the same functions, or perhaps not recognising the function needed to be fulfilled. A further point worth considering is why Michelmersh-type Wares were popular in Southampton. It is possible that the stamped Michelmersh-type pitchers may have been more familiar to consumers within Southampton, given the long history of stamped pottery in Wessex (Cunliffe 1974), than the new imported Red Painted Wares, although it should be noted that some appear to have fulfilled a distinct processing, rather than serving function (chapter 6). Southampton is unusual within its local setting, both in terms of the quantity of pitchers consumed and the length of time these were consumed for (with Normandy Gritty Ware pitchers continuing to be consumed into the 12th century).

In this period we can see differences starting to emerge between urban and rural ceramic use. A wider range of vessels were utilised in urban contexts, some being specifically produced for consumption in towns. In Southampton this urban pattern of use is a continuation of practices from *Hamwic.* Elsewhere this mode of consumption was new and was perhaps not taken up so enthusiastically, meaning that differences emerge between the Southampton assemblage and those from other towns. Further quantified analysis of urban assemblages is required to prove this latter suggestion.

	Jar	Bowl	Pitcher	Unid	MVC
Alton	16%			84%	51
Kingsclere	5%	5%		91%	22
Old Alresford	18%			82%	146
Owslebury	38%	5%		57%	21
Micheldever	40%			60%	5
Sparsholt	9%	6%		85%	47
Abbots Anne	9%	3%	3%	86%	35
Andover	13%	6%	3%	78%	32
Romsey	15%	2%	<1%	83%	654
Southampton	10%	<1%	<1%	90%	5445

Table 47: Composition of late Saxon assemblages from Hampshire by vessel form (max. vessels).

8.2.3 Deposition

In Southampton there is general continuity in depositional practice from the mid-Saxon period, with the continued build up of surface deposits, although there is an increase in the incidence of deposition in pits. A similar pattern of refuse deposition has been identified at Rowner (Lewis and Martin 1973, 38) and Emsworth (Bradley 1973, 31) whilst environmental evidence indicates middening at Bishopstone (Thomas 2010). The gnawing of bones at late Saxon sites in Winchester indexes the development of middens in this urban context, prior to redeposition in pits (Coy 2009, 29).

The pattern of dumping waste into disused pits is common in late Saxon Wessex. For example, in the small town of Steyning (West Sussex) pits were filled in several ways, some containing fresh, secondary deposits, whilst others contained gnawed bones, suggesting that they were perhaps filled with redeposited midden material (Gardiner 1993, 35; Gardiner and Greatorex 1997, 145). Similarly in London, a mixture of surface and buried deposits are present (Vince 1991, 17). At Portchester pit fills were typically sealed with layers of shell, stone or clay (Cunliffe 1976), as in Southampton.

The pattern of waste disposal in late Saxon Southampton conforms, in general terms, to depositional practices at both urban and rural sites in southern England. There is generally an increase in the number of pits, dug for a range of functions and finally filled with waste, much of which was redeposited from surface middens.

8.3 The Post-Conquest Period

Unlike in Southampton, the Anglo-Norman and high medieval periods are not clearly defined across Hampshire. For this reason we need to draw together the evidence from these two periods into a single discussion.

8.3.1 Distribution

Several distribution mechanisms existed in Post-Conquest Hampshire, related to the types of sites and to the types of pottery being exchanged. Ceramic zones can be identified on the basis of the coarsewares present. In west Hampshire the 11th-14th centuries are characterised by quartz-tempered Wessex Coarsewares,[30] which are related to Dorset Quartz-tempered Ware (Spoerry 1990). Scratch Marked Ware fits into this tradition, but is only present in small quantities outside of Southampton (*ibid*).

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[30] Also known as Laverstock-type Coarsewares.

These are abundant in the towns of Christchurch (Jervis forthcoming e), Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c), Salisbury (Mepham 2000a), Fordingbridge (Mepham 2003a) and Winchester (Holmes and Matthews forthcoming), as well as being found at rural sites such as Wellow (Figure 137). The distribution of these wares extends up the Test Valley as far as King's Somborne (Timby 2004), where they are replaced by Kennet Valley Wares (see Vince *et al* 1997) (Figure 138). Kennet Valley Wares are abundant across north Hampshire, in Andover (Matthews unpub.) and at the nearby rural sites of Abbots Anne, Popham (Hawkes 1986) and Foxcotte (Matthews 1985), as well as further east at Basingstoke and Kingsclere. In the north east of the county these wares are supplemented by quartz tempered fabrics of Ashampstead-type (Mepham and Heaton 1995), which comprise the majority of the coarsewares from Odiham Castle (Brown and Thomson 2010).

Figure 137[31]: The distribution of Wessex Coarsewares at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).

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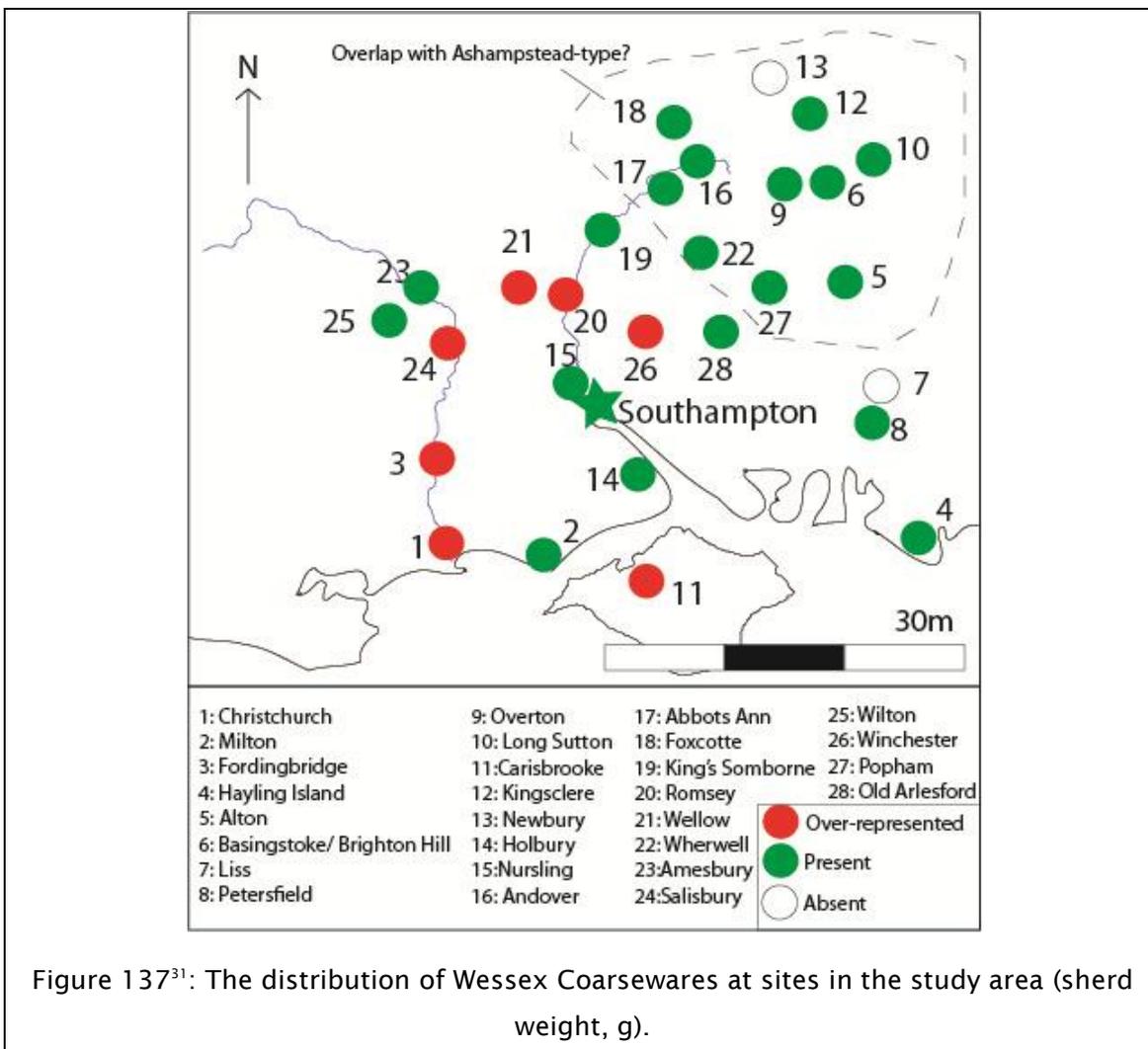
[31] Over-represented is defined as a site accounting for at least 5% more of the total for a type than it accounts for the total medieval assemblage. For example, a site with 5% of the total assemblage but 11% of a particular ware.

		Wessex Coarseware	Kennet Valley	Southampton-type	Bentley-type	%ge Coarsewares
Avon Valley	Christchurch	10%		<1%		4%
	Fordingbridge	5%				2%
	Milton	<1%				<1%
Coastal Plain	Hayling Island	<1%			5%	<1%
East Hampshire	Alton	<1%	<1%		43%	1%
	Basingstoke	<1%	1%			<1%
	Brighton Hill	<1%	7%			3%
	Liss				34%	1%
	Long Sutton	<1%				<1%
	Overton	<1%	<1%			<1%
	Petersfield	<1%			5%	<1%
	West Worldham				14%	<1%
Isle of Wight	Carisbrooke	1%				<1%
Kennet Valley	Kingsclere	<1%	1%			1%
	Newbury		29%			14%
	Wroughton Copse		20%			9%
Southampton Area	Holbury	<1%		<1%		<1%
	Nursling	<1%	<1%	1%		<1%
	Southampton	23%		98%		24%
Test Valley	Abbots Anne	<1%	1%			1%
	Andover	<1%	8%			4%
	Foxcotte	<1%	4%			2%
	King's Somborne	2%	3%	<1%		2%
	Romsey	17%		1%		6%
	Wellow	1%		<1%		<1%
	Wherwell	<1%	2%			1%
Wiltshire	Amesbury	<1%	<1%			<1%
	Salisbury	3%				1%
	Wilton	<1%				<1%
Winchester Area	Old Alresford	<1%				<1%
	Popham	15%	24%			16%
	Winchester	20%	<1%			7%
Total		**297598**	**401138**	**144122**	**15650**	**858508**

Table 48: Distribution of Post-Conquest coarsewares in Hampshire (sherd weight, g).

Figure 138: The distribution of Kennet-Valley A and B Wares at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).
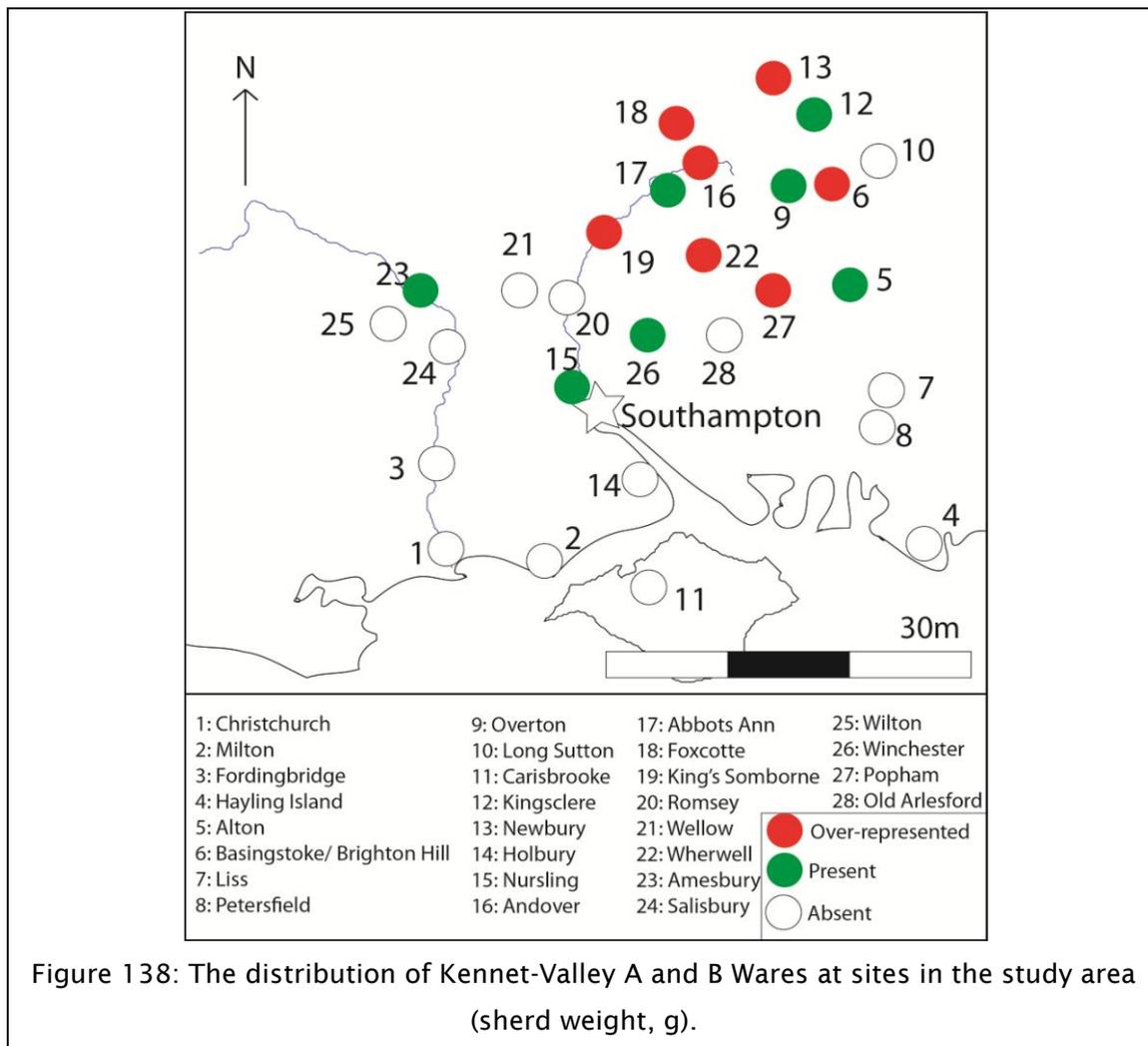
The east of the county is characterised by micaceous sandy fabrics, such as those produced at Bentley (Figure 139). Earlier coarse types are replaced in the 13th-14th century by finer wares (Jervis forthcoming d). Further south, at Liss and Petersfield, collections of Hawkely-type Wares were recovered (*ibid*). Small quantities of these east Hampshire types were also identified in Fareham (Brown unpub.).

The Southampton Coarseware tradition is fairly localised, small quantities are found in Romsey, but the northern most point where these are a major ware is Nursling (Figure 140). Finally, one site, Milton Manor, appears to have sourced some of its coarseware pottery from the Isle of Wight (Knighton-type; Fennelly 1970; Mepham 2000b), as well as from the Wessex Coarseware industries. Although the distributions of these wares can be relatively well defined, there are 'stray' examples, perhaps pottery which moved as containers or due to the movement of people between estates (see Moorhouse 1983a). A further possibility is that whilst potters supplied local markets, middlemen bought up stocks of particular wares and transported them over longer distances

(Vince 1977, 289). Generally these coarsewares fit into a class of locally produced wares, with a relatively localised distribution.
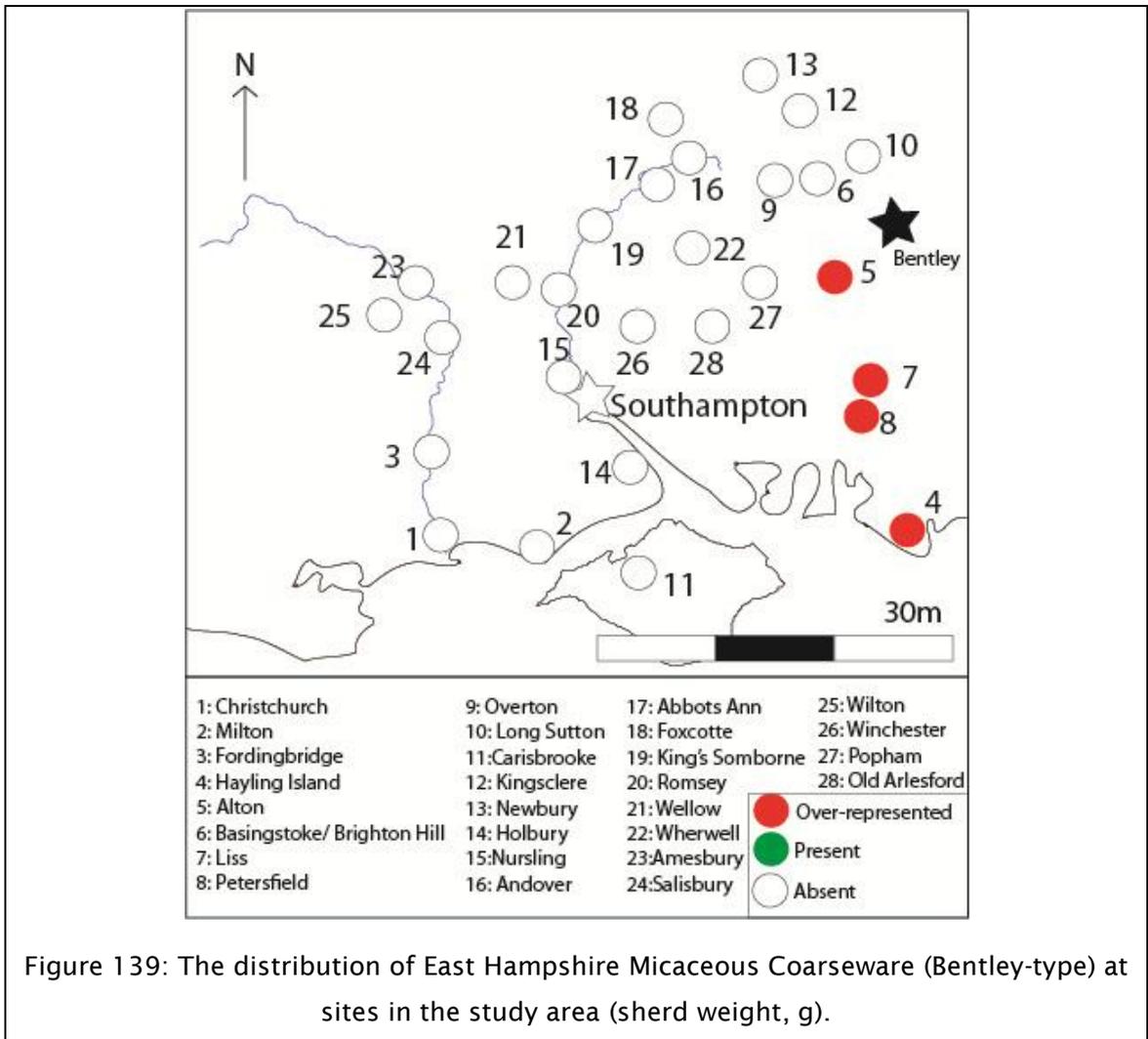
Figure 139: The distribution of East Hampshire Micaceous Coarseware (Bentley-type) at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).
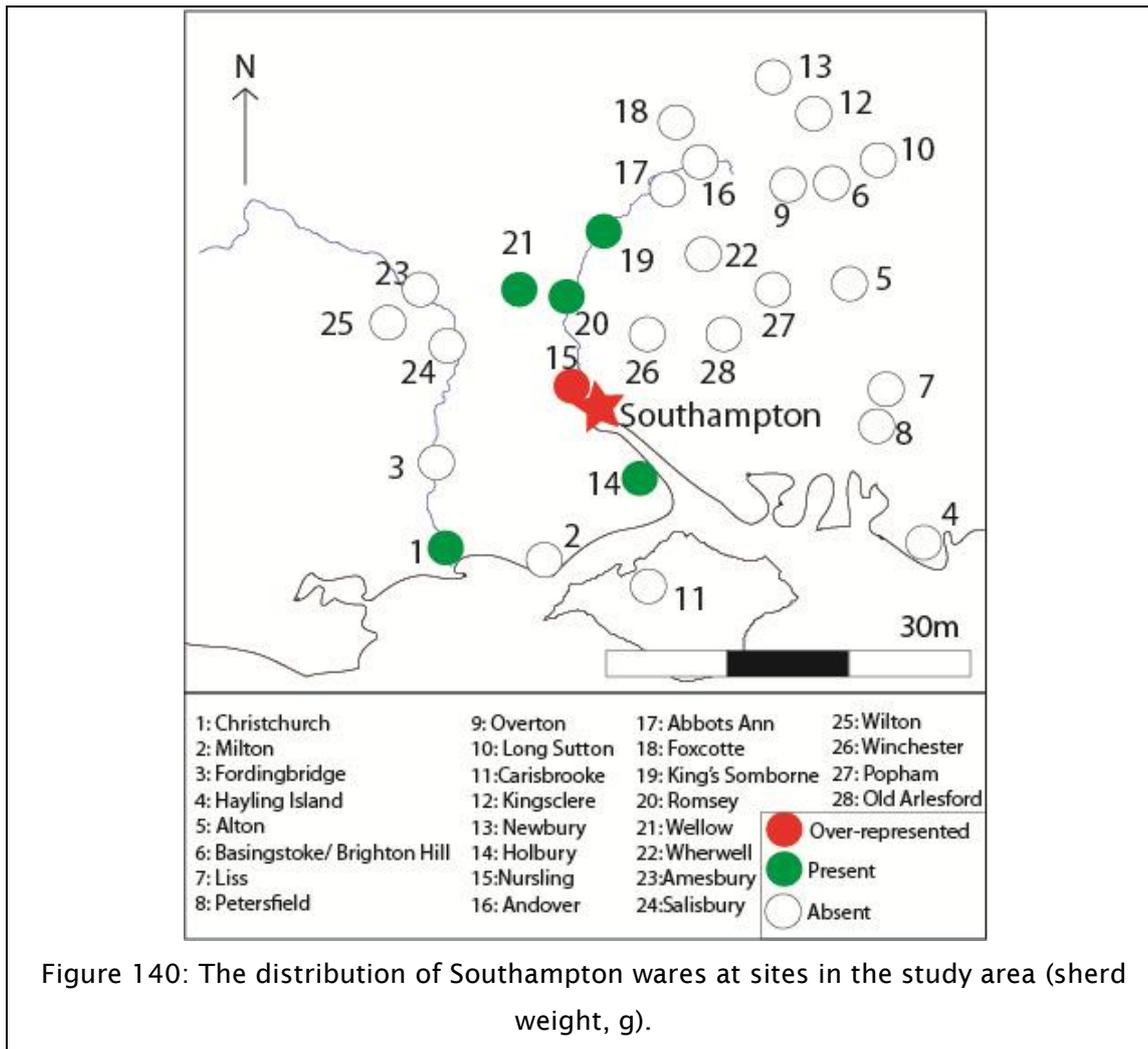
Figure 140: The distribution of Southampton wares at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).

Although these coarseware industries are widespread, with well-defined distribution zones, it is likely that wares were produced at a number of centres (Table 49). Glazed sandy wares generally have wider distributions, the two main types in west Hampshire being Laverstock-type Ware (LAV) and South Hampshire Redware (SHR). Laverstock-type Ware is found in high quantities in Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c) and Fordingbridge (Mepham 2003a), at sites around Andover (Matthews 1985; unpublished), as well as Salisbury (Mepham 2000a) and Christchurch (Jervis forthcoming e) (Figure 141). It is not common in Winchester (Holmes and Matthews forthcoming), where, as in Southampton, South Hampshire Redware dominates.

South Hampshire Redware is also the most common type in Fareham (Brown unpub.), is abundant in Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c) and is found in small quantities across the county (Figure 142). East Hampshire was supplied by the Surrey/Hampshire border industries (Pearce and Vince 1988), Surrey Whitewares (SUR) account for most of the glazed sandy wares in Alton and Basingstoke (Jervis forthcoming d; Blinkhorn and Brown 2007) (Figure 143). Other wares have wider distributions outside of the study

area, but are present in small quantities and include Newbury C Ware, found at sites in northern Hampshire (Vince *et al* 1997, 54), and Dorset Whiteware (DORS), found in Christchurch (Jervis forthcoming e), Fordingbridge (Mepham 2003a) and Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c). In east Hampshire jugs from West Sussex (WS) and the production centres at Hawkley (HAWK) and Bentley (BENT) were also consumed. A number of other smaller centres existed in mid Hampshire, particularly producing a range of glazed sandy wares found in Winchester (Holmes and Matthews forthcoming) and Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c), as well as rural sites such as Popham (Hawkes 1986). Imported wares are very rare and only Saintonge Wares (SAINT) are found in any quantity outside of Southampton. Their distribution is focussed on the towns of Winchester (Holmes and Matthews forthcoming) and Romsey (Jervis forthcoming c), with small quantities found at Brighton Hill (Rees 1995) and in Alton (Jervis forthcoming d). As a port, Christchurch has a wider range and higher quantity of imports (FRE). These may not have been the product of direct trade, however, with them potentially reaching the town through Southampton, or by other cross channel contact, such as fishing (Jervis forthcoming e).
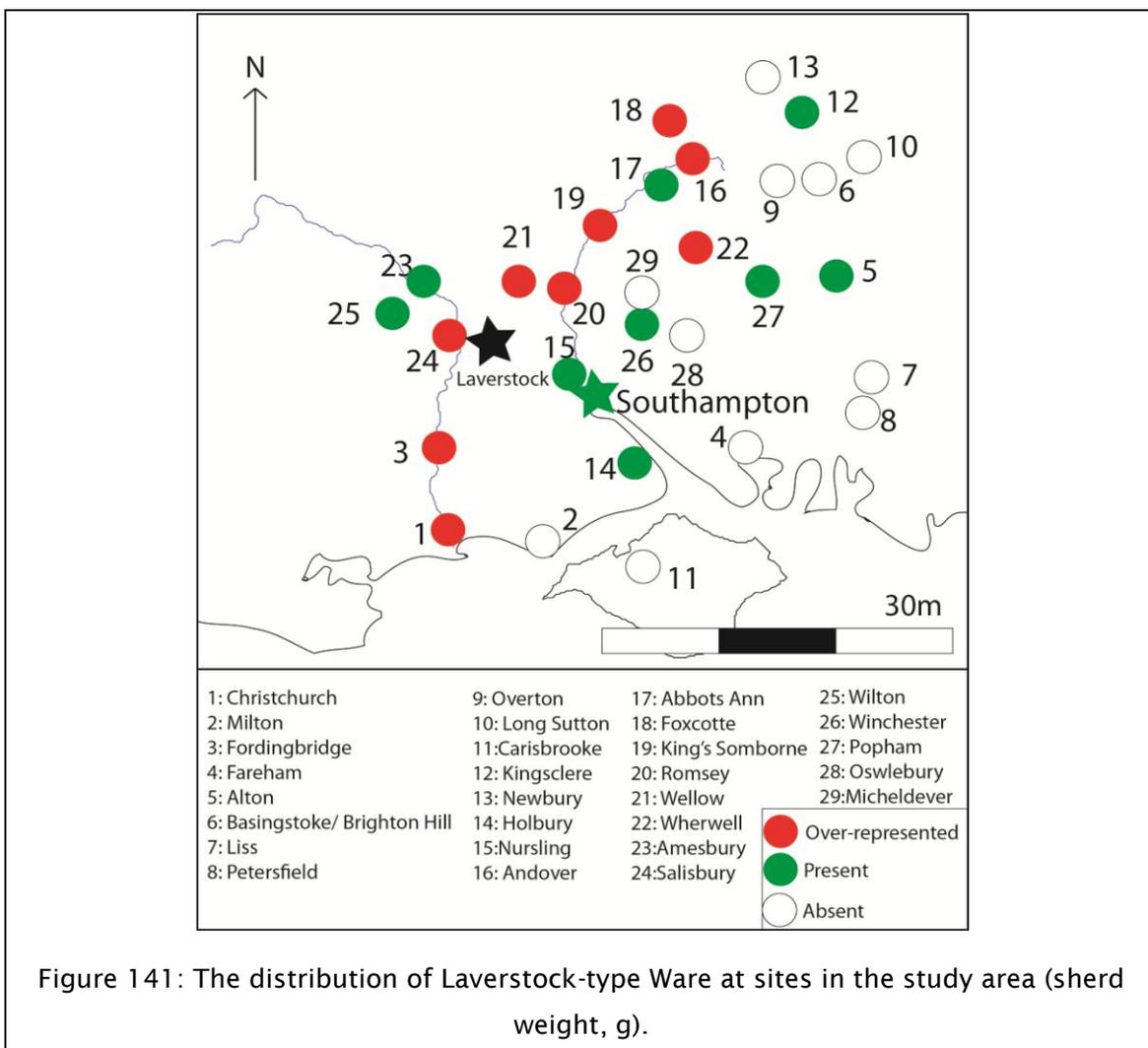
Figure 141: The distribution of Laverstock-type Ware at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).

Figure 142: The distribution of South Hampshire Redware at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).
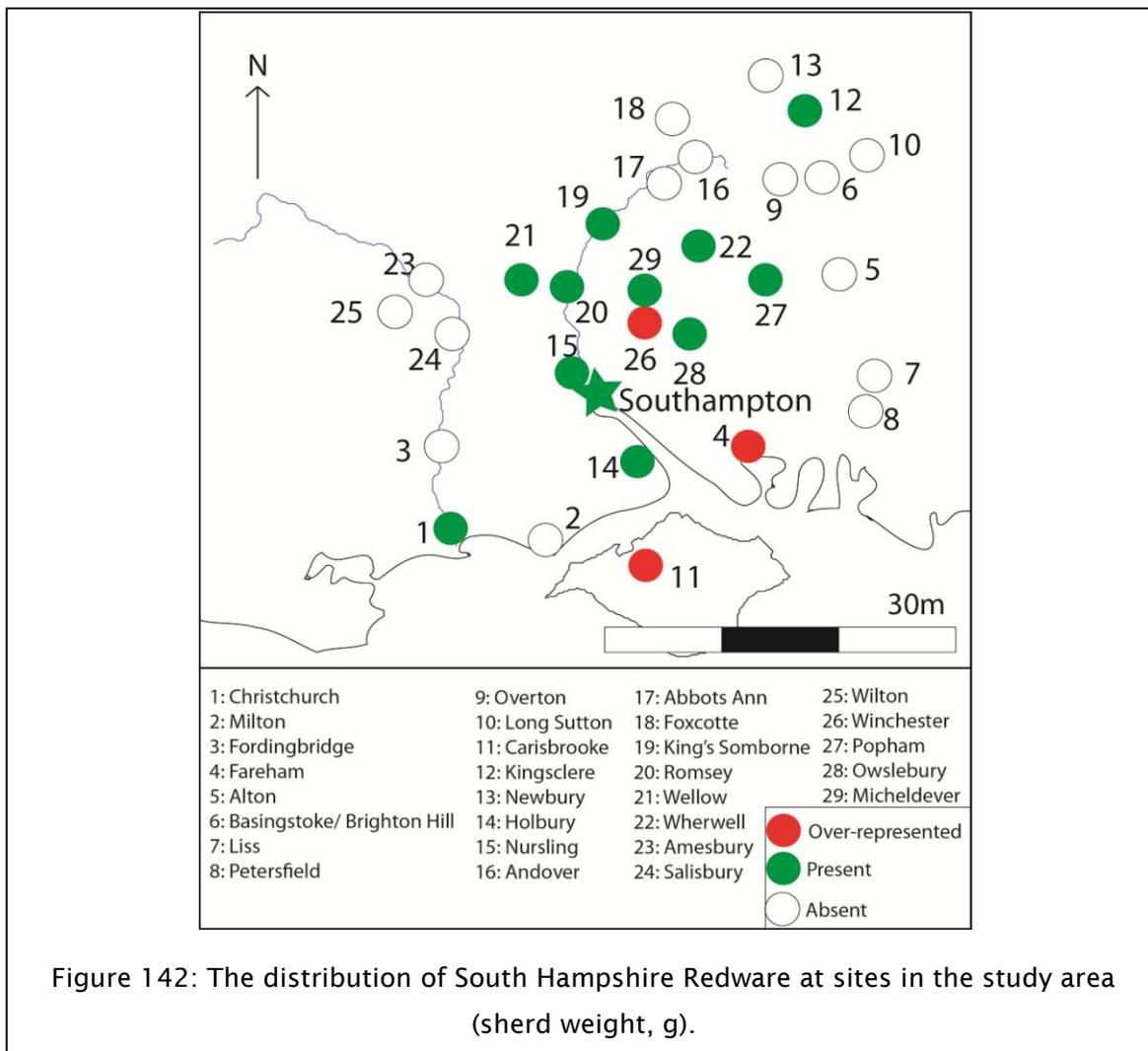
The general picture is of a small number of production centres marketing glazed sandy wares over wide areas, with more localised production of unglazed coarsewares in regional styles, as is fairly typical elsewhere in medieval England (Vince 1981). Most towns have a single coarseware type dominating the assemblage, suggesting that the market was supplied by a single local production centre. Towns typically have a wider range of glazed sandy wares than rural sites, for example at Romsey, South Hampshire Redwares, Laverstock-type Wares and other local products are present, alongside Dorset and Surrey types and the Alton assemblage contains Surrey, Bentley and West Sussex Wares. This variety may relate to an increase in the number of markets and fairs in the later 13th century and the fact that potters did not restrict themselves to selling pottery at only the most local markets (Le Patourel 1969, 119). In contrast the assemblages from King's Somborne (Timby 2004) and Foxcotte (Matthews 1985) are dominated by Laverstock-type Wares. The distribution of this ware in particular appears to follow the local river systems (see Moorhouse 1983a, 48), whilst the South Downs and New Forest may have been barriers to the wider exchange of some types. A single

model of pottery marketing cannot be applied to Hampshire.[32] Marketing created multiple relationships between workshops and settlements, creating multi-dimensional 'ceramic landscapes' (Symonds 2003). There is also a massive difference in the composition of assemblages, with glazed sandy wares being considerably more abundant in towns. This is partly due to marketing, with a range of traders operating in urban markets, whilst rural consumers were generally supplied by local industries (see Moorhouse 1983a), but also relates to the role of these vessels in consumption (chapter 10).

Figure 143: The distribution of Surrey Whitewares at sites in the study area (sherd weight, g).

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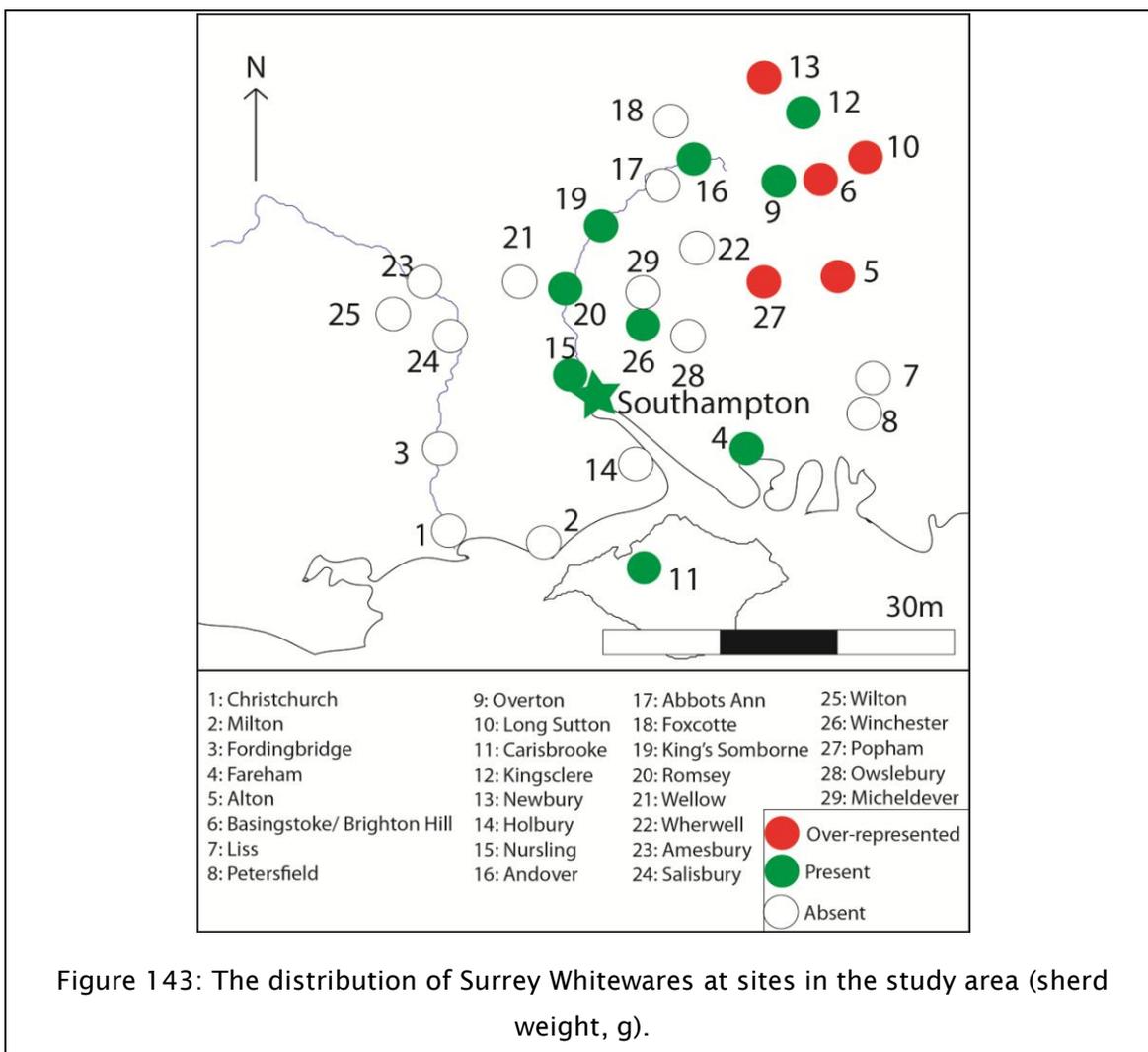
[32] Sreeton's (1981; 1982) studies of pottery marketing in Kent and Sussex reached similar conclusions.

		SHR	LAV	DORS	SUR	BENT	HAWK	WS	SAINT	FRE	%ge Sandy Wares
Avon Valley	Christchurch	<1%	6%	4%					1%	7%	**1%**
	Fordingbridge		2%	1%							**<1%**
	Milton			<1%							**<1%**
Coastal Plain	Fareham	1%			<1%				<1%		**<1%**
East Hampshire	Alton	<1%	<1%		16%	98%		20%	<1%	<1%	**1%**
	Basingstoke				7%						**1%**
	Brighton Hill				7%				<1%	8%	**1%**
	Liss						100%	7%			**<1%**
	Long Sutton				1%						**<1%**
	Overton				<1%						**<1%**
	Petersfield					2%					**<1%**
	West Worldham							73%			**<1%**
Isle of Wight	Carisbrooke	11%			4%				<1%	28%	**6%**
Kennet Valley	Kingsclere	<1%	<1%		<1%						**<1%**
	Newbury				53%						**4%**
	Wroughton Copse		2%								**<1%**
South-ampton Area	Holbury	<1%	<1%							2%	**<1%**
	Nursling	<1%	<1%		<1%						**<1%**
	Southampton	49%	20%	93%					96%	54%	**55%**
Test Valley	Abbots Anne		<1%								**<1%**
	Andover		20%		<1%						**3%**
	Foxcotte		4%								**<1%**
	King's Somborne	<1%	6%		<1%						**1%**
	Romsey	3%	14%	1%	1%				1%	1%	**4%**
	Wellow	<1%	1%	<1%							**<1%**
	Wherwell	<1%	7%							<1%	**1%**
Wiltshire	Amesbury		<1%								**<1%**
	Salisbury		16%								**2%**
	Wilton		<1%								**<1%**
Winchester Area	Micheldever	<1%									**<1%**
	Popham		<1%		7%						**1%**
	Winchester	34%	3%		2%				2%	1%	**18%**
	Owslbury	<1%									**<1%**
Total		**97908**	**26473**	**16074**	**13721**	**525**	**434**	**765**	**40897**	**3161**	**199958**

Table 49: Distribution of selected glazed sandy wares in the study area (Sherd weight, g).

Romsey is the only town where there have been enough excavations to consider the distribution of pottery within a settlement (Table 50; Figure 144). At all of the domestic

sites, over 75% of the pottery by weight consists of locally produced coarsewares. The same wares were consumed at Romsey Abbey, albeit possibly in smaller quantities (perhaps due to the use of metal cooking vessels). As in Southampton the whole town appears to have been provisioned with coarseware jars and bowls through a single market, reflected by the dominance of Wessex Coarseware. The proportions of assemblages composed of glazed sandy wares varies between sites at the centre and periphery of the town. Assemblages from the periphery contain a range of locally produced glazed sandy wares, with exceptionally small quantities of non-local wares. In the centre of the town, including at the Abbey there are a higher quantity of non-local wares, complementing the local types which still dominate. It is possible that these non-local wares are indicative of tenurial links with other areas (Moorhouse 1983a, 58), which resulted in the movement of pottery, or are illustrative of participation in trade in centres such as Southampton or Salisbury. The slight differences in pottery distribution are indicative of different exchange mechanisms within the town. Whilst locally produced glazed sandy wares and coarsewares were widely available and fairly evenly spread, non-local wares may have been exchanged through other mechanisms. As in Southampton, most households used the same types of locally produced pottery, supplemented by small quantities acquired outside of the town's market. Whilst in Southampton this is indicated through the presence of imported wares in merchant's houses, here it is potentially demonstrated through the presence of small quantities of non-local products.

	11 The Hundred	15 The Hundred	Church Street	Newton Lane Link	Abbey	%ge Total
Flint and Sand Tempered Ware	11%	31%	7%	22%	8%	16%
Wessex Coarseware	73%	56%	72%	55%	51%	63%
Fine Flint and Sand Tempered Ware	<1%		2%	2%		1%
Fine Sandy	3%	6%	5%	6%	16%	6%
Laverstock-type Ware	2%	3%	2%	5%	6%	3%
South Hampshire Redware	4%	2%	7%	7%	2%	4%
Southampton Sandy Ware	1%	<1%	1%	1%	11%	2%
Other Local Sandy Ware	6%	1%	2%	2%	5%	4%
Surrey Whiteware	<1%		<1%		<1%	<1%
Dorset whiteware		<1%	<1%	1%		<1%
Dorset Red Painted Ware			<1%	<1%		<1%
Rouen-type Ware			<1%			<1%
Saintonge Whiteware	<1%		<1%	<1%	2%	<1%
Saintonge Polychrome	<1%					<1%
North French Whiteware	<1%					<1%
Total (g)	17141	12643	9068	7985	8675	55512

Table 50: Composition of Post-Conquest assemblages from selected sites in Romsey (sherd weight, g).
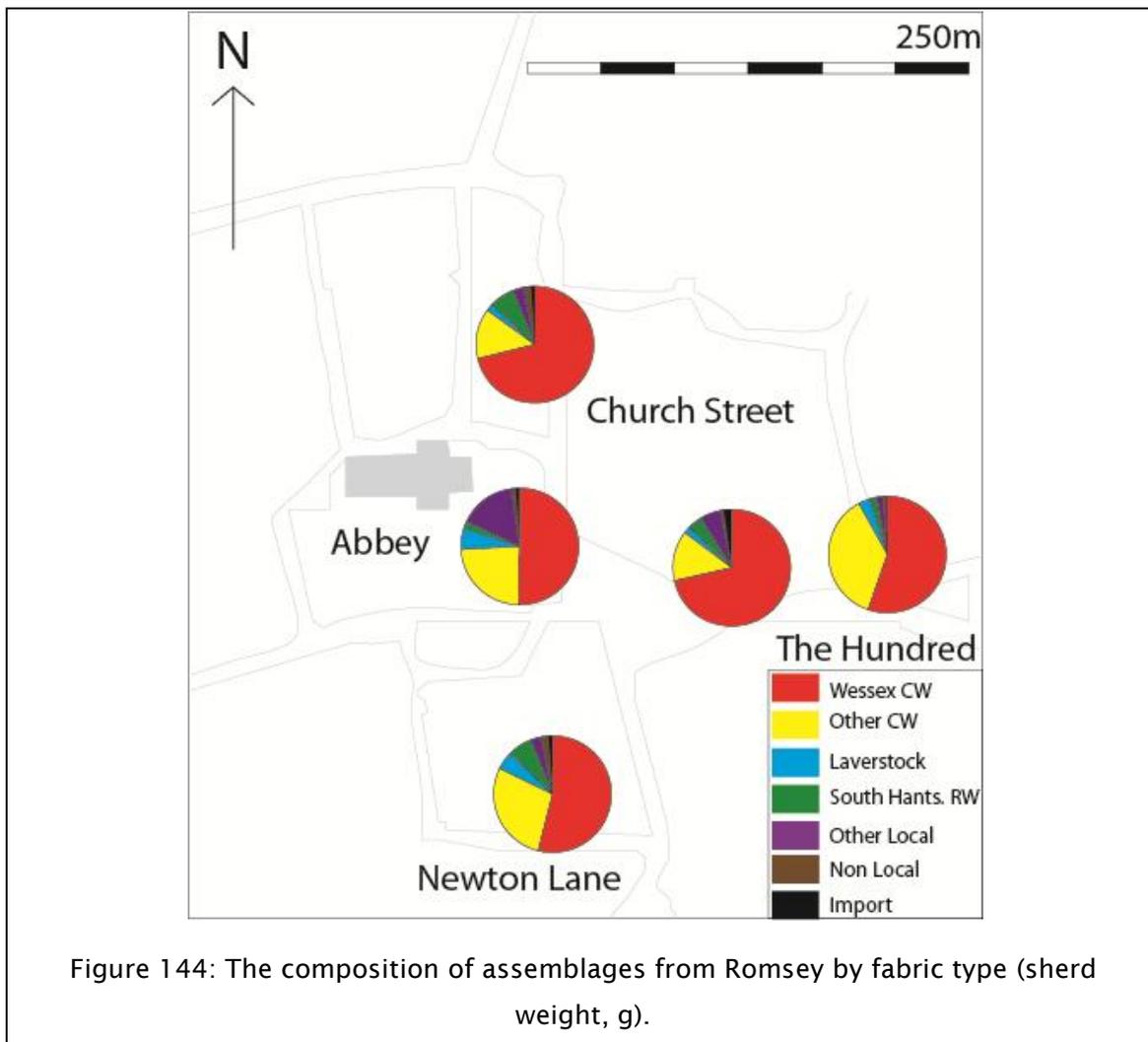
Figure 144: The composition of assemblages from Romsey by fabric type (sherd weight, g).

8.3.2 Use

Brown (1997b, 93) concluded that jars and bowls were the most prevalent forms on rural sites, whilst jugs are more important in urban contexts. He argues that jugs may have been produced for the urban market and that the pottery used at rural sites was more directed toward food processing, whilst in urban contexts tableware is more common. Analysis of pottery from a range of sites in Hampshire confirms this trend. In the small towns of Alton, Romsey and Andover, jars make up between a quarter and a half of the identifiable vessels present (Table 51), suggesting that, as in Southampton, households needed these vessels for functions such as storage and cooking.

Jugs/pitchers are considerably less common in these towns (where they account for 10-20% of assemblages by weight) than in Southampton (where they account for 29%)

(Table 51).[33] The low figures for small towns are comparable with lower status sites in Southampton, such as York Buildings, where jugs account for 20% of the Post-Conquest assemblage. The types of jugs also differ, with the smaller towns having higher proportions of plain, coarseware jugs or tripod pitchers than Southampton.

	Alton	Andover	Christchurch	Romsey	Southampton	York Buildings
Jar	31%	24%	24%	33%	35%	16%
Jug	16%	33%	12%	11%	29%	20%
Bowl/Dish	4%	5%	2%	5%	1%	0%
Drinking Vessel	<1%				<1%	<1%
Other Kitchen	7%		8%	2%	4%	1%
Other	1%		1%	<1%	2%	1%
Unid.	49%	39%	53%	49%	29%	62%
Total (g)	11759	14065	44302	60540	383984	61738

Table 51: Composition of Post-Conquest assemblages from Alton, Andover, Christchurch, Romsey and Southampton by vessel form (sherd weight, g).

In Romsey, the quantity of jugs is noticeably higher at sites in the centre of the town, with them accounting for around 10% at the periphery. Coarser or plain jugs are particularly common at the periphery, but are also abundant at Romsey Abbey (Table 52; Figure 145), where they may have been used in the context of a large kitchen. Southampton Sandy ware jugs are also present, perhaps also used in a kitchen context, based on the Southampton usewear evidence (chapter 6). In all of the assemblages, the bulk of the jugs are Laverstock-type Ware or South Hampshire Redware, likely fitting into the class of 'everyday jug'. More elaborately decorated jugs, some of which came from these local industries, possibly used for serving, are more common in the centre of the town. As in Southampton, decorated tableware jugs (e.g. Dorset Whitewares, Rouen-type Wares) were generally sourced from outside of the local market. We can see some differences in jug use between households in Romsey, with decorated vessels, perhaps tablewares, being used in the centre and at the Abbey. Everyday jugs were used everywhere, whilst plain jugs were possibly used in the kitchens of the Abbey and wealthy households, and more widely in homes at the periphery. Such differences in jug use can also be observed in Southampton, where the wealthiest inhabitants used a range of decorated forms, and those living on the margins made use of plainer, more utilitarian types, possibly without the need for serving vessels (chapters 5 and 6). The relative absence of highly decorated forms from small towns, when compared to

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[33] The high figure for Andover is misleading due to the presence of a near complete vessel in a comparatively small assemblage.

Southampton, suggests that a different tradition of jug use existed outside of the port, with a focus on use for carrying and decanting, rather than for formal serving.
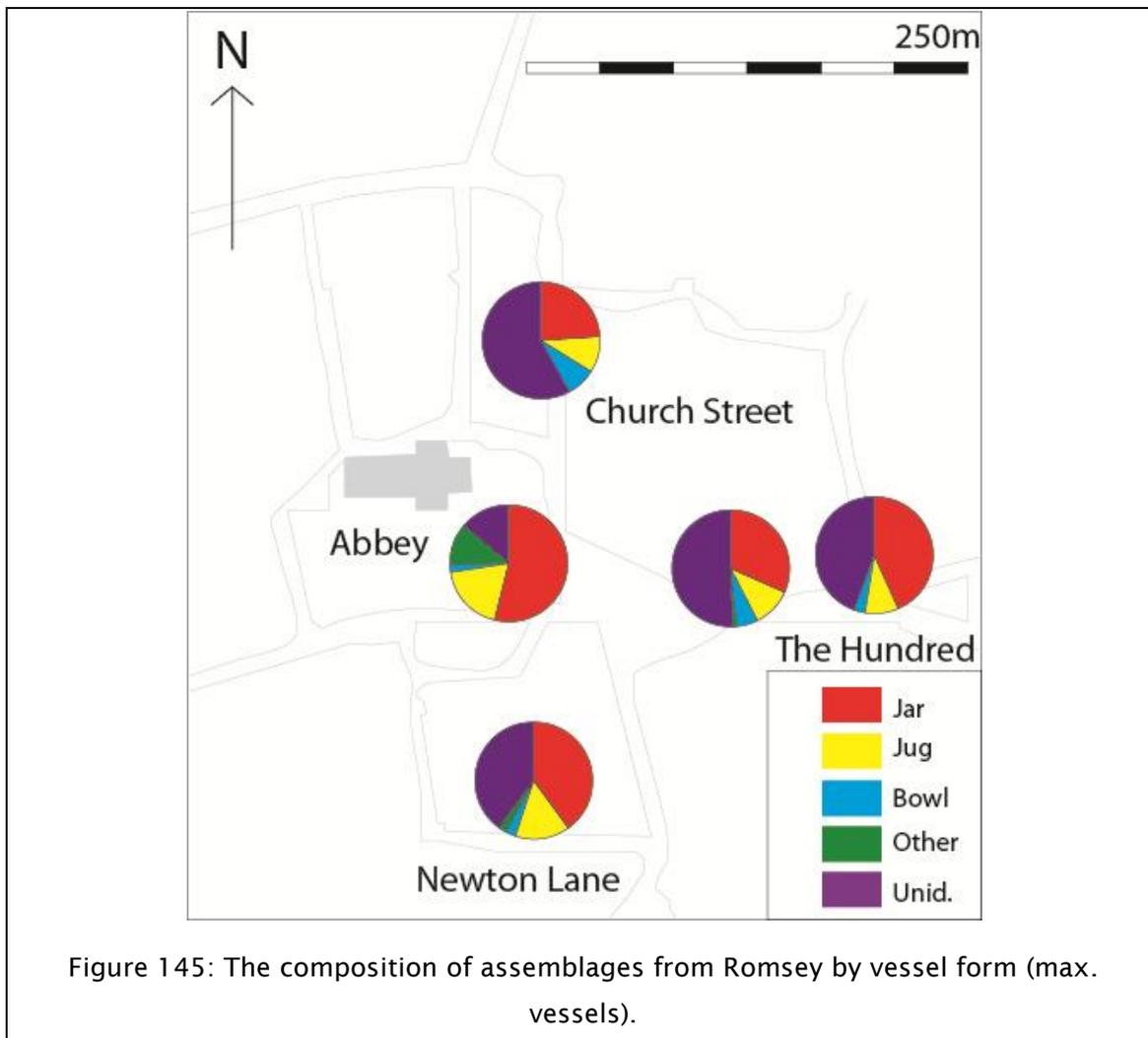
Figure 145: The composition of assemblages from Romsey by vessel form (max. vessels).

	11 The Hundred	15 The Hundred	Church Street	Newton Lane Link	Abbey	%ge Total
Jar	32%	43%	24%	40%	55%	**37%**
Coarse Jug/Pitcher	1%	5%	1%	3%	2%	**2%**
Glazed Sandy Ware Jug/Pitcher	10%	5%	9%	12%	18%	**10%**
Total Jug/Pitcher	**11%**	**9%**	**10%**	**15%**	**19%**	**12%**
Bowl/Dish	6%	3%	8%	3%	2%	**5%**
Bunghole Pitcher					1%	**0%**
Curfew	1%				7%	**1%**
Dripping Pan					4%	**0%**
Spouted Pitcher				2%		**0%**
Unid.	51%	44%	58%	40%	14%	**47%**
Total (g)	**17141**	**12643**	**9068**	**7985**	**7174**	**54011**

Table 52: Composition of selected Post-Conquest assemblages from Romsey by vessel form (sherd weight, g).

In contrast, the proportions of bowls/dishes in these assemblages are noticeably higher than in Southampton (Table 51). In Christchurch and Alton other kitchen vessels were identified, including pipkins, dripping pans and skillets. Bowls account for a small proportion of vessels at sites across Romsey, but it is noticeable that more specialist cooking vessels were only found in the town centre. The relative prevalence of bowls at peripheral sites may indicate that the occupants engaged in agricultural activity such as dairying (Weiss Adamson 2004, 61). Patterns of ceramic use in these small towns appear quite different to the merchants' quarter of Southampton, the emphasis being on vessels used in the storage, preparation and cooking of foods, with jugs being comparatively rare. It can be concluded then that Southampton's merchants' quarter cannot be seen as indicative of a typical urban lifestyle. Whilst there are similarities between small town assemblages and the assemblage from York Buildings, the evidence from Romsey demonstrates that there were differences in ceramic use across these towns, so we cannot create a generalised model of pottery use.

The pattern of use identified in Southampton can also be observed in other ports. In Norwich, for example the site at Westwick Street, close to the waterfront, had a wide range of highly decorated imported and non-local wares, illustrating the relative wealth of the occupants of this site (Jennings 2002a). In contrast no imports were recovered from excavations in the suburbs at Heigham (Jennings 2002b), where plainer, unglazed Grimston-type Wares were common. Similarly, few imported wares were noted in the Botolph Street area, the centre of an iron working industry and thus comparable to York Buildings in Southampton (Evans 1985). It is possible that such patterning is unique to, or at least more marked, in ports. In Oxford the picture is more similar to

that in the small towns of Hampshire. Here, Brill/Boarstal type jugs are common across the town (Mellor 1997). These are similar in character to the South Hampshire Redware or Laverstock-type jugs, having simple decoration. English industries did produce equivalents to the imported 'tableware' jugs in the French style, for example in Rye-type (Barton 1979), Brill/Boarstall (Mellor 1997, 29) and London (Pearce *et al* 1985) wares. These types are rare and were only made at a small number of centres, demonstrating a limited demand for these vessels.

Our understanding of pottery use in northern France is limited by a focus on studies of production. Normandy Gritty Ware is ubiquitous in north western France, being produced at a number of centres (e.g. Lacroix 1998; Beuchet, Dufournier, Fichet and Clairfontaine 1999; Flambard Héricher 2002; Barton 1966b). The products present in Southampton represent only a limited range of the forms produced, being types which either appealed to the existing market in Southampton or were perhaps brought by other means, for example as ship's equipment. Similarly, the bulk of imported pottery is representative of one end of the ceramic spectrum, with highly decorated wares being the most common imports, but being relatively minor components of domestic assemblages in northern France (e.g. at St Denis: Meyer *et al* 1981; Crécy-en-Ponthieu: Bréchet 2004; St. Omer: Roy and Barbé 1998). As in earlier periods, vessels were imported which complemented local products (see Allan 1984, 18), but were required by those aspiring to maintain or build a particular set of social relationships in their domestic environments (chapter 10).

Vessels produced at centres such as Laverstock (Musty, Algar and Ewence 1969) and on the Surrey/Hampshire border (Pearce and Vince 1988) are typically decorated with anthropomorphic decoration or trailing floral motifs, closely matching highly decorated jugs from north eastern France and the Low Countries (Barton 1977; Dunning 1976; Verhaege 2009) (Figure 146). This contrasts with the highly decorated, bichrome or polychrome vessels produced in the Paris (Barton 1966a) and Rouen (Barton 1966b) areas, imported into ports such as Southampton and London from the late 12th-13th centuries. These occasionally display zoomorphic motifs which may have played a role in the negotiation of power relations through consumption activity (see Pluskowski 2007). Vessels with these motifs and colour schemes are rare outside of ports such as London and Southampton. Their use was a cultural statement, with them being active in building a Norman aesthetic, distinguishing French merchants, or those with French ties. With the demise of Norman rule the population instead looked culturally to London and beyond to its trading contacts with the Low Countries where regionalised highly decorated industries were developing, with distinct local styles, perhaps in relation to changing political influences (Hillewaert 1990, 44-5). As in England, these

highly decorated forms emerged as the result of new connections being built within and outside of the home, as potters broke into a market for quality, decorative products and people started to live in well lit, larger homes in which display and formal serving could allow them to negotiate their social position and create an image of taste and opulence (Verhaege 2009; chapter 10). The imitation of French styles in London Ware (Pearce *et al* 1985) perhaps demonstrates that consumers were keen to emulate the lifestyle of wealthy merchants and construct an Anglo-Norman identity by acquiring vessels which appealed to this aesthetic.

Figure 146: Examples of similarities in the motifs on English and continental wares. Wavy line motif: Redrawn from Brown (2002). Laverstock-type Ware redrawn from Musty *et al* (1969). Surrey Whiteware redrawn from Pearce and Vince 1988. Low Countries Highly Decorated Redware redrawn from Dunning (1976).
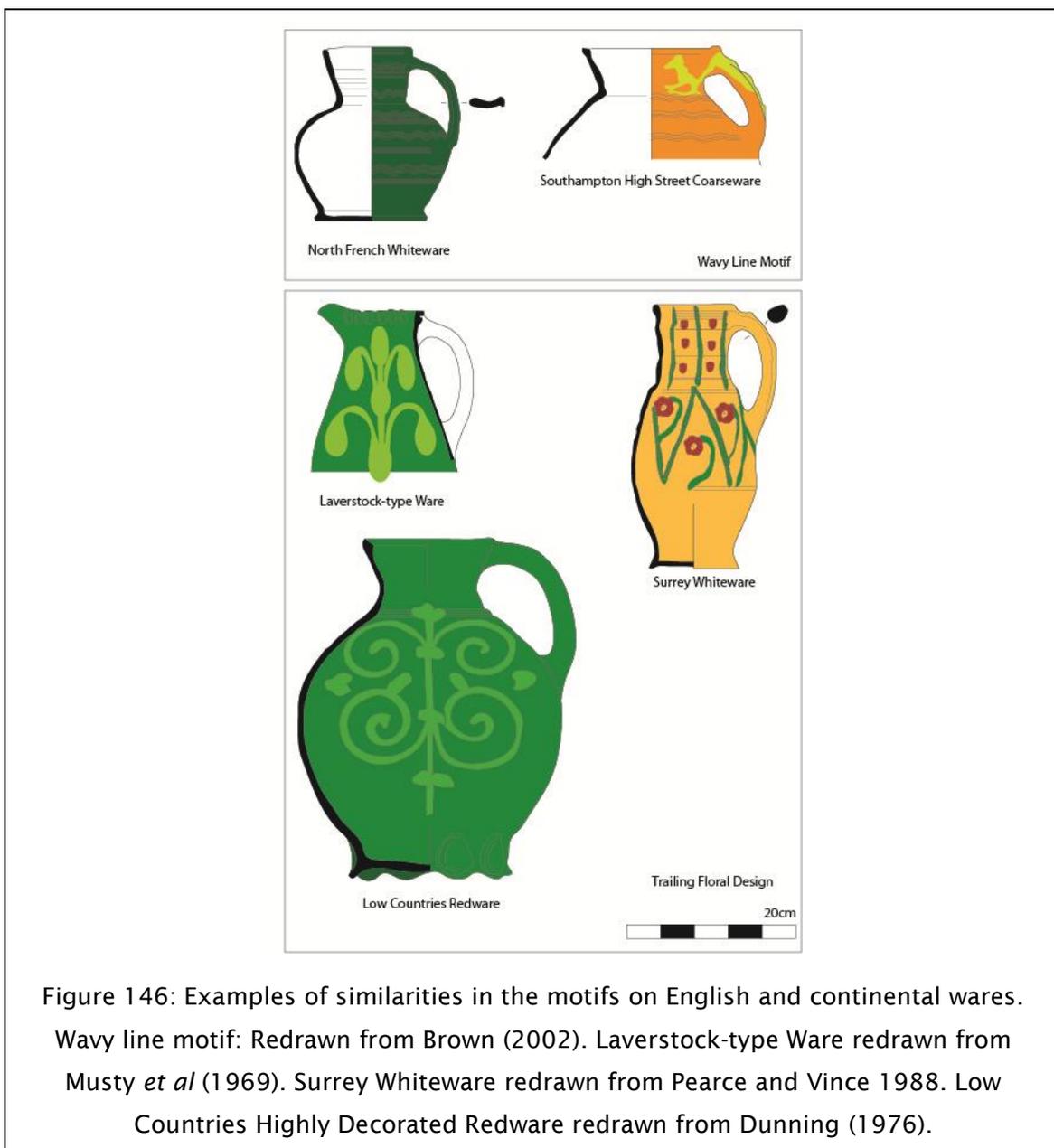
Such a desire to emulate may also have been picked up on by potters working in the Saintonge. The Saintonge Polychrome Wares were produced, in part at least, for export

(Barton 1963; Chapelot 1983) with enterprising potters apparently identifying a desire to create an image of opulence and demonstrate ties with more distant places. Their use of green and brown painted colour schemes suggests imitation of wares produced in the Byzantine world (Dark 2001, 129-30), in Spain, where they were produced in Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia in the 13th-14th centuries (Gutierrez 2000) and northern Italy (*ibid*). It can be seen on a small quantity of imported Iberian pottery from Southampton (Brown 2002, 37). Whitehouse (1978) has expressed doubt as to whether the Saintonge products are based directly on Italian prototypes. There do seem to be adequate general similarities in the use of colour and certain motifs to suggest that they appealed to a Mediterranean aesthetic, even if in the form of a localised translation. The use of green and brown painted pottery was active in demonstrating links with distant contacts, which were also displayed by engagement with exotic foodstuffs and even pets (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a, 293). The consumption of these wares indexed the expansion of English allegiances to western France and northern Spain due to the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II (through which England acquired Gascony) (Tolley 1995), and a desire on the part of wealthier members of society to demonstrate similar associations for political means. These links were furthered through the consumption of pottery influenced by Islamic areas of Spain (Guttierez 2000, 188), such as lusterwares from Malaga and Valencia. These increasing links with the Mediterranean are also demonstrated by the presence of Italian merchants in Southampton, although no Italian pottery is present of this date (Guttierez 2000, 146). The imitation of these wares by potters working in centres such as Rye (Barton 1979) serves to further demonstrate the social competition which was a major component of medieval urban life (chapter 10).

Jars typically make up the majority of the identifiable forms in rural assemblages, and jugs are generally outnumbered by bowls, conforming to the pattern observed by Brown (1997b) (Table 53). The sites with the highest proportions of jugs are Basingstoke (which can probably be explained by the size of the assemblage) and Holbury, which was a manor and as such may have consumed a higher quantity of jugs than rural farmsteads or villages. It is likely that many jugs consumed in rural contexts were used in the fields (McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 111) and broken and disposed of there, rather than in the home, meaning that these may be under-represented in settlement assemblages.

	Abbots Anne	Basing-stoke	Hayling Island	Holbury	Kings-clere	King's Somborne	Liss	Long Sutton	Milton	Nursling	Wellow
Jar	16%	72%	26%	17%	17%	22%	38%	26%	24%	36%	38%
Jug	2%	19%	6%	33%	5%	4%	9%	6%		6%	10%
Bowl	4%		18%	6%	7%	6%	13%	3%	3%	12%	
Other Kitchen						0%	3%				
Unid.	78%	9%	50%	44%	71%	68%	37%	65%	72%	46%	52%
Total	2488	7235	922	1055	5177	2072	5769	1527	2238	1620	2273

Table 53: Composition of rural assemblages from Hampshire by vessel form (sherd weight, g).

It is noticeable that the jars and bowls in both the rural and urban assemblages are spread over a similar range of sizes, perhaps suggesting similarity of function between these contexts, although Hawkes (1986) noted that at Popham large jars were rare, perhaps indicating that there was a lower demand for storage vessels in these contexts. This may relate to standard measures used in the medieval period (Blinkhorn 1999a, 44).

Southampton fits into a wide spectrum of vessel use in medieval Hampshire. It is differentiated from rural sites by its considerably higher use of jugs and the general absence of bowls, potentially used for activities such as dairying or baking. These sites themselves are differentiated from the small towns where jugs were used in higher quantities, but these were generally fairly plainly decorated and are likely to have been used for a range of functions. These smaller towns also have a relatively high quantity of bowls. The assemblages from these small towns share some general commonalities with some Southampton assemblages, for example that from York Buildings, both in regard to the generally local character of the wares and the proportions of various vessel forms. All are differentiated from the assemblages from the merchants' quarter by a general absence of decorated jugs. The only commonality between all of these spheres of ceramic use is in the quantity of plain, locally produced jars, with vessels required for cooking, storage and processing, amongst other functions.

8.3.3 Deposition

In Southampton two main depositional trajectories were identified (chapter 7). In the lower status households, such as those at York Buildings, waste was generally redeposited onto garden soils, whereas in richer households secondary dumps in pits are more common. It is likely that much waste was removed from these tenements. A similar pattern of waste management has been identified in Christchurch. At site X11, located in the centre of the town, secondary deposits were present, whilst the

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material in pits at the peripheral X12 site was considerably less coherent (Jervis forthcoming e). Although there is less contextual data about the occupants of these homes, this evidence would appear to mirror that from Southampton, with the waste at a tenement in the centre of the town being deposited differently to at a tenement in the periphery. The pottery consumed at site X11 is different to that at X12, with at least four Saintonge Whiteware jugs and decorated Dorset Whiteware being present, perhaps indicating the relative affluence of this household. Similar contrasts can be observed in Andover, with secondary deposition occurring in pits at Newbury Street in the centre of the town and redeposited material being present at Church Close at the periphery. This would indicate a similar pattern of deposition to Christchurch and Southampton, whereby secondary deposits are more common in the centre of towns, whilst redeposition occurred more commonly at the edge.

Similarly in Romsey, pits have a range of depositional histories. The earliest Saxo-Norman pits at 11 The Hundred appear to contain secondary waste, being filled with redeposited material at a later date, perhaps to combat slumping. The later pits at this site may have been dug as boundary markers and cess pits. They were filled with redeposited material. In contrast, at 15 The Hundred pits are present with secondary deposits, although others contain redeposited waste. The Hundred is a main road out of Romsey and tenements here probably didn't suffer from the same pressure on space as those in the centre, indeed there were even some empty plots (Merrick 1989, 4). At a more central tenement on Church Street waste would appear to have been managed. Most pits were filled with some redeposited material, however fragmentation analysis suggests that from the 14th century secondary deposition increased (Appendix 2). Documentary evidence suggests that the street became more built up in this period (Merrick 1989, 3). The increase in secondary deposition could relate to an increased need to manage waste, both due to spatial pressure and hygiene reasons, following the Black Death. At least one tenement on Church Street had a garden (*ibid*, 4), perhaps accounting for the presence of redeposited waste.

The evidence from the small towns appears to reflect the pattern of waste disposal observed in Southampton. The choices made in deposition probably relate to two factors. The first is the smaller size of tenements in the centre of towns, meaning that it was necessary to manage waste disposal in these areas more intensively. The second is the wealth and status of those occupying these tenements, with those living at the periphery generally being poorer and engaging in horticultural activity to supplement their diet (Dyer 1994, 124), leading to surface garden soil deposits and middens. This pattern can also be observed in larger towns of similar status to Southampton. Waste was spread across tenement plots at peripheral sites in Hereford (Shoesmith 1985) and

Norwich (Atkin, Carter and Evans 1985) for example. At St. Thomas Street, Oxford, a spread of garden soil was excavated at the rear of a low status tenement, (Underwood-Keevil 1997, 249-50). In contrast, at Westwick, Norwich (see above), waste was more intensively managed than in poorer areas, being removed from the site or deposited in pits (Jennings 2002a, 143).

The rural evidence is sparse. Much of the pottery recovered from the deserted village of Popham came from garden soils in the crofts. It was noted that there was a difference in the distribution of cooking vessels (which were spread on the garden) and sandier wares (which accumulated near the house). A similar pattern was observed at York Buildings (chapter 7) and perhaps relates to the contexts in which these vessels broke (Hawkes 1987, 119). Blinkhorn (1999a, 40) has also observed similar distributions at the rural site of West Cotton (Northamptonshire), where decorated jugs were more commonly disposed of near domestic halls, whilst plainer forms were more commonly disposed of in kitchen middens.

Much of the material disposed of at rural sites is likely to have been scattered on fields. The East Hampshire Survey (Shennan 1985) used fieldwalked data and historical records to plot changes in farming practices in this area. A more developed approach was taken by Jones (2005), using fieldwalked data from the Whittlewood Project (Buckinghamshire). He has shown that domestic waste was only used for manuring when peasant farmers were unable to draw on large animal stocks, meaning that later manuring episodes can be characterised by larger quantities of pottery being present in open fields. In contrast, on demesne blocks, domestic debris was only intermittently used as manure (Jones 2005, 184-5). Clearly not all fields were fed with domestic debris, neither was all domestic debris spread on fields. The way that waste became recategorised as a resource was just as flexible in rural contexts as in urban ones.

The deposition of waste in Southampton is very similar to that in other towns. Unlike in earlier periods a clear contrast can be drawn between deposition in Southampton and that in neighbouring rural areas. Whilst in some cases domestic waste was spread on crofts as in towns, in other cases it was spread on the fields. In both contexts waste was used to fill redundant features and some spatial patterning in the deposition of waste around tenements can be identified. As in use we cannot draw a clear urban/rural distinction, but instead see a sliding scale of practice whereby deposition was determined by a range of factors such as tenement management and food procurement.

8.4 Summary

Southampton's relationship with its immediate hinterland changed over time. In the earliest phases of *Hamwic* distribution, deposition and use were all similar to practices carried out in surrounding rural areas. As the settlement developed a distinctly urban assemblage started to emerge, characterised by serving vessels rather than processing vessels and seeing the adoption of Sandy Wares, perhaps relating to wider contacts and the permanence of the settlement. The imports used in *Hamwic* were brought in to supplement the locally produced types, being only a fraction of the types used in northern France and the Low Countries, a pattern paralleled in *Lundenwic*.

As urbanisation increased during the late Saxon period, the nature of the urban assemblage changed. Although depositional practices were similar between urban and rural areas, uniquely urban translations developed and the emergence of disposability, identified from this period in towns such as Southampton, does not seem to have emerged in rural areas. In the Post-Conquest period the ceramic evidence reflects the emergence of an increasingly formalised hierarchy within Southampton and between Southampton and outlying settlements. A continuum emerged in terms of function, with high status urban homes being characterised by the presence of highly decorated serving vessels and rural households being typified by larger quantities of bowls. This continuum also emerged in marketing, with consumers in Southampton having a wider range of wares available to them than those in smaller towns and in rural areas. The imported wares demonstrate that Southampton's merchants were keen to emphasise a Norman as opposed to Flemish identity in the Anglo-Norman period, but the decoration on later local wares indexes a view towards London and its wider contacts. Class distinctions can also be observed in depositional practice, with a sense of disposability being increasingly evident in wealthier urban households, whilst those of lower status and those in the countryside continued to recycle the waste, treating it in a much more economical manner.

9. The Emergence of Categories of People

Engagements with pottery led to the creation of categories of people as traders, consumers and disposers, as people became with the events of everyday life and identities are enmeshed in the series of connections which these associations create (Dewsbury 2003, 1915). Latour (2005, 27) argues that there are no groups, only group formation, but that objects play a role in making connections, and thus groups, durable. Therefore, we can reconstruct the process of social assembly through the traces it leaves behind. We can identify group formation processes by considering how particular people engaged with their material culture, leaving similar traces of this action in the past, and the role pottery played in making these groups durable. Groups (as standing for a fossilisation of these processes) are defined by the networks in which they participate, yet they are also only one actor in the network. Although for clarity categories are discussed as discrete from one another, it must be remembered that a person would simultaneously engage with a number of vessels in a variety of ways, meaning that they could be categorised in a plurality of ways through their engagements with pottery, either at a single point in time, or over the longer term (Figure 147).

Figure 147: Diagram illustrating how a person can be classified in a plurality of ways through engagements with pottery.
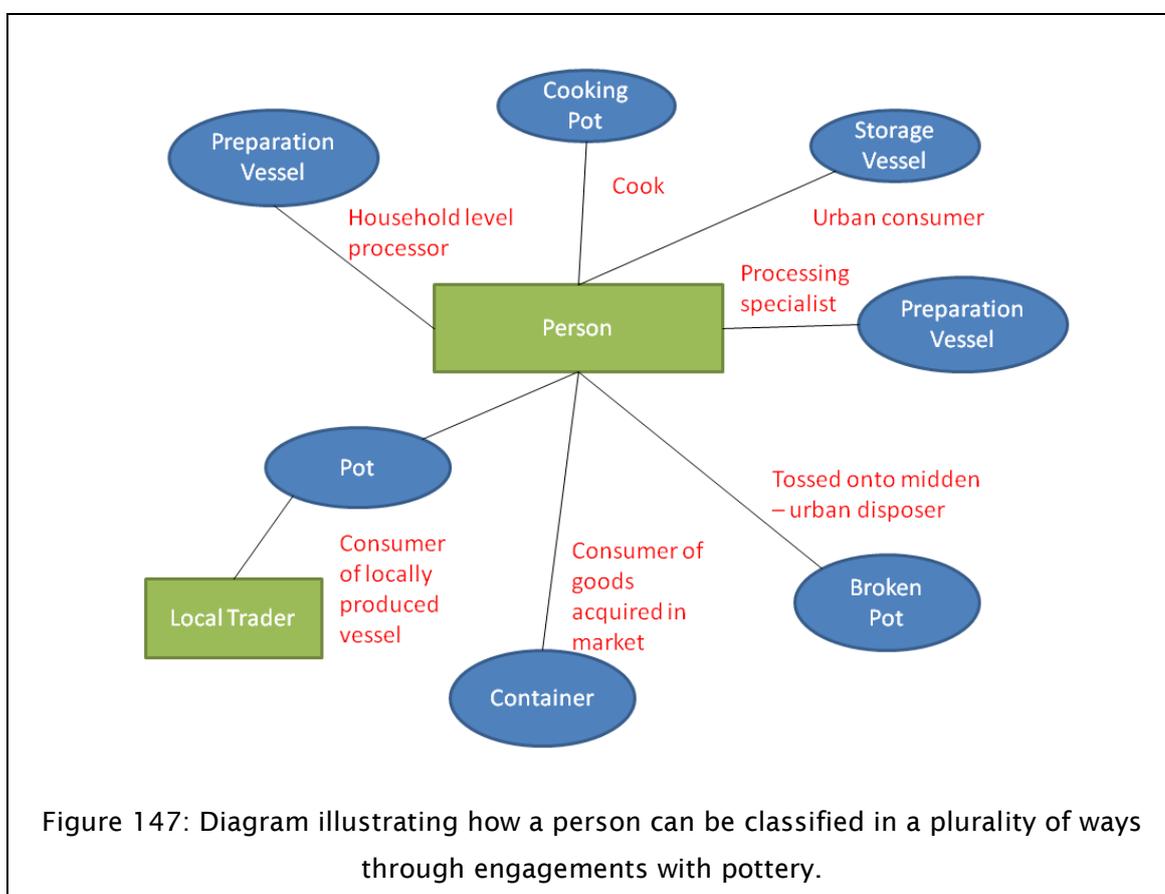
9.1 Categories Through Distribution

Distribution analysis allows us to follow the traces left by the processes of social assembly enacted through exchange. The actors present within this assemblage consist of at least the trader, consumer and the objects of trade. In the Anglo-Saxon period, and perhaps later, this is likely to have been in the form of barter (Hinton 1996, 99), perhaps for goods produced by other craftsmen working in the settlement. Whilst these exchanges occurred on an individual basis, the emergence of overlapping groups of consumers, who engaged with particular traders, can be traced through the presence of similar ceramic vessels between households. The vessel's presence indexes this process of group formation. Groups of consumers became durable as people continued to acquire pottery which matched a mental prototype, formed through previous exchange and use activity (a process discussed further in chapter 10). Similarly, categories of traders emerged, based on the distribution of their wares.

9.1.1 Consumers and Traders in *Hamwic*

In the earliest stages of *Hamwic* the production and distribution of pottery was generally localised. It is likely that wares were exchanged by the potters or their families, perhaps bartered for goods produced by other members of the neighbourhood (see Hinton 1996 99).[34] Therefore, we can see categories of consumer and trader who emerged through the exchange of locally produced pottery within particular spatial areas, perhaps one set of connections which created the several early nuclei of *Hamwic* (Morton 1992, 38) (Table 54). A further group of consumers emerged who maintained a link with the hinterland by acquiring pottery from more distant sources, possibly through personal, kin-based networks. These networks, and therefore processes of spatially localised group formation, continued in some way at least into phase 2 given the similarities in the clays used in local pottery production (see Timby 1988, 120-22). The wider distribution of the phase 2 wares suggests that the distinction between a local trader and one engaging in the settlement wide market was fuzzier in this phase. It is likely that such localised networks continued into phase 3 too, but that they might have splintered into smaller groups, based on the variability present in the pottery. This localised exchange network emerged through interactions between producer/traders, local consumers, the vessels and other objects of trade.

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[34] We know that in the Rhineland, pottery was often traded by the potters (McCormick 2001, 658). This is one trait of household production as defined by Van der Leeuw (Van der Leeuw, 1976).

Category of Pot	Category of Trader	Category of Consumer	Type of Engagement
Locally produced with a localised distribution.	Household producer, trading locally.	Consumer who engaged with their local producer and who developed a prototype based on their products.	Local trade.
Non-local wares with a settlement wide distribution (imported products).	Middlemen trading goods from a range of sources in the market.	Consumer buying goods in the market place.	Trade in market.
Non-local wares with a settlement wide distribution (regional products).	Trader selling provisions in pots (e.g. honey, salt). Trader probably not directly related to producer.		
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (imports).	Immigrant (e.g. sailor, merchant) who brought vessels for use on ship, or to fulfil a role within the home not catered for by local wares (or more widely imported wares).		Personal network.
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (regional).	Consumer who brought vessels from the hinterland.		

Table 54: Summary of the relationship between categories of pottery and categories of traders and consumers in *Hamwic*.

A second group of trader emerged who exchanged goods more widely, probably through a central market, demonstrated through the distribution of fabric 4 in phase 1, and the distribution of Chalk-tempered Wares in phase 2. Their distribution also indexes the emergence of a group of consumer, formed in the moment of engaging in a settlement wide exchange network, perhaps purchasing a commodity such as honey[35] or salt (see Hagen 2006, 147, 282; McCormick 2001, 651; Blinkhorn, forthcoming). This group also developed through the exchange of the more widespread imported wares, which may have been accoutrements to the wine trade (Hodges 1982, 59), and were likely exchanged with other goods, such as glass vessels. These imports stand for a group of traders or middlemen who operated in a market, supplying the whole settlement with these goods.[36] Through this network we see the development of a trader who is separate from the potter.[37] Incidentally, this growing market may have brought about a category of specialist potters, who emerged through skilful engagements with clay and economic transactions with sellers of other substances or objects. It is likely that trade was carried out at the waterfront, as has been argued for

[35] Residue analysis of a Chalk-tempered Ware vessel displayed evidence of beeswax. The vessel may have been used as a container for goods such as this (Appendix 5).

[36] It is possible that a further group of middlemen emerged, based in *Hamwic*, who bought up goods from the visiting merchants and marketed them more widely in *Hamwic*. This has been suggested for the *wic* of Ribe (Feveite 2009).

[37] Although in the case of the regional products, they may have been exchanged by the rural producers of the commodities they contained.

other emporia such as Hedeby (Kalmring 2009), and that this market (and therefore the group of traders) consisted of a mix of English and foreign sellers. Neither the local or international traders existed prior to the action which created the spatial contexts of the port and the localised areas within it, but were spun through this action, the act of 'becoming' being enmeshed within the production of the 'stage' of *Hamwic* on which these engagements were performed (see Gregson and Rose 2000, 440-1).

The presence of a semi-permanent market served to differentiate *Hamwic* from its rural hinterland, where the localised networks dominated and wider trade only occurred periodically, at fairs for example (chapter 8). Through the exchange of resources *Hamwic* formed a particular relationship with its hinterland, which was active in the formation of this exchange network, and the emergence of an 'urban' consumer. These networks emerged through the interaction between urban consumers, traders, rural producers and potters as well as the vessels, their contents and other objects of trade, which also served to create and make durable these groups. The physical location of *Hamwic*, as well as the boats used to move these goods, was an important actor, permitting both coastal and riverine trade (see Morton 1992, 59).

The imported pottery suggests that certain members of the population were more connected to the continent than others. This is illustrated through the distribution of the less common imported wares, which include cooking vessels. These vessels are unlikely to have been traded in the same way as the more common wares, perhaps being part of a ships' equipment, or personal possessions brought to *Hamwic* from the continent (see Hodges 1982, 59; Brown 1997a; McCormick 2001, 427; Blackmore 2001, 38). These homes probably still used some local pottery, meaning that some members of the population, whilst being more connected to the continent, were not disconnected from the locality. This pottery indexes further groups of consumer, perhaps immigrants or merchants themselves. Alternatively, they may have received pottery as a gift, perhaps for accommodating foreign visitors. This exchange network was built on personal relationships, perhaps consisting of a consumer, a visitor (rather than trader) and the vessel, or by being a personal possession, its presence being 'overflow' from an exchange network in the visitor's homeland.

Two main groups of trader emerged through the creation of these networks, the localised trader/producer and the middleman, which in turn led to the development of specialist potters.[38] Through engaging in exchange activity, several overlapping groups of consumer emerged who engaged in localised and settlement wide exchanges, as

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[38] The level of specialisation likely varied and is outside of the remit of this research; see for example Brisbane (1981).

well as more personal interactions, connections through which *Hamwic* itself developed elements of its distinctive urban character, which cannot have existed prior to the connections which created it as a social assemblage.

9.1.2 Traders and Consumers in the Late Saxon Period

The late Saxon period saw some continuity of the localised distribution network observed in *Hamwic*, a pattern which can be observed in most late Saxon pottery assemblages in Hampshire (chapter 8). This is best observed through the limited distribution of Late Saxon Sandy Ware and Late Saxon Organic-tempered Ware. It is likely that the Flint-tempered Wares were also distributed through this network. Therefore, we see a continuity in the groups of consumers and producer/traders observed in *Hamwic*, with these groups being continually remade in this new physical environment (Table 55).

Category of Pot	Category of Trader	Category of Consumer	Type of Engagement
Locally produced with a localised distribution.	Household producer, trading locally.	Consumer who engaged with their local producer and who developed a prototype based on their products.	Local trade.
Non-local wares with a settlement wide distribution (imported products).	Middlemen trading goods from a range of sources in the market.	Consumer buying goods in the market place. Urban consumer using distinctive vessel forms.	Trade in market.
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (e.g. Michelmersh-type Ware).	Middlemen or potters exchanging vessels produced for the urban market..		
Non-local wares with a settlement wide distribution (regional products).	Trader selling provisions in pots (e.g. honey, salt). Trader probably not directly related to producer.		
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (imports).	Immigrant (e.g. sailor, merchant) who brought vessels for use on ship, or to fulfil a role within the home not catered for by local wares (or more widely imported wares).		Personal network.
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (regional).	Consumer who brought vessels from the hinterland.		

Table 55: Summary of the relationship between categories of pottery and categories of trader and consumer in the late Saxon period.

The market system of redistribution also continued into the late Saxon period, with certain imported wares (Blackwares and Whitewares/Gritty Wares) and Chalk-tempered Wares continuing to be exchanged settlement wide. This suggests a continuity in the presence of trader/middlemen and consumers who purchased pottery in the market. Regional products, the Michelmersh-type Wares in particular, have more focussed

distributions. These are likely to have been transported via the River Test and were possibly sold by the producers in Southampton. This created a further group of producer/trader producing pottery for the urban markets (see chapter 8). Engagement with these traders and their wares produced a further category of urban consumer, who utilised vessels such as pitchers, which were not common on rural sites, and who sourced these vessels from local industries rather than from the continent. There is a contrast between merchants utilising vessels from their own stock rather than buying local products, and consumers who engaged fully with the market. Regional vessels could have competed in the market, being similar in form and decoration, typically being decorated with rouletting and stamps. The usewear analysis (see chapter 6) demonstrates that the role of Michelmersh-type Wares was not as well defined as that of the Chalk-tempered Wares and the imported products, perhaps indicating that these producers struggled to break into the market. The market was a complex network, through which different categories of consumer were formed, who engaged with other actors in different ways. Categories of trader formed, based on whether they were producers selling their own wares, or middlemen marketing a range of products.

As in *Hamwic*, some imports do not have a wide distribution. The distribution of these is relatively focussed on the waterfront area, possibly demonstrating the presence of merchant households here. A similar explanation can be put forward for the presence of these wares as was suggested for *Hamwic*, with these perhaps being personal possessions, brought as ship's equipment or perhaps to allow people to live in a manner which cited their lives on the continent. The presence of Red Painted Ware in particular demonstrates this. This was becoming an increasingly common product in northern France at this time, but appears to have been adopted relatively slowly in Southampton. These wares index the presence of a group of consumers who sourced their pottery through a different exchange network, bringing vessels as personal possessions acquired in distant markets, rather than in Southampton, perhaps to mediate a particular experience of life in Southampton. Similar contact may explain the presence of small quantities of Quartz-tempered Ware from south Wiltshire or Dorset, Portchester-type Ware and 10th century glazed wares.

There is a degree of continuity from *Hamwic* in the late Saxon town as connections were remade, making categories durable. Categories of localised producer/traders and consumers continued to be formed, as did a category of trader/middlemen and urban consumers, engaging with the market, an institution which emerged through these interactions. This market became more complex as wares began to be produced regionally for urban consumption, leading to a new class of producer/trader who traded at the market scale. This sub-divided the category of urban consumer into

merchants who sourced these vessels through continental exchange networks and local inhabitants who engaged with the full range of vessels available. Clearly this is a generalised picture, and these groups overlapped, as households may have sourced locally produced vessels intermittently, perhaps for a particular function or as a stop-gap measure.

9.1.3 Traders and Consumers in the Anglo-Norman Period

The categories of people which developed through the local distribution network in the late Saxon period would appear to have persisted in the east of the Norman town (Table 56). The coarsewares in the west of Southampton are considerably different however, with Scratch Marked Wares being consumed in high numbers. Typically these have been seen as a common type in Post-Conquest contexts in southern England, but analysis of other assemblages suggests that the core distribution is actually fairly limited (chapter 8). It is possible that, given the differences in size, surface treatment and fabric of these vessels, they were produced for particular consumers, perhaps under the patronage of Southampton's merchants and castle. This may be a development of the late Saxon group of producer/trader who produced wares for the urban market. Through sourcing their coarsewares, two overlapping categories of consumer emerged, those who continued to source these wares locally and those who purchased wares in the market.

Category of Pot	Category of Trader	Category of Consumer	Type of Engagement
Locally produced with a localised distribution.	Household producer, trading locally.	Consumer who engaged with their local producer and who developed a prototype based on their products, continuing to remake earlier networks ('Saxon' population?).	Local trade.
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (e.g. Scratch Marked Ware).	Middlemen or potters exchanging vessels produced for the urban market.	Urban consumer who increasingly sourced vessels through the market ('Normanised' population?).	Trade in market.
Non-local wares with a settlement wide distribution (imported products).	Middlemen trading goods from a range of sources in the market.		
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (imports).	Immigrant (e.g. sailor, merchant) who brought vessels for use on ship, or to fulfil a role within the home not catered for by local wares (or more widely imported wares).		Personal network.

Table 56: Summary of the relationship between categories of pottery and categories of trader and consumer in the Anglo-Norman period.

These two categories of consumer are also visible in the distribution of decorated 'serving' vessels. Glazed wares were used more frequently in the west of the town, whereas in the east people appear to have emphasised continuity from the late Saxon period, either through not using, or not having access to, these wares. Through both of these types of pottery we can observe two categories of consumer, one who continued to acquire pottery in the manner they had in the late Saxon period, and one who engaged in new exchange networks. These groups loosely relate to the local and immigrant communities respectively. The wares used across the town are likely to have been sourced through a market, and it is possible that a similar category of trader emerged, producing glazed wares for urban consumption and selling them in the town. Just as the 'stage' of the market was produced through exchange activity, so this performance served to create specific categories of actor, whose engagements with one another brought durability to this element of urban life. The exchange of imported wares created similar engagements to in the earlier period, with Normandy Gritty Ware in particular being widely exchanged through the market, whilst other wares likely arrived through more personal networks.

In the Anglo-Norman period we see three categories of trader; the local producer/trader, the market level producer/trader and the middleman, who overlapped in their supply of the two broad categories of consumer. Whilst some continued to remake old associations, others were actively engaged in the construction of a new social world, through their engagement with new types of pottery and new producer/traders, resulting in them emerging as a new group of consumer.

9.1.4 Buyers and Sellers in the High Medieval town

The high medieval period sees the development of a number of the categories observed in the late Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods (Table 57). The category of consumer built through localised exchange disappeared due to the absence of this scale of activity. Instead, all consumers acquired most of their pottery from the town's market. We can see several different categories of trader in this market. The first are producer/traders, who sold the Southampton Coarseware, Southampton Sandy Ware and Southampton Whiteware, which were produced in or near Southampton exclusively for the Southampton market. This exclusivity suggests potters marketed their own wares, rather than relying on middlemen, who could have transported the products more widely. Other wares may have been traded by producer/traders or middlemen; the South Hampshire Redwares for example, their wide distribution (see chapter 8) implying that a middleman exchanged these wares (see Moorhouse 1983a). Other wares, from Dorset and Wiltshire were traded intermittently, perhaps acquired along

with other products and sold in Southampton by enterprising traders. Certain wares were certainly sold by middlemen, the Saintonge Whitewares and perhaps some other Saintonge products, which came to Southampton with wine from the Bordeaux region. Certainly the production of Saintonge wares, almost exclusively for export, led to the generation of craft specialists as well as several categories of trader, probably a group of middlemen who acted as wholesalers, selling these goods onto merchants, who traded them in English ports (Brown 2002, 112-3; Chapelot 1983).

Category of Pot	Category of Trader	Category of Consumer	Type of Engagement
Locally produced wares, exchanged in the market.	Producer/traders.	Urban consumer who sourced vessels through the market.	Trade in market.
Regional or imported wares, exchanged in the market.	Middlemen (or perhaps producer/traders) trading goods from a range of sources in the market.		
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (imports).	Immigrant (e.g. sailor, merchant) who brought vessels for use on ship, or to fulfil a role within the home not catered for by local wares (or more widely imported wares).	Personal network.	
Non-locally produced pottery with a localised distribution (regional products).	Vessel acquired at a market outside of Southampton, perhaps as a container.		

Table 57: Summary of the relationship between categories of pottery and categories of trader and consumer in the high medieval period.

These categories of trader were brought into existence through their interaction with the market in Southampton, with consumers and producers, perhaps with other middlemen, and the vessels themselves. Although a case can be made for a single category of consumer emerging, they did buy different products from the market. Those in the north and east of the town appear to have favoured redwares over whitewares, perhaps for reasons of cost, function or aesthetics. Consumers were drawn into networks through household and market activity, meaning that their consumer choices in the market place were influenced by a range of other connections (see chapter 10).

As in previous periods, some wares were not distributed through the market in Southampton but were acquired elsewhere. In the west of the town these can be argued to be a group of merchants, who acquired vessels such as Saintonge mortars, north French cooking vessels and highly decorated jugs in France and brought them to Southampton to fulfil specific functions, not catered for by the local pottery. Scarborough Ware knight jugs may have been acquired in this way too. It is possible that some locally produced wares were also acquired in this way by townspeople, perhaps the Laverstock-type or Dorset Wares present in small quantities, which could

have been acquired as containers when selling goods at markets in Christchurch or Romsey.

The distribution of pottery indexes a range of categories of consumer and trader, formed through their engagements with one another in the market, as well as with vessels and other objects of trade and the range of actors which constituted their household. In the high medieval period these index the strengthening of the market network and potentially the ways that buying power, wealth and status influenced people's choice of vessels. These categories certainly have their roots in the Anglo-Norman period, but would seem to have strengthened through time, as households became more rigidly differentiated on these grounds, a process which is explored in chapter 10.

9.2 Categories Through Use

By using pottery, people are drawn into networks with these vessels, foodstuffs, other utensils and their wider environment. Usewear evidence provides traces of how these engagements led to the emergence of categories of people and with them the stage of domestic life. These categories were formed in the moment of use, but were made durable through continued engagement with a similar range of foodstuffs and utensils.

9.2.1 Pottery Users in *Hamwic*

The faunal evidence suggests *Hamwic's* occupants formed links to a broadly similar range of foodstuffs (chapter 4). No homogenous group of 'cooks' emerges, instead groups formed based on specific engagements with food and utensils, enacted as different cooking techniques (Table 58). In phase 1 there is little consistency, which is suggestive of people engaging in practices learnt in *Hamwic's* hinterland. This difference persists into phase 2, but is more marked, illustrating how people became drawn into networks of ceramic use through interactions between, as well as within, households. The increase in glossy black sooting may relate to people engaging with immigrants, as this method of suspending vessels over a fire was common in northern France (chapter 8). These cooking practices also drew in further material actors, such as pot hooks or trivets. Some imported wares were used in the same way as local vessels. Whilst they were differentiated in exchange, in use they simply became cooking vessels and worked with local wares in the creation of a group of users.

Category of Pot	Engagement	Category of User
Cooking pot.	Suspension over fire (glossy black sooting).	Cook socialised in a particular environment.
	Placed close to fire (black carbonised sooting).	
Processing vessel.	Mixing, grinding, etc.	Semi-rural food processors.
		'Urban' household scale food processors.
Storage vessel.	Storage.	Urban' consumer.
Serving vessel.	Drinking.	Cosmopolitan consumer (socialised into drinking activity).
		Converted consumer (learnt to use these vessels within the context of *Hamwic*).

Table 58: Summary of the relationship between categories of pottery and categories of user in *Hamwic*.

Other imported wares may have been used by immigrants living in or passing through *Hamwic*. Large quantities of immigrants probably passed through the port, for example as ship's crews (McCormick 2001, 417), a largely ephemeral group who may have maintained wider connections by forming a group of user through recursive relationships with cooking vessels in the ports they visited. In phase 3 the diet of *Hamwic* changed and this led to certain associations dissolving and new ones being created, leading to a single cooking technique being practiced across the settlement. Groups of cooks were formed by associations between a largely similar range of actors, but the nature of these relationships varied, based on an individual's socialisation. Some may have cited practices from areas of *Hamwic's* hinterland or the continent, whilst others may have learnt cooking practices within *Hamwic*. These groups are based on how they come to recognise the affordances of a cooking pot, when drawn into relationships with a similar range of foodstuffs and other utensils.

Two groups emerged through the use of processing vessels. The first are a group who were semi-agricultural in nature, who utilised large quantities of processing vessels. They generally lived at the edge of the settlement. One such site is SOU 169, where the presence of non-local vessels supports the occupants having close relationships with *Hamwic's* rural hinterland. This group persists into phase 2 and may also be present in phase 3. In this phase though, the group is less well defined and may merge with the second group, who processed or prepared a small quantity of foodstuffs within their own homes. This difference over time likely relates to the way that people were drawn into relationships with foodstuffs through provisioning strategies. The limited

processing activity which went on inside the settlement may contrast activity at rural sites, creating a category of 'urban user', however this cannot be substantiated, as usewear analysis has not been carried out on comparable rural assemblages.

All households had storage vessels. Being closely linked to provisioning, a case can be made for the engagement with pottery through storage leading to the development of a single group of 'urban consumer' emerging in phases 1 and 2, who stored foodstuffs which were acquired through the market or food rent systems. The differing proportions of storage vessels in phase 3 may index some change to this provisioning network,[39] meaning that households had varying quantities of surplus to store. These vessels index a communal reliance on the hinterland, although it should be remembered that locally sourced fish, as well as water, could also be stored in these vessels. Other containers were also used for storage, including barrels and sacks. The ability to store was distributed through all of these containers, as well as through the substances being stored and the users.

Some vessels were associated with the wine trade, possibly as serving vessels. These would have been associated with other imported vessels, principally glass beakers (see Hunter and Heyworth 1998), as well as imported wine (Hodges 1982, 59). The distribution of glass and imported pottery suggests that this form of consumption was common across *Hamwic*. Whilst wine and imported vessels may have been exported to some higher status sites outside of *Hamwic*, these artefacts are rarely found at rural sites in the area (see chapter 8). Interaction with these vessels and substances led to the creation of a regionally unique category of pottery user. Within *Hamwic* sub-groups emerged based on people's past experiences of consuming in this manner (chapter 10).

Ceramic use led to the formation of many overlapping groups. In phases 1 and 2 various categories of cook emerge, but there appears to be settlement wide groups who used storage and processing vessels, possibly with a group of processing specialists also emerging. The use of Chalk-tempered Wares, and also of imported cooking pots, produced further categories, perhaps on a more temporary or idiosyncratic basis. In phase 3 a single group of users can be identified in regard to cooking, but the evidence from the processing vessels indexes the blurring of previous groups. The evidence of storage vessels, coupled with the faunal remains, suggests that a settlement wide provisioning network was established, which underwent some changes in phase 3. The presence of imported serving vessels index settlement wide

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[39] Perhaps related to the stabilisation of rural communities into sedentary, rather than shifting settlements (see Hamerow 1991; Hughes 1984).

serving practices, which are indicative of a cohesive group emerging in food and drink consumption, if not in its preparation, which was differentiated from pottery users in *Hamwic's* hinterland. The emergence of these plural and overlapping groups contributed to *Hamwic's* varied character and also created individual households, the members of which experienced life in *Hamwic*, and contributed to the emergence of its urban character in distinctive ways.

9.2.2 Using Pottery in Late Saxon Southampton

The sooting evidence suggests that many people continued to cook in the same way as in *Hamwic*, using gritty cooking pots in such a way that produced black carbonised sooting, bringing continuity to their lives in a new physical setting through experiences of ceramic use and taste. We do, however, see the emergence (or perhaps re-emergence) of a group who cooked in a different way, suspending vessels over a fire. This group relates to the area seemingly occupied by merchants and may indicate the citation of foreign cooking practices. As in the mid-Saxon period we see people identifying different affordances in the same set of vessels, foodstuffs and utensils; building similar networks based on the actors present, but introducing difference through the way that these actors relate to one another. We could perhaps consider these as 'radial categories' of cook (Table 59). A further reason for the suspension of vessels could be the need to slow cook tough, older meat. Younger animals were generally consumed in French towns (Sykes 2007, 16), so this slow cooking technique may have been used to make the older animals available in Southampton more tender.

We can continue to see two broad categories of 'processor' emerge. Processing vessels are present at every site, some processing occurred at a household scale. The presence of distinctive processing vessels in the north of the town implies the emergence of a group of specialists, who perhaps processed food or drink for the town's market, perhaps beer. It is probable that sub-groups, not visible in the archaeological record, emerged who specialised in the processing of different foodstuffs. Such specialisation can be seen through other craft activities, such as bone working (Riddler and Trzaska-Nortowski 2003). Similar groups emerged in other burghal towns, such as Chichester and Wareham, where similar spouted pitchers were used (Jervis 2009b; Hinton and Hodges 1980), perhaps for similar functions.

Category of Pot	Engagement	Category of User
Cooking pot.	Suspension over fire (glossy black sooting).	Cook utilising continental technique.
	Placed close to fire (black carbonised sooting).	Cook utilising English technique.
Processing vessel.	Mixing, grinding, etc.	Processing specialist (e.g. brewer).
		'Urban' household scale food processors.
Storage vessel.	Storage.	'Urban' consumer.
		Sailor/traveller - using pots to store surplus on board a ship.
Serving vessel.	Serving.	Socialised in *Hamwic* - continued to use traditional serving vessels.
		Socialised in France - used newer types of serving vessel.

Table 59: Summary of the relationship between categories of pot and categories of user in the late Saxon period.

Southampton was largely supplied from outside, therefore, the presence of storage vessels was essential in maintaining urban life. Every household had some of these vessels. There are higher quantities in the waterfront area and this may relate to a category of traveller who acquired provisions for trade, or to sustain a ship's crew. Not only were storage vessels active (along with provisions, rural farmers, transport and urban consumers) in producing an urban community, who were reliant on the rural hinterland, they may also have played an active role in enabling Southampton to function as a port.

The urban nature of Southampton's occupants is further defined by the presence of serving vessels. Similarities can be drawn with Winchester, where Winchester Ware emerged to fulfil this function (chapter 8). This function did not transfer to every Wessex town, and it is possible that their presence relates to unique ties which the occupants of Southampton and Winchester had with the Carolingian world. As observed through the distribution of particular wares (see above) sub-groups of consumer emerged, based on how the prototype serving vessel was perceived. Some emphasised continuity with *Hamwic*, by continuing to use Blackware and Whiteware serving vessels, whilst others used newer types, such as Red Painted Wares. This demonstrates the active role of these vessels in creating memory and ties with people's individual past, be it a past in a previous settlement, or a more recent past in northern France, where Red Painted Wares were being introduced.

The variability of pottery function observed in phase 3 of *Hamwic* continues into the late Saxon town. Some maintained groups formed in this context, through continuity in cooking and serving practices. Others formed groups of consumers through identifying

the affordances of cooking vessels and foodstuffs in different ways, perhaps influenced by interactions with northern France. Specialists emerged, who may have processed large quantities of resources for the town market, but food processing went on in every home. The presence of such specialists made the occupants of Southampton part of a larger group of urban, rather than rural consumers, as similar activities can be observed in other burghs. Elements of continuity gave Southampton a distinctive sense of place however, for example the population was differentiated from the occupants of most towns through wide engagement with serving vessels, relationships which mediated continuity and made durable links between Southampton and the continent.

9.2.3 Pottery Use and the Norman Conquest

The two categories of people who emerged through cooking practices in the late Saxon period continued to exist following the Norman conquest (Table 60). In the west of the town most households appear to have suspended cooking vessels over the fire, and vessels were designed to facilitate this use. This area relates to the 'French' quarter of the town, and it is tempting to relate this group of cooks to the presence of an ethnic group. Rather than being related directly to the conquest however, this group have their roots in the late Saxon period and likely consisted of English as well as French households, reflective of Southampton's long history of interaction with northern France. The picture in the east of the town is less clear, but we can tentatively observe the continuity of late Saxon practices here too. Therefore, the conquest does not appear to have had a dramatic effect on cooking practices, but may have served to solidify what had been two less well defined groups.

The category of person who processed food at the household scale appears to have dissolved in this period, as vessels used for this function are scarce. This would suggest that the actors required to bring these categories into existence, namely unprocessed foodstuffs, were not present. This may index the emergence of a more defined group of food processors, some of whom may have operated in the countryside around Southampton. Therefore, the absence of these vessels not only indexes the presence of a specialist group, but may also be part of a process which served to further define the population of Southampton and surrounding rural areas. This latter group is also indexed through the large quantity of storage vessels which formed part of a provisioning network, drawing on the resources of Southampton's hinterland.

Category of Pot	Engagement	Category of User
Cooking pot.	Suspension over fire (glossy black sooting).	Cook utilising continental technique.
	Placed close to fire (black carbonised sooting).	Cook utilising English technique.
Processing vessel.	Mixing, grinding etc.	Processing specialist (e.g. brewer).
Storage vessel.	Storage.	'Urban' consumer.
Serving vessel.	Serving.	Served during formalised dining.
		Serves during formalised dining.
	Serving/Decanting/Carrying.	Did not engage in formalised dining - function blurred with kitchen vessels.

Table 60: Summary of the relationship between categories of pottery and categories of user in the Anglo-Norman period.

Perhaps the biggest change in this period is in the use of glazed serving vessels. These are most common in the west of the town and were active in the creation of a category of people who ate in a more formalised manner, as well as a category of domestic servant. This action in turn drew them into association with continental serving practices (chapter 8), but also new styles of architecture and hierarchical relationships (see chapter 10). In the east of the town a case can be made for continuity in the types used. This indexes a continuity in household practice too, as the vessels used would appear to have blurred the distinction between kitchen and serving vessel. This can in turn be related to cooking practices, so that we can see two groups of user, both of whom were developing through continuing to form associations which had their roots in the late Saxon period. This blurring of function appears more common at sites in Southampton's hinterland (chapter 8), suggesting that a wealthier urban class only developed in larger towns such as Southampton. The strengthening of these relationships served to further define these groups. These developments cannot be seen in isolation, nor as immediate responses to the Norman Conquest. Instead they relate to long term changes, as certain groups became better defined through becoming more strongly connected with a wider range of material and human actors.

9.2.4 Pottery Users in the High Medieval Period

In contrast to the earlier periods, there is general consistency in cooking practices across Southampton. The only difference that can be observed is the quantity of cooking vessels in individual assemblages, possibly relating to the size of households. Larger and wealthier households generally had more cooking pots, which were likely used in separate kitchens. A contrast can be drawn based on the quantity of cooking pots and who actually used them, between those homes who had cooks, operating in a

separate kitchen, and poorer households where cooking was still a domestic activity, taking place in a single living space, at a lower intensity (Table 61). This argument will be furthered in chapter 10. Cooking vessels joined a network not only of foodstuffs and people, but also house structures, through the interaction of which particular categories of cook (and by association diner) emerged.

Category of Pot	Engagement	Category of User
Cooking pot.	Suspension over fire (glossy black sooting).	Cook in kitchen of large household.
		Cooking for immediate family.
Processing vessel.	Mixing, grinding etc.	Processing specialist (e.g. brewer).
Storage vessel.	Storage.	'Urban' consumer.
Serving vessel.	Serving.	Served during formalised dining.
		Serves during formalised dining.
	Serving/Decanting/Carrying.	Did not engage in formalised dining - function blurred with kitchen vessels.

Table 61: Summary of the relationship between categories of pot and categories of user in the high medieval period.

The ceramic evidence suggests that food processing was not common in relation to pottery in Southampton. In one sense, the population of Southampton were, in general terms, united, as they all sourced prepared foodstuffs from the market place, differentiating these urban consumers from rural producers. Clearly, larger quantities of vessels for processing and measuring food are present in rural or small town assemblages (chapter 8). Some processing (such as butchery) did occur in Southampton, but did not involve pottery. This was in the hands of specialists. A group of processors did emerge through interaction with resources, tools and the market place, but pottery was not active in this process. Because of the way processing networks developed, processing vessels and domestic level processers did not emerge as large and coherent categories in high medieval Southampton.

If the system of provisioning was active in the creation of a type of urban consumer through food being ready processed, pottery was active in the creation of this group by providing a medium for storage. The presence of storage vessels across Southampton attests to the widespread distribution of this category of consumer. The evidence from rural sites supports this, as storage vessels are less common in these contexts (chapter 8).

Jugs were active in creating specific categories of consumer, as they were active in a range of activities, such as the purchasing of liquids. Such subtle groups are

ephemeral and cannot be convincingly traced. We can consider how categories of diner emerged through the evidence from jugs. Certain people engaged with highly decorated jugs in consumption, possibly in relation to particular food or drink, including wine. In some (generally poorer) households this category of user did not emerge. Instead, the serving and decanting of liquids was carried out using the same jugs as were used for other household activities, demonstrating that dining was considered more part of a wider domestic spectrum of activities, rather than being a separate, formal occasion. The first category of consumer may only have emerged in particular events, such as formal meals, and not on an everyday basis, although this cannot be demonstrated through the ceramic evidence alone. What we can identify is two categories of consumer, based on the formality of their meals. People potentially belonged to both at different times, depending upon the associations which were built in the context of a specific meal (see Douglas 1975).

Groups emerged based on ceramic use, which relate to the social hierarchy of medieval Southampton, which itself was distributed through a range of engagements between people and objects (see chapter 10). Pottery was one of these actors, the relationships it was drawn into in cooking differentiated between rich and poor based on the scale at which food was cooked. This agency was further distributed through networks of formal and informal dining, indexed through the presence of serving vessels. Other vessels were active in the production of a group of urban consumer, rather than rural producer/consumer, as in earlier periods.

9.3 Categories Through Deposition

People engaged with waste in different ways at various points in Southampton's history. These engagements generated categories of people, which varied through time as well as within single points in the study period (see also Reno 2009, 35 for a discussion of how relationships with waste can shape identities) .

9.3.1 People and Waste in *Hamwic*

In *Hamwic*, depositional practice cited rural practices, but changed thanks to the unique connections which constructed the settlement, giving it an increasingly 'urban' character. For example, the deposition of a secondary deposit in the grubenhäus at SOU 16 closely cites rural activity (chapter 8), suggesting that in phase 1 the population was closely tied to their rural hinterland. The development of middens also closely cites rural activity, but the way that people engaged with these may have differentiated urban and rural populations. The material was likely carted out of

Hamwic, possibly for use as manure, a process which, unlike in rural sites, those disposing of waste are likely to have been divorced from. Certainly the faunal evidence suggests that the occupants of *Hamwic* did not engage in agricultural activity. Although the physical processes of waste disposal cited those at nearby rural sites, the nature of the relationship between people and waste was different, meaning that an urban, rather than rural, category of disposer emerged.

One element of this different engagement with waste was the concern with managing space, particularly boundaries. The maintenance of these boundaries was unique to *Hamwic* within its regional context, although increasingly boundaries became a part of rural settlements in the later Anglo-Saxon period (Reynolds 2003). This management of space was active in creating defined household groups, but also a cohesive urban community who acted in such a way that respected these boundaries and perhaps undertook centrally organised disposal practices. In phase 3 depositional activity was active in the remodelling of the urban landscape. These developments relate to wider changes in *Hamwic's* hinterland and is further evidence of a large scale remapping of relationships between people, objects and the environment in this period.

The distinctive depositional activity at SOU 33 may index the coming together of members of this community in feasting activity, which was outside of the usual rhythm of settlement life. These events had a role in redefining people's personal relationships through their engagements with foodstuffs and utensils, as well as with each other. If the event was hosted by royal authorities or the church, the quick disposal of this waste may have acted to distinguish the hosts of this event from the population, perhaps being a form of 'conspicuous consumption'. By not allowing this material to become provisional waste, they further defined their role as controlling and benefitting from the economic activity taking place, but without being enmeshed in settlement life.

Waste disposal demonstrates how a distinctively urban category of disposer emerged, who retained relationships with the rural hinterland, both through citing rural activity and potentially by *Hamwic's* waste being reused in a rural context. Sub-categories emerged and dissolved as people engaged with middens, as filling material or by recycling waste, leading to waste being recategorised from provisional to tertiary waste, or as a resource. These urban disposers created distinct relationships with waste, with it having an active role in the creation of an urban landscape.

9.3.2 People and Waste in Late Saxon Southampton

During the late Saxon period, people generally continued to cite waste disposal practices developed in *Hamwic*. There was a subtle change however, in that people now engaged with the land through horticultural activity. Therefore, a category of urban-horticulturalist developed. The agency behind the development of this group was distributed through a range of actors. The move to a more dispersed settlement allowed people to engage in this activity (and in turn this could be one reason why the settlement is dispersed). This change suggests that the nature of the relationship between town and country changed, perhaps rather than being supplied by a tributary network, people were engaging in market activity. As a burgh it would also have been desirable for Southampton to have a degree of self-sufficiency, should it come under siege. Therefore, the depositional network which led to continuity in the way waste was perceived in this period, and the emergence of a new category of disposer through engagement with this waste, was wide reaching. Rather than reflecting continued cultural norms, this practice was the result of people adjusting to new or changing relationships with material, human and environmental actors.

The general trend would suggest that people engaged with waste at a household scale, rather than waste management being centrally organised. Whilst people probably felt they were reproducing waste management strategies from *Hamwic*, these subtly changed through the late Saxon period and into the Anglo-Norman period (a process which probably had its roots in phase 3 of *Hamwic*). Following Urry (2000) we can argue that this re-creation of waste management practices, in relation to horticulture and other household level activities, exacerbated difference, as people began to tailor these practices to their exact needs. Those who generated wealth, particularly merchants, tended towards tertiary disposal into pits, rather than surface spreads, which eventually developed into the secondary deposition of the Anglo-Norman period, for example.

9.3.3 Difference Through Deposition: The Anglo-Norman Period

These differences became increasingly marked through the Anglo-Norman period. Members of the population engaged with waste in different ways, some saw it as a resource, other as disposable. A notion of disposability arose; as the professions of merchants and craftsmen became more specialised (and profitable) they were increasingly able to partake in the market, meaning that they no longer had to engage in horticulture (see Daniell 2003, 182). This may have been further exacerbated by the introduction of migrants into the merchants' quarter, who had developed this notion of

disposability and who certainly created pressure on space. This meant that rubbish had to be managed in a different way. Although outsiders may have had some effect, this processes had longer origins and should not be seen as a phenomenon related purely to the introduction of an immigrant group. We can term the group which developed as consumer-disposers, who emerged along with a notion of disposability (Figure 148). The emergence of this group was distributed through their engagements with other objects, materials and people through economic activity, which generated wealth; their connection with a particular quarter of Southampton which became densely occupied and, potentially, connections between immigrants and their homeland. The emergence of this category is indexed through the way waste was treated, but can also be seen in the different ways they used pottery. Therefore, pottery was active in the creation of an urban upper class in a number of ways.

The other group which emerged can be termed producer-disposers. These continued to see waste as a resource and engaged in horticultural activity. Perhaps this continuity was in part due to a process of resistance, but was connected to a range of other elements. In particular these people would not appear to have been in a position to acquire wealth, they were taxed heavily (Golding 1994, 79) and may not have been so active in the market, as is also indexed through the pottery they used. These groups emerged as the result of different kinds of relationships with similar actors; urban space, traders, objects and provisions in the market place and other members of the urban population. Increasingly the consumer-disposers were able to exploit the producer-disposers, through employing them in domestic service (and therefore restricting the material engagements, creating categories of user) and through taxes. This is indexed in part through depositional practices, which is intimately tied to household provisioning, and, in turn, wealth. These relationships are explored more fully in chapter 10.

Figure 148: Diagram demonstrating the relationship between categories of waste and categories of disposer in Post-Conquest Southampton.
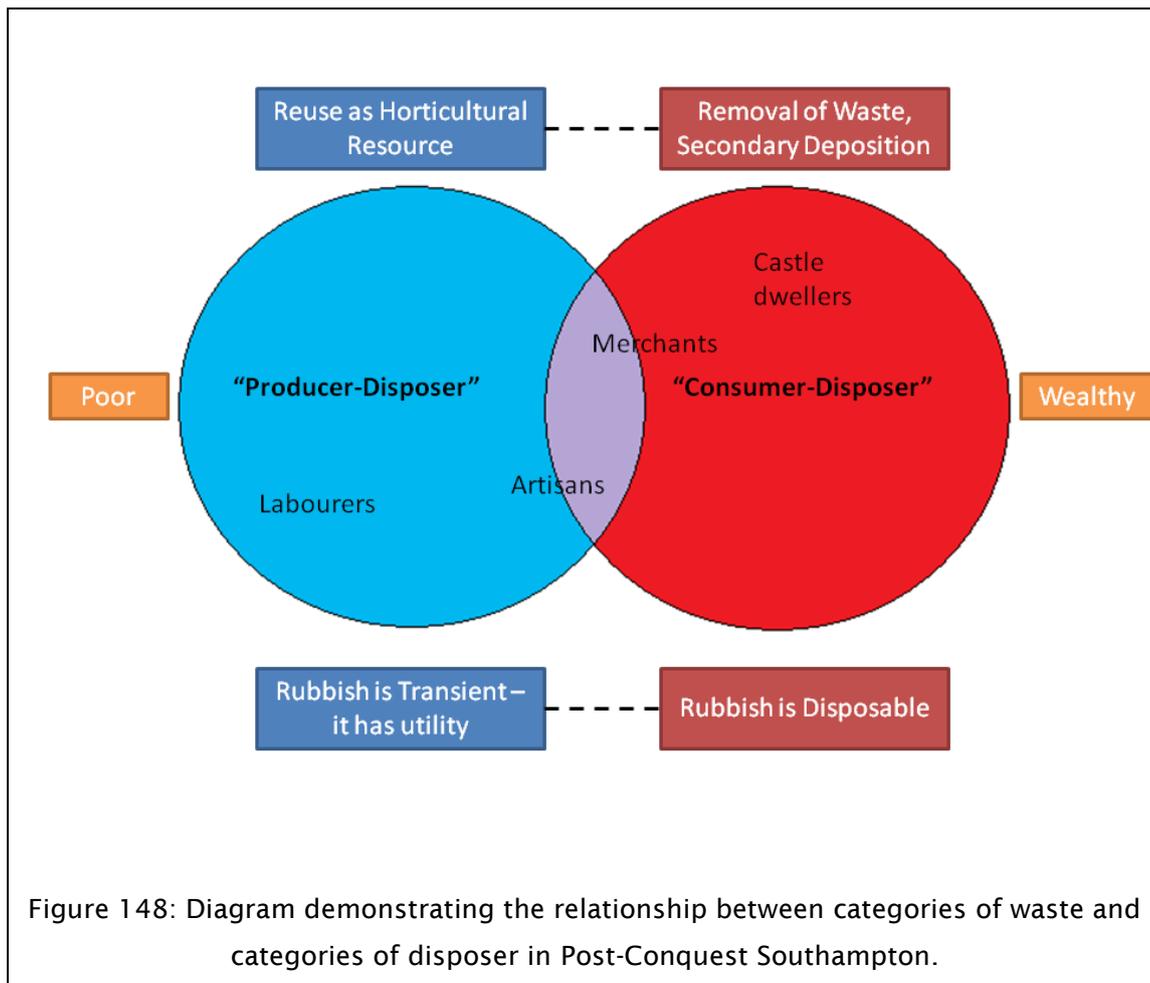
9.3.4 Rubbish and Urban Identity: The High Medieval Period

The high medieval period largely sees continuity from the Anglo-Norman period, with the groups of producer-disposer and consumer-disposer being remade through similar engagements with waste. As these groups solidified we can observe the generation of a uniquely urban category of disposer. Secondary deposits of the type known in Southampton would appear to be a uniquely urban phenomenon, and are not common in small towns such as Romsey, although they do occur in wealthier tenements in Christchurch (chapter 8). The category of consumer-disposer can be seen as an urban phenomenon, emerging in many different towns (e.g. Norwich) as the result of the engagement between a variety of similar actors, including a similar physical context and integration into the urban market.

The category of producer-disposer would appear more relevant in small towns and can perhaps be seen as an urban form of the rural method of disposal, with waste being spread over fields or crofts (chapter 8). A similar affinity between eastern Southampton and these small towns can be observed through the use of pottery. These categories of people did not emerge purely through engagement with waste, but also with other

factors, which influenced how waste was treated and coloured people's perceptions of it. These can be related to the hierarchy present within the urban population. Disposability was a particularly common notion amongst the urban rich, whilst the urban poor and those living in the small towns were engaged in a different network of associations, geared towards efficiency and economy.

A further element of urban identity to be considered is the way that the town defences were kept clear of waste (Jervis forthcoming a). This demonstrates that the town authorities did have real control over what went on in Southampton, and perhaps indexes a communal concern with civic defence. As in *Hamwic*, where boundaries were enforced through waste management, so here we can see waste management as being active in the building and characterising and maintaining a distinctly urban landscape, occupied by an urban category of people.

9.4 Summary: Categories of People Through Material Engagement

Analysis of ceramic assemblages has allowed us to identify traces of group formation at various points in a vessel's biography. Individuals clearly belonged to several of these groups at any one time, and the groups were solidified through continued, repeated engagements with materials. These groups did not exist prior to action, but were spun through it, a statement which also relates to the categories of pottery discussed previously and the social assemblages which these engagements came together to create (chapter 10). Some groups are more transient, for example categories of consumer and trader, last as long as an exchange event. By engaging with a prototype ceramic vessel people remade associations with traders and pottery types, which continued through using these in particular ways. Whilst some groups are the product of short lived connections at a particular point in time, others continued to be remade through several ceramic phases. This categorisation process was reliant on more than relationships between people and ceramic vessels. Repeatedly we see other connections, with the market network, the rural hinterland, other objects, the continent or other groups in Southampton's population, being active in the constitution of these groups. It is these wider connections which are considered in the following chapter.

10. Pottery and Social Life in Medieval Southampton

So far we have demonstrated that different categories of pottery emerged at various points in time, both in regard to how a vessel was perceived through its use life and the ways that pottery was engaged with over the long term. We have also considered how the engagements which created categories of pottery created categories of people. We can now move on to consider how these engagements, as well as associations with other actors, created varying formulations of 'the social' at different points in Southampton's history.

10.1 The Mid-Saxon Period

The social assemblage we term '*Hamwic'* was formed through a range of engagements with objects, which cited activity in surrounding rural areas and in Europe. This assemblage was also active in the creation of new engagements between its inhabitants and their material culture. Through the study of people's engagements with pottery we can see how links were built and dissolved between *Hamwic*, its hinterland and its wider trading contacts, leading to the generation of a unique and constantly changing 'social'.

The earliest pottery used in *Hamwic* closely matches that used by surrounding rural communities, matching these wares in form, but also being similarly dark in colour, with a porous surface caused by the burning out of organic temper (chapter 8). One can imagine how in assessing the suitability of a vessel past experiences of handling and using pottery in *Hamwic's* hinterland would be cited. In the earliest phase of the settlement exchange allowed pottery to act as a mediator which built associations with the areas from which *Hamwic* was populated, through evoking memory of past engagements (chapter 4). In some cases this citation was much more concrete as vessels were sourced from these areas, giving rise to the different categories of consumer identified in chapter 9. These vessels were themselves the product of a particular set of associations in these rural settlements, both during production, but also in use. In phase 1, groups of cooks emerged who engaged in a range of practices which were, perhaps, grounded in *Hamwic's* hinterland (see chapter 6).

The continuation of cooking practices cited and remade links with rural communities, but also structured households in similar ways to in these areas, thus making

household networks durable in a new spatial context.[40] The ability to recreate these practices was distributed through the vessels as much as the cooks, and the foodstuffs (for example the use of flavouring agents, see chapter 6). The sensory experiences produced as these actors came together guided those engaging in cooking (Parker Pearson 2003, 6; Sutton 2001, 2; Falk 1997, 11). These experiences of using pottery led to the formulation of individual interpretations of a vessel's affordances (see Knappett 2005, 46) and caused familiarity to flow through these engagements. The materialisation of these affordances, through the traces left through cooking, allow us to identify that people may have built links with different rural communities by experiencing food and the associated material culture in particular ways (chapter 9). Interactions with vessels generated a multi-dimensional 'social', whereby people were maintaining connections with rural life, but also engaging in new networks, constructing the foundations of urban life, creating an individualised 'sense of home' through domestic practice. These associations became durable as these interactions were repeated and flowed from one vessel to another, as they were replaced following breakage. As argued above, the agency for a consumer to choose a vessel for a particular function was distributed in part through previous experiences of pottery, through the generation of a mental prototype (see also Sutton 2001, 23). At the edge of *Hamwic* a class of specialist processer emerged, living a semi-rural lifestyle (see chapter 9) and citing further engagements at rural sites in *Hamwic's* hinterland.

Depositional practice also built durable links with the hinterland, for example through the use of middens and the closing of the grubenhäus at SOU 16, both in metaphorical and physical terms. Not only does the physical act of middening cite rural practice, but it is also effects citation through sensory perception, in particular, one would imagine, through the smells associated with the rubbish heap. The removal of this waste out of town and, potentially, its use as manure in rural fields, also stresses *Hamwic's* reliance on its hinterland, through continued relationships built through provisioning. The provisioning of the settlement gave rise to categories of trader and also categories of rural producer, as opposed to urban consumer. Whilst people initially lived in a way grounded in rural practice, the relationship changed to become built on exploitation, perhaps through provisioning by food rents (chapter 4). The inherent instability in the tributary system (Sykes 2010, 189), coupled with a growth of the market is one cause of the realignment of this relationship and the development of the food market in later periods. Generations emerged who were increasingly guided by engagements in an urban setting, who were active in pushing the relationship along this trajectory (Urry 2000, 196); as exploitation coupled with less citation of rural life further differentiated

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[40] See Lightfoot *et al* (1998) for a consideration of similar household organisation in an early modern context.

Hamwic and rural settlements. *Hamwic's* urban character did not exist prior to action and neither did people act in a prescribed 'urban' fashion because they lived there. Both developed together, as engagements created urban space and performance in this space defined and maintained a version of 'urban' society (see Gregson and Rose 2000: 441).

As well as making durable links with its hinterland, *Hamwic's* occupants also built close associations with the continent. This relationship can be seen as less durable than that with surrounding areas. The associations formed were cyclical, potentially occurring over long periods of time, governed by tides and weather conditions (see McCormick 2001, chapter 15). Some merchants (and particularly their crews; see McCormick 2001, 265-6) were a transient presence, rarely mentioned in historical sources (*ibid* 238) and associations between them and the local population may not have been cemented through personal relationships. In regard to imports, rather than seeing individual merchants, we should perhaps think of associations with a merchant group, or perhaps a middleman, standing for them (chapter 9). This group seem to have used less common imported cooking pots in a distinctive fashion, perhaps citing continental practices. This process of citation built up particular traces of use (chapter 6), which in turn index the transformation of foodstuffs in distinctive ways. These transformations manifested as a distinctive set of sensory experiences, which acted as abductive indices of previous cooking events (that is their interpretation of the index is guided by previous experience), serving to distribute memory through these engagements. They potentially had different tastes and values in regard to food consumption (Pierce 2008, 102), perhaps favouring meat cooked more slowly. Slower cooking techniques could even have been an attempt to simulate the younger, more tender cuts of meat that richer merchants may have consumed at home (Sykes 2007, 16), a process of 'sensory reconnecting' (Sutton 2001, 74) which built what we could term an 'atmosphere of memory'. The agency for this translation of engagements into *Hamwic* was distributed through artefacts such as metal pot hooks. Metal vessel fragments may index the transfer of some cooking techniques into a new medium, with vessel suspension potentially citing practices where metal cooking vessels were used, often in high status institutions or feasting (Hagen, 2006: 292). The affordances of ceramic vessels may have been identified in relation to a functional prototype in a different material, this transfer allowing people to engage with vessels and resources in similar ways, creating what can be termed a chain of citation between material types (Jones 2007). Like the varying uses of locally produced cooking pots, these engagements created a 'sense of home' for a particular group of people, but also built partial links between households, using similar objects to process foodstuffs in

particular ways; citing past experiences and adding to the patchwork of connections which made *Hamwic* a distinctive social assemblage.

Imported wares had little impact outside of *Hamwic* (see also Ulmschneider 2000, 64-5). The meaning associated with this pottery was transient, being reliant on relationships with other imported goods such as wine and glass vessels. The wide distribution of imported pottery and glass through *Hamwic* (see chapter 5) suggests that people regularly engaged in continentally influenced consumption practices (Hodges 1982, 59), drawing the wider population of *Hamwic* into a continental trade and consumption network. Some people actively cited and remade associations with the continent, whilst others built associations through consumption within the context of *Hamwic*, leading to the development of an increasingly cosmopolitan consumer who created, rather than remade, European ties. The use of these vessels by different people, in different physical contexts, created a series of partial connections, with them acting as agents of continuity or agents of imitation; constructing further multiple realities which contributed to 'the social' in *Hamwic*. As these vessels broke they do not appear to have been universally replaced (Hodges 1982, 59), meaning that unlike the consistent supply and use of locally produced wares, these networks were fragile.

Hamwic's role as an international trading centre was formed by participation in regional and international exchange networks (see Sindbæk, 2007: 128-9), with pottery indexing how recursive trading made this network durable. The mediatory role played by imported goods was short lived in exchange, but was constantly repeated as subsequent goods were traded through *Hamwic*. The recursive trading and consumption of prestige goods and the collection of tolls served to build and make durable links with royal and ecclesiastical elites (Palmer, 2003: 53). *Hamwic* acted in longer chains of exchange, whereby 'elites' generated further connections; the agency for the generation of power being partly distributed through continental associations.

Engagements with ceramic vessels through all stages of their lives served to build associations between *Hamwic*, its hinterland and the continent. Through this mixture of associations *Hamwic* developed a distinct sense of place, making it unique within its regional context. One materialisation of this process is the hybridised Sandy Wares, which become the principal local product in phase 2. The clue as to how these came about may lie in the transitional fabric 11 and the imported wares, particularly the Greywares, used as cooking vessels across the settlement (see chapter 6). Importantly, many Greyware cooking vessels appear to have been used in the same way as Sandy Wares, indicating that they may have constituted a single functional category. The

production of Sandy Wares may have been enabled by the permanent nature of *Hamwic*, as potters could set up permanent workshops and secure a regular supply of resources such as clay and wood, in contrast to rural potters who were living a more transient lifestyle (chapter 8). These vessels had different material properties to the Organic-tempered Wares and people may have struggled to understand the affordances of these vessels. As people learnt to use them within the context of *Hamwic*, wider networks of ceramic use developed (chapter 9), with a greater level of homogeneity in cooking practices emerging in certain areas of *Hamwic*, as people cited experience gained in the settlement, through talking about food and experiencing the food and cooking practices of others (Sutton 2001, 26; 79; 130), rather than being guided by experiences from their past lives in rural settlements. Whereas the use of imports built partial connections and a patchwork of interpretations, the use of these vessels appears to have distributed more universal experiences and meaning through the population. Whilst the vessels may be indicative of continental influences, the agency for people to use them continued to be distributed through rural suppliers who provisioned *Hamwic*. The occupants of *Hamwic* were separated from rural populations through the sensory experiences associated with the use of these vessels, to process and consume similar foodstuffs to those eaten in the countryside. This is a clear example of how 'the social' in *Hamwic* was constituted of ties both with its region and with wider contacts and how its emergence as a distinctly urban entity was distributed through the engagements which went on within it, rather than this structure causing people to act in a pre-determined 'urban' manner.

Fabric 11 indexes a shift in the prototype pottery vessel, from lumpy, crudely made, thick walled Organic-tempered Wares, to a finer textured, smoother and more uniform sandy fabric. This shift in prototype appears to index increased associations between the people of *Hamwic* and the finer, imported vessels, which were increasingly used throughout the settlement (see Blackmore 2001, 40). The prototype pottery was influenced by these associations, meaning that people in *Hamwic* had a different perception of a suitable vessel to those living outside of it (see also Blackmore 2001, 36). Therefore, the exchange and use of these vessels had the effect of strengthening associations within *Hamwic* and also between *Hamwic* and the continent, whilst diminishing some associations with the countryside. The field of citation shifts, in regard to fabric at least, to include the continent and eventually be directed more towards it. Ties with rural areas were not entirely lost; the form of the Sandy Ware vessels still indexes the products used locally and the presence of stamped decoration may reference both the decoration on imported pottery and the continuity of earlier types (Cunliffe 1976; Blackmore 2001, 36).[41] These vessels were the result of partial

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[41] See Gosselain (2000) and Jervis (2008) for discussion of similar phenomena elsewhere.

connections between *Hamwic*, its local hinterland and northern France. 'The social' in *Hamwic* was constituted of partial ties with its region, with wider contacts and between its inhabitants. Its unique sense of places was distributed through some connections, whilst others mediated continuity and familiarity; a set of partial ties materialised in the Sandy Ware vessels.

Engagements with pottery also served to build social ties within *Hamwic*. Pottery acted as a mediator between categories of consumer and local producer/traders (chapter 9) who exchanged their pottery in certain areas of *Hamwic*. These interactions appear to have held some of the agency for the creation of 'neighbourhoods', as local producer/traders exchanged their pottery in certain areas of *Hamwic*, materialising the limits of interaction (possibly relating to *Hamwic's* original nuclei, which potentially index other, archaeologically invisible, associations). The durability of these neighbourhoods was partly distributed through exchange, as a common prototype vessel emerged, built based on their experiences of ceramic use both in *Hamwic* and elsewhere. As we have seen, this prototype shifted as people increasingly engaged with imported wares. The shift was a gradual one, with the consumers' prototype shifting in relation to cycles of breakage and replacement, increasingly accepting types which were 'fuzzy' in relation to the original prototype, as experimentation and exposure to new technologies shifted the potters' prototype over the long term. The continued zoning in the distribution of fabrics suggests that potters responded to these shifts in the consumers' requirements, with the vessels acting to strengthen economic ties between craftsmen within *Hamwic* through exchange, and also standing for the range of influences being exerted on its occupants. This zoned exchange may bear some relation to the zones of complementary crafts identified by Morton (1992, 57), with *Hamwic* perhaps best conceptualised as a series of localised groupings, or neighbourhoods, of craftsmen and traders who were reliant on one another. *Hamwic's* urban nature emerged not only in contrast to rural living, but as the product of the relationships between people and objects within it, which created the mixture of internal cohesiveness and differentiation, so characteristic of town life. These associations between members of the population were also made and remade through further engagements with pottery, through feasting and depositional activity.

There is some evidence for periodic feasting in *Hamwic*, principally through a large deposit of vessels and food debris at SOU 32 (chapter 7). Such activity was part of a wider cycle of activities designed to create and make durable relationships between particular members of the community. This event was part of a wider cycle of activities, structured to define and maintain relationships between participants and distinguished from other meals through the unique set of connections made with foodstuffs, places

and individuals (Hagen 2006, 413; Sykes 2010, 180). These feasts had a distinctive role in relation to other meals, in terms of what was eaten, how and when (see Douglas 1975). The location of this deposit, close to St. Mary's Church, implies that it is related to people making durable their associations with this institution, through periodic religious feasting (Hodges 2004, 143). Such cyclical activities may have been important, given the increasing differentiation between religious observance and economic life (Theuws 2004, 135) (evidenced through the relative lack of churches and religious communities in *wics*), even though the church as an institution was a major player in economic activity (Theuws 2004, 151; Hodges 2004). Rather than seeing religion as controlling 'the social', such activity demonstrates how it is simply one component of it, with its elevated role in administration and as a focal point for communities being brought about by its high level of connections (Law 1992), both locally and internationally. Associations through religious feasting added to the various multiple realities which were experienced through engagements with pottery and, therefore, to the patchwork of partial associations which constructed *Hamwic* as a social assemblage.

So far, we have considered how *Hamwic* was assembled and defined, but we are also able to consider its decline. Phase 3 of *Hamwic* was a period of change, in which previous associations were dissolved and new ones formed. The period sees a shift in the type of pottery used, from Sandy to Mixed-grit-tempered Wares. This may relate to changes in the hinterland (chapter 8), with rural types possibly having a similar influence on prototypes in *Hamwic*, to that which the imported wares had in phase 2. This process is not as simple as saying that continental ties were replaced by local ones however; coarser wares were also used in northern France, the Shelly Wares at *Quentovic* for example (Worthington 1993), whilst Whitewares became increasingly coarse as they developed into the Normandy Gritty Wares of the Anglo-Norman period (see Brown 1994; 2002). The changes are likely to have been influenced by a range of connections, but this does not explain *why* the change occurred. It would appear to relate to changes in diet, occurring both in *Hamwic* and on the continent (Bourdillon 1984, 83; Sykes 2007, 39), meaning that the demands placed on pottery during use changed. This change can, perhaps, be seen as an overflow of changes in subsistence practices (Hamerow 1991, 61-17; Sykes 2007, 38-9; Sykes 2010, 184-7; Hughes 1984) and provisioning strategy. The gritty fabrics stand for new associations, brought about in part through changing agricultural practices, which in turn relate to the growth of rural estates and climatic issues. As trade became less frequent, possibly due to recession and a changing relationship between the Carolingian and Scandinavian world (which is more complex than simple 'Viking disruption') (Hall 2000; Theuws 2004, 136), *Hamwic's* continental ties diminished, meaning that its role as a trading centre

became less important, as the associations which brought it into being and sustained it as an entity faded. Whilst older centres, such as Masstricht (Netherlands), which had a defined religious as well as economic role, were sustained by continued ties, the diminishing of economic links meant that *Hamwic* and its counterparts no longer had a defined role to play (Theuws 2004, 136). Crucially, the new town of Southampton, and others such as Winchester, developed as centres not only of economic activity, but also of administration and religion, meaning that whilst some links may have periodically faded, they had a level of durability which *Hamwic* did not enjoy.

In phases 1 and 2 waste disposal practices were active in organising space, and thus mediating relationships within *Hamwic*. Middens and pits acted to demarcate space, or by being removed or filled, were active in reformulating the spatial organisation of *Hamwic*. Whilst the use of middens associated *Hamwic* with its rural hinterland, the role of pits as boundaries and their intermittent filling, strengthened associations within the settlement (with new ones emerging as old ones dissolved) and differentiated *Hamwic* from rural sites. The landscape formed as a materialisation of the associations flowing through it (Ingold 1993; Urry 2000). Deposits were active in the making of a settlement, in indexing and administering spatial control, at various times marking (and being active in) change, and at others in promoting continuity. The changes to the connections which constitute *Hamwic* in phase 3 are materialised in the physical remodelling of the settlement. The use of secondary and tertiary waste to close boundary pits in the Clifford Street area can be seen as actively marking a point of transition in the intertwined narratives of settlement and personal lives (Morris and Jervis forthcoming; see also Thomas 2008). The action of filling and remodelling not only served to dissolve old networks of spatial use, but acted as mediators in the creation of new networks. Whereas boundaries had been maintained in previous periods, the affordances of these features changed in this phase, with them now becoming seen as foci for waste disposal.

The ceramic evidences illustrates a range of partial connections between actors, both human and material, which came together to create a patchwork; the social assemblage of *Hamwic*. A 'sense of home' was mediated through the translation of domestic practices from surrounding areas and the continent, with the increasing hybridisation of pottery types and use practices caused by continental associations contributing to *Hamwic* developing a unique sense of place. The settlement developed into an urban entity, with the landscape materialising spatial control and the emergence of neighbourhood groupings, whilst cohesiveness came to be distributed, in part, through engagements with a central market, the emergence of which also served to differentiate *Hamwic* from its rural hinterland. A key motivation for *Hamwic's*

foundation was trade and it was made durable through engagements with imported artefacts, engagements through which power and identity were mediated. Life in *Hamwic* was an individualised experience however, for some engagements with imported pottery brought familiarity, for others it allowed them to develop a new and fleeting sense of cosmopolitan identity. This diversity is also indexed both through the types of locally produced pottery present and the range of cooking techniques practised, which in turn led to distinctive experiences in food consumption. It was the partial connections between these individual 'social realities' which stitched together to create *Hamwic* as a patchwork of connections between actors within and outside of the settlement. *Hamwic's* decline was also distributed through material engagements, the changes in ceramic use being distributed through wider developments in agricultural and economic practices across the North Sea zone. The subsequent decline in trading activity dissolved the connections which had brought it into being, changing the character of the settlement dramatically. *Hamwic* as a social entity was ever changing, as the occupants made and re-made connections with those outside, as well as their neighbours; associations of citation and provisioning, through exchange, domestic activity and deposition, all of which contributed to a unique process of social assembly.

10.2 The Late Saxon Period

The late Saxon period saw Southampton shift location. Its function too changed, with it being a defended burghal site, rather than purely acting as a port. This role was distributed through a network of other similar burghal towns, which acted together to defend Wessex. Southampton's role as a port continued, although subtle differences can be observed in how it functioned, when compared to *Hamwic*. We can assess 'the social' in late Saxon Southampton against that in phase 3 of *Hamwic*, considering which elements continued in the new setting, which elements shifted and which changing associations account for these differences.

One element of continuity is the localised exchange networks, which continued to be made durable through repeated exchange events (chapters 5 and 9). The evidence suggests that in the late Saxon town, local exchange was organised in the same way as in *Hamwic*, meaning that this network was durable and that continuity was distributed through it. This occurred through the exchange of similar types of pottery and thus the utilisation of a similar mental prototype vessel. Local pottery acted as a mediator for the continuity of the formation of 'the social' constructed in *Hamwic*, with engagements and associations in the context of the new town citing events in the old settlement. This network had a level of durability which transcended the movement of

the settlement and served to build continuity in household practice in the long term. In much of Southampton, these Flint-tempered Ware vessels were generally used in the same way (as cooking vessels at least) as in phase 3 of *Hamwic*, with black carbonised sooting dominating (chapter 6). Stability can also be observed in depositional practice. Middens continued to develop, citing elements of the *Hamwic* landscape, as well as serving to build similar connections between households and their waste (chapter 7).

Other elements continued but the associations were subtly remapped. In particular we can consider the engagements people had with imported pottery and the relationship between immigrants and indigenous members of Southampton's community. The continued trade in imported pottery and other goods served to remake Southampton's role as a port, the agency to engage in trading activity being distributed through its topography, as well as the people living in and visiting the town, their equipment and the objects of exchange (chapter 9). The wares exchanged are also similar to those used in *Hamwic*, illustrating how people living in Southampton continued to cite existing and long held mental prototypes. Continued trade with France meant that, unlike most other burghal towns, Southampton had a supply of functionally distinct serving vessels, a role also fulfilled in *Hamwic*. Only Winchester has a similar range of vessels fulfilling this function, and these were locally produced glazed Winchester-type Wares (chapter 8). These are likely to have emerged as a product of Winchester's high level of connectivity, both with Southampton and the wider Carolingian world, where such vessels were used in greater quantities; producing cosmopolitan groups of urban consumers (chapter 9). Both of these burghs are unusual in their level of wider connectivity, being active both in continental and more local networks of exchange. The use of these vessels continued to remake Southampton as a cosmopolitan settlement, when compared with other Wessex towns. This difference in the use of pottery between Southampton and other burghs also relates to Southampton being a more established settlement, with a cohesive internal network, which translated into a new physical context (chapter 9).

Some new imported types are present however, noticeably Red Painted Ware. This was present in phase 3 of *Hamwic* but has a very limited distribution. Although present in similar forms and fabric to the various imported whitewares, the red painted decoration meant that these vessels did not conform to the existing mental prototype. The distribution of these vessels is focussed on the west of Southampton, and their presence possibly indexes the occupation of this area by immigrants (chapter 9). The less than enthusiastic take-up of these vessels in Southampton as a whole may index a level of fragmentation within Southampton's population. The lack of a hybridised prototype, as occurred in *Hamwic*, suggests that a group emerged through

engagement with a more contemporary prototype serving vessel, whilst others clung to continuity through their use of more traditional types. The use of vessels which echoed earlier pottery types led to the building of a 'social' which cited the past and built continuity amongst one group, whilst the use of new types brought together a different set of signs, producing a new atmosphere, probably citing the homeland of transient immigrants, perhaps creating a sense of comfort in a foreign context. Imported vessels constructed partial connections, which in some ways cited *Hamwic* and in others built new associations or altered old ones, meaning that new elements were stitched into the patchwork of 'the social' in the late Saxon town, whilst others were removed.

Red Painted Ware is most common in western Southampton, where a different cooking style emerged, which led to the formation of glossy black deposits, common both to locally produced and imported cooking vessels (chapter 6). As in *Hamwic* a different group of cooks emerged (chapter 9), perhaps immigrants engaging with vessels in a different way to local people, being guided by past experiences. Amongst the upper classes there would appear to be a conscious distinction between French and English cuisine; Edward the Confessor employed a French chef in Winchester and when Herbert Losinja founded a bishopric in Norwich a member of his household was sent to Fécamp to learn to cook in a French kitchen (Lewis 1994, 126). This difference may be materialised in the ceramic evidence. Within a single type of engagement these locally produced vessels acted in multiple ways, having different effects on the users (by evoking memory through sensory experience) and thus creating a patchwork of meaning. 'The social' in late Saxon Southampton was more fragmented than in phase 3 of *Hamwic*, households were connected by their local material culture, but not by their engagements with it, these engagements creating hetrogenous experiences of life in Southampton and mediating distinctive feelings of familiarity and 'senses of home'.

Southampton's function as a port marks some continuity from *Hamwic*, but the immigrant population appears less embedded in the settlement in this later phase. One reason for this could be a general reconfiguration of trading activity in northern Europe (Hall 2000) and the disruption caused by Viking activity, which may have made merchants a more transient presence in Southampton. This can also be coupled with the movement of some administrative functions of *Hamwic* to Winchester (Morton 1992, 75), perhaps taking certain immigrant members of the population with them. This more transient presence may have made exchange networks less durable and accounted for a general lack of connectivity between the population as a whole and current continental fashions, when compared with the more cosmopolitan networks of exchange and use present in *Hamwic*. Although the exchange of Blackwares and

Whitewares mediated continuity across the settlement as a whole, the distribution of Red Painted Ware and differences in cooking practice, index an increased marginalisation of the immigrant community and a decline in new continental connections.

As well as the relationship between immigrants, local people and ceramic vessels altering in this phase, we can also observe continuity and change in the relationship between Southampton and its region. Crucially this region now included other burghal towns as well as rural settlements. Certain wares emerged which appear to have been produced specifically for the market in these towns; the Michelmersh-type and Chalk-tempered Wares, which gave rise to specific categories of producer and trader (chapter 9). The situation in Southampton was unique, whereas in most burghal towns ceramic industries emerged (Dyer 2002, 65; Jervis 2007), in Southampton local production continued from the mid-Saxon period. The Michelmersh industry potentially developed to supply both Southampton and Winchester, specialising in vessels which were not traditionally produced locally, but that played an important role in characterising and maintaining an urban population. This regional network connected a larger number of actors, not only potters and consumers in Southampton, but consumers in Winchester and other burghal towns, where these wares were consumed. This network was built on the basis of defence (Haslam 2006, 131) but developed into a series of towns connected by more than this common function, becoming centres for trade, production and administration (*ibid*, 139). The exchange of these types added a new element to Southampton, no longer was its principal role as a port, its function was split between these various roles. Rather than only drawing on a rural hinterland, Southampton was increasingly connected with new towns in Wessex, drawing the population into a stronger and wider regional exchange network. These two functions came together, as the topography of burghs protected vulnerable traders and craftsmen, both militarily and economically. The network was made durable not only by the exchange of vessels and other goods between these towns, but by the material durability of the settlements themselves and of the documents declaring laws which controlled trade, as well as the officials who upheld them (Dyer 2002, 52-9; Hill 1988). Within the town, human actors became 'agents of the state', building relationships between themselves and the population through carrying out government tasks, such as collecting rents and overseeing trade (Dyer 2002, 53). It was through all of these actors that the agency to defend, define and maintain the territory of Wessex was distributed.

It was out of this process of urbanisation, the growth of markets and changes in provisioning, that the Michelmersh-type and Chalk-tempered Ware pitchers present in

Southampton emerged, and with them categories of producer, trader and consumer (chapter 9). The limited analysis of the faunal remains demonstrates that Southampton was still one actor in a provisioning network which also included local rural sites. These links were made durable not only through continued supply, but also legislation. It is likely that some of the food consumed in the town was provided through food rents or tenurial links (Dyer 2002, 51; Abels 1988, 75). Much food was sold in towns too. Gardens grew up around towns and older animals were eaten, an overflow from the need for secondary products, such as wool to maintain the cloth trade (Dyer 2002, 67). These pitchers played a role in the processing of foodstuffs, a function which indexes a realignment of the relationship between Southampton and its hinterland. In a market system rural producers supplied the market with the resources required to produce a range of foodstuffs, which was facilitated by the presence of pitchers and other ceramic vessels. This processing function led to the development of processing specialists, such as brewers and butchers (Poole 2008, 108), who engaged with vessels in different ways, but were connected through some elements. These engagements furthered the construction of 'the social' as a patchwork of partial connections between peoples' lives. Subsistence was distributed through the entire population, with the market (as an assemblage of people, objects, legislation etc.) forming as a nexus of connections between them. Provisioning was one set of connections behind the formation of a distinctively urban formulation of 'the social', which was reliant on links with a rural hinterland, in which a market assembled and was maintained, and was distributed through the tools which made such a system work, including spouted pitchers. Pitchers were not only a product of urbanisation, but were active in this process, through the development of a distinctly urban ceramic assemblage and, with it, urban consumers. We can argue that this pattern of provisioning is common to other Wessex burghs too. For example, at Tower Street in Chichester, analysis suggests that each household had at least one spouted pitcher used for storage or processing (Jervis 2007, 62). The provisioning of burghs is likely to have been fairly prescribed with resources, rather than finished products, perhaps being sent to them for processing as required. Although periodic, the continued citation of 'urban' rather than 'rural' living in these settlements strengthened their internal networks as well as their regional relationships, continuing the trajectory of urban development identified in the mid-Saxon period.

A further localised network active in the emergence of processing vessels was the horticulture undertaken within the settlement. Whilst the development of middens cited disposal practices in *Hamwic*, the reuse of this material on gardens in Southampton was a new development. It may have been brought about by the town's defensive role, as well as in order to allow people to sell in the market, or to subsist

without having to purchase resources. It is possible that they emerged as the result of an insecurity amongst burgh-dwellers regarding their place in relation to the rural hinterland (Astill 2006, 250), due to a shift to provisioning based on a market system, rather than food rents. The agency for gardens to develop flowed through the associations which gave Southampton its urban character, materialised as a relatively dispersed urban landscape and the growth of the market. It should be noted that gardens also emerged in towns on the continent. Whether their presence in Southampton indexes continental influence or a shared approach to overcoming similar problems is unclear.

Increasing urbanisation did not only affect the population of Southampton, the intensification of agriculture to supply urban markets had a profound effect on rural communities (Dyer 2002, 35). The connection between town and country worked in both directions. Increasingly the urban practice of pit digging was practised in rural settlements, as the intensification of agriculture and development of estates led to boundaries being formed and marked in rural contexts (Reynolds 2003; Thomas 2010). Whilst 'the social' in Southampton shifted, thanks in part to links with its hinterland, so too did that in rural areas, where actors were renegotiating their associations with an increasing number of town dwellers, and with one another. It must be stressed however, that whilst urbanisation effected some changes to agriculture, these changes were themselves active in the construction and maintenance of urban communities. Just as rural populations possessed some of the agency to bring about urbanisation, so some of the agency to bring about change in farming practices and rural life were dispersed through towns.

We can observe complex processes of continuity and change within the context of late Saxon Southampton. Local production and exchange networks appear to have been especially durable, with similar pottery being used across Southampton to that used in phase 3 of *Hamwic*, and seemingly being exchanged through a similar local mechanism. Engagements with these vessels in use differed, making connections between households partial and stitching together a patchwork of experiences, producing a more fragmented 'social' than that in phase 3 of *Hamwic*. The port role appears to have become divorced from the burghal role, with the distribution of imported pottery and usewear patterns suggesting that the immigrant population was less embedded than in *Hamwic*. A trend towards the processing of foodstuffs within the town has its roots in *Hamwic* and this increased in the late Saxon period, possibly in line with the development of the burghal and market systems, including the growth of pottery industries to supply towns. Coupled with the depositional evidence, which also suggests general continuity, but with the development of horticulture within the

settlement, an argument can be made for some changes in the way that the town was provisioned. The increasing definition of specialists in relation to food production and the growth of the market further added to this patchwork, with these different areas of food processing only coming together in the marketplace, making specialist tools active in creating multiple realities of urban life. The ceramic evidence demonstrates that continuity in domestic practices acted to bring continuity and familiarity to people's lives in the new settlement, bringing about hetrogenous experiences of life in late Saxon Southampton. Changes can also be observed in the ceramic evidence in this period, which don't simply reflect the urbanisation process, but can be shown to be contributing to it, particularly by helping to define Southampton's relationship with its hinterland and mediating relationships within the settlement. We can see then, that continuity and change flowed through engagements with pottery, engagements which served to create the unique social assemblage of late Saxon Southampton.

10.3 The Anglo-Norman Period

The Anglo-Norman period clearly saw changes in the way that the town was governed, and there were certainly profound changes to Southampton's landscape; the imposition of a street layout and the building of the castle. The effect of the Conquest on domestic life in Southampton appears more variable however, with certain elements continuing, whilst it stimulated change or new developments in other areas.

As in the late Saxon period, a local exchange network for locally produced pottery was present, but this seems to gradually dissolve through the 12th and early 13th centuries. The network was made durable through continued localised associations between pottery, producer/traders and consumers (chapter 9). These associations would appear to have diminished through the period, possibly due to changes in the pottery used, but also the development of the market, which meant that exchange was increasingly taking place at a settlement wide scale. A settlement wide pottery market had always existed in Southampton, but the late Saxon period saw producers starting to provide vessels specifically for it, in the form of Michelmersh-type and Chalk-tempered Wares. This provision increased in the Anglo-Norman period, through the exchange of Scratch Marked Wares. These are likely to have been made outside of the town and were exchanged more widely than the late Saxon wares. If this is the case, this network was formed and made durable by consistent trading activity between consumers and traders in a market context, with the personal links built through localised exchange being replaced by a more generic class of consumer (chapter 9). These processes appears to have also been enacted elsewhere in Hampshire, with Wessex Coarsewares

prevailing, perhaps produced in strategic locations for markets in Romsey, Southampton and Winchester, replacing locally produced late Saxon wares. Southampton's market likely grew in line with the general growth of the town and the growth of a market for agricultural produce (Dyer 2002, 74). The development of this market strongly tied urban consumers and rural producers, ties strengthened further by tenurial links and the rural communities' reliance on the urban markets for particular commodities (*ibid*, 99). As in earlier periods, the agency for the assembly and maintainance of markets was partly distributed through charters, but, as is demonstrated by the failure of markets to develop in some towns, it was also distributed through human traders/consumers, the objects and the topography of towns. Similarly, the development of markets without these charters demonstrates that this agency was distributed through more than the document itself (see Dyer 2002, 104). The control over trade exerted by the guild meant that objects of trade were active in building and making durable particular groups of consumer and trader (chapter 9) (see Platt 1973, 19). Control over the market was one way that the hierarchical relationships which formed 'the social' in this period were constructed and maintained. Given the skew of the distribution of Scratch Marked Wares towards the merchants' quarter and castle, it is possible that these wares were supplied under some kind of patronage or through tenurial links, perhaps a link made durable not just through continued interaction, but with the agency for durability to emerge also being spread through a charter or contract. It must be stressed that there is no evidence for this and, therefore, it must remain only a hypothesis.

Continuity can be seen in other elements of household life, particularly in the east of Southampton. We see, for example, a continuity of the Saxon disposal pattern; the build up of middens, followed by redeposition on gardens as compost. Here, pottery acted as a mediator for continuity, even once new types had been adopted, with the midden in particular creating a durable materialisation of this household practice, guiding future depositional events. Perhaps even more so than in the late Saxon period, this deposition and redeposition was tied into the making and remaking of the household through providing a level of self sufficiency, in an effort to make up for income lost as taxes (see Golding 1994, 79). The agency for the development of gardens was in part distributed through these tax burdens. Therefore, not only did the midden have the agency to guide future depositional events, but the agency to reproduce the household network itself was distributed in part through the midden and wider garden area. These gardens could even be termed small holdings, with some areas of Anglo-Norman towns being composed of a patchwork of enclosed semi-rural households (Dyer 1994, 243). Laws were passed which allowed some indigenous practices to continue, and practices such as gardening are likely to have been

encouraged, given the evidence for similar activity in towns in Normandy (Creighton 2002, 162).

Similarities also extended into the kitchen. Similar cooking pots seem to have been used, in the same way as in earlier periods. The pottery, food (the types of which appear relatively stable; Sykes 2007, 48) and associated equipment acted as a mediator for continuity in these households, despite changing connection in Southampton's administration and economy. The household appears to have been organised in much the same way as in the late Saxon period, with the Conquest having minimal impact on the connections cited and reproduced through the processing and consumption of foodstuffs in some homes. As well as indexing a general lack of disruption to these households' way of life by the Norman Conquest, such continuity may also index a private resistance to Norman practices. The agency for resistance was distributed through actors such as cooking utensils, language and foodstuffs, as well as weapons. Indeed, it would appear that in general the conquest had a limited effect on the grass roots of society (Dyer 2002, 71; Chibnall 1999, 135). This may partly have been due to England and Normandy being joined by a number of common cultural traits already, for example having a shared religion (albeit practising it in subtly different ways) including monastic links (Golding 1994, 179; Chibnall 1994, 38-9; Leyser 1992, 47; Thomas 2003, 26), the presence of French people in England prior to the conquest and English in France (including amongst the urban elite and rural landowners, as well as in court) (Lewis 1994, 131; Matthew 2005, 275) and regular cross channel contact prior to the conquest through political and economic activities (Gardiner 1999).

Another element of continuity was Southampton's function as a port, demonstrated by the continued (and increasing) presence of merchants in the town (Golding 1994, 78). The Conquest stimulated existing trading connections with Normandy (Chibnall 1999, 135; 147) but the redistribution mechanism within the settlement appears to have been maintained from the late Saxon period. The wide exchange of Normandy Gritty Wares is not surprising, given its relationship to the earlier mid- and late- Saxon Whitewares. These wares are not generally found outside of Southampton, so the expansion of this trade was active in building a type of consumer unique to Southampton, within its regional context (chapter 9).

The expansion of Norman influences can be seen in pottery use, as we see the expansion of vessel suspension (indexed through the presence of glossy black sooting) into a larger number of homes. This suggests that cooks formed similar associations with cooking vessels, food and equipment in this area as in the earlier phase, and that

these practices now had a wider currency. Homes across the town were no longer joined by similar engagements with similar cooking pots, and this appears to index further fragmentation and reorganisation of Southampton's community. For professional cooks, engagements in cooking may even have varied between their professional and domestic lives. More households were citing these practices, potentially influenced by continental associations, rather than cooking food in a way common in Saxon Southampton. In tandem with increasing connections elsewhere, not least those materialised in the topography of the town, these practices served to construct a separate group of 'Normanised' (rather than ethnically French) people (Platt 1973, 7).[42] The larger vessels may indicate differences in the organisation of the household, with kitchens perhaps having to cater for larger numbers of people. These different cooking and storage (perhaps the provisioning of some foodstuffs from rural demenses) practices may also index the presence of guild privileges, which meant that guild members had preferential access to certain foodstuffs (*ibid*, 19-20). In a very clear way, food may have been active in both the construction and maintenance of a specific group of consumers, through recursive, controlled access to particular foodstuffs. The expansion of this group was also materialised through laws which extended privileges to the 'French' population, and through the realignment of the town, meaning those who had previously been at the centre, both physically and metaphorically, were now at the margins (Creighton and Higham 2005, 214; Lilley 2009, 147). In Southampton this can perhaps be particularly well illustrated, with the merchants' community arguably being peripheral in the late Saxon town, whilst in the Anglo-Norman period the area which they occupied came to be the area of the densest occupation.

Cooking vessels were active in the construction of different types of household in the Anglo-Norman period. In the west, they formed associations with large households, which they in turn were active in sustaining, whilst in the east they brought about continuity. Engagements with cooking vessels created a multitude of realities of urban life, both between homes and within them, as domestic service became increasingly

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[42] That is to say people influenced by imported practices, possibly through previous contact or a desire to assimilate into the immigrant group. These may not have been 'Normans' in the sense of being from Normandy but other immigrants or potentially people (English or otherwise) who were already in Southampton around the conquest. The use of the terms 'French' and 'Norman' is contentious. Here, 'French' is taken to mean those from France (including Normandy) in the sense that the distinction appears to have been made by contemporary English scholars (Thomas 2003, 33). 'Norman' is taken to mean some element of culture or practice which would appear unique to the immigrant population and may have served to define them from other members of the population (see for example: Johnson 2005, 90).

common. We also see new vessel forms emerging in this period in both England and France, the tripod pitcher[43] and jug. Brown (1992) has emphasised the production based differences between these forms, which are borne out through usewear analysis (chapter 6). These vessels were both active in the construction of the Anglo-Norman household, and were formed by it (see also Sillar 2000, 123), emerging, through association, as a solution to a particular problem. The larger households of the Anglo-Norman period saw an increased division of space, between public and private areas (Daniell 2003, 83; Mumford 1961, 285; Gardiner 2008, 37; Goldberg 2008, 136), meaning that cellars, kitchens and dining areas became separated in some households (Mumford 1961, 285; Weiss Adamson 2004, 59). Unlike in the late Saxon period, where large spouted pitchers used for storage and serving were present in a multifunctional space, a vessel was required to move, decant and serve liquids in this new household context. Such a vessel emerged in the form of the tripod pitcher. The vessel form emerged through connections with other areas of the working of large households, as well as forming connections with these actors which allowed the larger household to function. A further network of associations which gave rise to a need for such vessels was the development of markets, which meant that it was now easier to buy small quantities of liquids, such as beer (rather than these being prepared in the home as in the late Saxon period). In order for the market to function and these associations (through trade) to be constructed, a vessel needed to be found which could be used to transport liquids. These associations account for the presence of tripod pitchers in all homes, with connections formed in the market joining households across the town. The tripod pitcher was constructed through associations between consumers and the market, as well as changes to household organisation. These vessels were not only formed by associations in response to specific functional needs, they were also active in the maintenance (the making durable) of networks through their use, examples being the Anglo-Norman household and the town's market. This agency was not inherent in these vessels, but was distributed through other household utensils, the house structure, human actors and the resources they consumed. All came together to form a household network in the west of the town which was quite different to that formed in the late Saxon period.

Serving vessels were not new to Southampton, the use of specific, decorated vessels for this function in the west of the town does, therefore, index existing practice. The increased spatial distinction within homes meant that the nature of these vessels changed, with decorated jugs or tripod pitchers replacing the larger spouted forms of

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[43] The tripod form probably relates to potters' inability to produce a flat based, stable vessel, rather than any other functional concern, although it is possible that it had advantages in acting as a trivet if vessels were used in the mulling of wine or other liquids.

the Anglo-Saxon period. The use of these vessels within the merchants' quarter not only built links between households through similar experiences of dining, but also, presumably, cited the development of similar use practices in Normandy at this time. The limited distribution and distinct function of North French Glazed Wares would suggest that these were imported by immigrants for their own use, perhaps circulated through the immigrant population in some cases, along with glass vessels and wine. It must be considered that not all households in Normandy used these vessels, meaning that this citation could have had the impact of strengthening hierarchical ties between households (chapter 8).[44] Consumption was just one set of associations which strengthened hierarchy (see also Dellino Musgrave 2005, 228), with it also being made durable through acts of marriage and trading relationships for example (Platt 1973, 14; 20). Such relationships were made durable through the writing of documents but also through consumption activity, in which particular ceramic, metal and glass vessels were used to mediate relationships between individuals, in particular within the context of merchant guilds (Platt 1973, 17). In some contexts, such as in the castle, serving vessels may only have been used on specific occasions, such as royal visits (Platt 1973, 13), in which they were active in constructing these ties. Such events brought together a series of actors (such as people, the physical context of the formal dining hall and wine) who required these vessels, whilst their use actively built connections, both between users (especially if drink was served in such a way that reflected hierarchy, for example with the most important sitting at the head of the table and being served first) and between users and servers. The categorisation of people was of increasing concern during the 11th-12th centuries (see Daniell 2003, 178; Sykes 2010, 184; 187) and these vessels allowed consumption to be structured in such a way that people's role and status was defined relative to each other. Whilst practices inside the castle re-enforced hierarchical relationships between actors, so did the absence of most of the population from these events, with the castle standing as a durable index of Norman power (Creighton 2002, 138; Grignon 2001, 29).

Associations were remade through a series of temporal rhythms. Whilst engagements with cooking pots occurred daily, serving vessels may have been used more intermittently, re-enforcing particular associations at periodic intervals. Whilst the need to replace cooking vessels regularly sustained the town's market, the sourcing of imported serving vessels periodically remade personal associations between households and northern France. To see the serving jugs used in the west of the town as simply reflective of status and wealth is short sighted. Instead, these were active in maintaining household networks (in the same way as tripod pitchers, cooking pots and

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[44] For example cider, rather than wine, was the more ubiquitous drink in Normandy, much like beer in Anglo-Saxon England (Bates 1982, 96).

other utensils) and in building networks between households of similar standing both in Southampton and in Normandy. The structuring of households, and the development of the use of servants in urban homes, may have built associations between household networks of different statuses, meaning that the agency to exert power was distributed throughout the town. Whilst people were joined by engagements with certain objects and spaces, their experience and perception of these engagements differed, meaning that the objects were active in creating a patchwork of meanings as disparate groups of people, who experienced urban life in a multitude of ways, were joined. It was through this variability of experience that we can see engagements with objects as mediating continuity and change in a variety of ways, and see the impact of the conquest as not imposed from above, but as flowing through relationships between people and their material surroundings and impacting people in different ways.

People's roles were not only negotiated through exchange and consumption, but also through how they disposed of their waste. In western Southampton pottery was principally recovered from secondary deposits in pits, and it is likely that much waste was disposed of outside of the town. Treatment of waste in this way indexes the level of connectivity between the household and the market, as unlike households in eastern Southampton, they did not need to be in any way self-sufficient. Treatment of waste in this way gave rise to a concept of disposability which created categories of people, related to wealth, who perceived waste in different ways. These different ways of conceptualising waste were, in part, the product of wealth and a household's connections within the town and beyond, but also served to build further associations between groups. Therefore, part of the formulation of class within Anglo-Norman Southampton was distributed through the relationship between people and their waste. Furthermore, in large households it is likely that internal distinctions were made between those whose only relationship with waste was creating it, and those who had to deal with it. This second group of person occupied a marginal position, perhaps taking some waste to their own home to use as a resource, whilst also needing to dispose of some waste in a way acceptable to their superiors. Depending upon how the association with waste formed meaning came to be distributed through it in different ways, leading again to the generation of a patchwork of meaning in urban life. A further influence on this strategy may have been the pressure on space in the expanding town, which meant that waste disposal became active as a strategy for managing space and allowing the town to expand as an economic entity.

Certain elements of differentiation were longer lived than others, in the high medieval period, for example, depositional practice appears to continue from the Anglo-Norman

period, but engagement in the settlement wide market became the norm. The effects of the Conquest, stimulating the market and undertaking urban renewal, brought the townspeople together. By 1125 Orderic Vitalis was writing that English and Normans lived peacefully in towns, that they intermarried and that the natives adopted French fashions (Golding 1994, 182). This adoption can only be seen in the ceramic evidence over the long term and, arguably, has more to do with disruption by war later in this century, than a rapid adoption of tastes and fashions through all strata of society. Indeed, the continued distinction between 'French' and 'English' streets and their associated churches points to continued division. Within a generation Norman immigrants had amalgamated some English customs into their own lifestyles (Chibnall 1999, 208) and it is likely influences also trickled in the other direction. This fusion is demonstrated in other areas, such as language and architecture (*ibid*, 218) and may be apparent in the use of local pottery types in what appear to be continental ways. We need to see French (or Norman) not as an ethnic term, but as describing a particular set of associations, which placed an actor as being more connected with one identity or the other. Merchant families often contained English and Norman elements, built through marriage or commercial contact (*ibid*, 155). Normans were not the only immigrants, trade continued with the Low Countries and other areas of France, meaning that the population may also have absorbed Flemish and Breton individuals (Golding 1994, 185).

Social life in Southampton was not changed in a uniform way by the Norman Conquest, but the evidence suggests that the making of new associations and reforming of old ones led to people experiencing urban life in a variety of ways. In some households, pottery acted as a mediator for continuity, whilst in others it became active in the formation of hierarchies within and between households. The development of the market changed the way that people acquired pottery and other goods, but people living in Southampton do not appear to have rapidly adopted new ways of using these vessels, or cooking these foodstuffs. To say that we cannot relate pottery to the Norman Conquest is too simplistic, but neither does its study illustrate a uniform response to conquest. Instead we see 'the social' as a series of increasingly partial connections between actors, which had the result of forming increasingly individualised realities of urban life.

10.4 The High Medieval Period

We know from historical and archaeological evidence that Southampton's population was structured in a hierarchical manner, emerging from developments in the Anglo-Norman period. Within a representational framework the patterns observed in the

distribution, use and deposition of ceramics can be shown to reflect this, either by reflecting the wealth of individuals, or through a consideration of how objects were used by people to create a particular identity. It is the intention here to take a different approach, rather than considering the patterning as the result of social factors, we will consider how engagements with pottery were active in creating this hierarchical structure. Wealth and power were generated through connections, with distant markets through trade, with other traders and with the royal authorities, who were the most connected of all, to their kingdom through a network of officials and internationally through familial and political bonds. Wealth and power are the products of localised connections, and therefore flow through the 'the social' as they are exerted on others through further localised connections; the hierarchy rather than being the structure of 'the social', is distributed through it. In particular, the analysis will focus on engagements within the market and through formal dining.

The growth of Southampton as an economic centre was partly distributed through emerging pottery industries, producing wares principally for urban consumers; visible through the widespread distribution of Southampton Coarseware and Southampton Sandy Ware (chapter 5). One reason for this change in pottery production is likely to be a conscious effort to move dangerous crafts out of built up areas. This shift had the effect of building strong links between towns and surrounding rural estates[45] and this pattern of towns being supplied by a single local coarseware industry can be observed across Hampshire (chapter 8). The growth of the market was distributed through links made through the exchange of a range of goods, including pottery, which served to make economic relationships between town and country, which had been developing since the late Saxon period, durable.

The market for jugs in Southampton adds a layer of complexity to this system. Jugs from several sources were consumed in Southampton. Many are likely to have been marketed here, but it should also be considered that some were acquired in the smaller markets in surrounding towns, or at fairs (Platt 1973, 58), as well as through other exchange networks. Jugs were produced at a smaller number of centres than the coarsewares, possibly due to the larger capital required to produce glazed wares, in terms of fuel and lead (Mellor 2005, 1533-4), and this meant that industries became strategically located to supply a number of towns, which also drew producers into competition with one another. The associations between these industries and urban markets were made durable through repeated exchange activity thanks, in part, to the short use life of locally produced pottery. The rate of replacement for jugs is likely to be slower than for jars, meaning that producers had to build links with a range of

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[45] Indexed through the presence of wasters of Southampton Coarseware at Brockenhurst.

markets. The existence of this group of producers, and probably middlemen (Dyer 1994, 288; 2002, 109), was distributed through engagements in a range of geographic locations, unlike the group of local producer-traders, who focussed on a single market. Certain wares may have been more expensive than others; in particular transportation costs may have affected a product's price, with vessels brought down river to Southampton potentially being cheaper than those transported across land (Moorhouse 1983a; Dyer 1994, 298). This may explain why whitewares are most common in wealthier areas of Southampton, as not only were the people living in this area better able to afford these more expensive wares, they may also have appealed to their aesthetic, being similar in colour to the imported French Whitewares. The formation of a prototype jug was distributed through engagements in the market and in the home, as consumers acquired vessels which made durable a particular web of domestic associations, in turn adding a level of durability to relationships with the traders and producers of these wares. In Southampton, poorer residents created a prototype based upon domestic engagements with cheap, redware vessels whilst wealthier residents generated a prototype built around engagements with highly decorated whiteware vessels, particularly through formal consumption (see below). Traditionally we would see the differences in the distribution of these wares as reflecting wealth and status. We can, however, see these as distributed through interactions with pottery, which produced a prototype vessel, engagements with which added a layer of durability to the urban hierarchy. Elsewhere, where whitewares were cheaper, for example in Alton (see chapter 8), the prototype differed, as poorer residents acquired and engaged with whitewares, for example products of the Surrey/Hampshire border industries.

A further element to this variability within the context of Southampton is offered by the presence of Saintonge Whiteware jugs in deposits across the town. It is possible that poorer households used these vessels to acquire small quantities of wine (Kermode 1998, 207) or that jugs of wine were given as payment to dock workers who unloaded the ships. These came to Southampton as an accompaniment to wine from France and therefore, their transport costs were minimal, meaning that they were able to compete in the market with locally produced wares. The exchange of this ware and the associated wine certainly made durable trading networks between Bordeaux and Southampton, but we should consider that the agency for this trade was distributed through more than the traders, the ships and pottery. Royal and political ties between England and Gascony created conditions in which this trade could flourish. Documents, such as treaties, were also mediators within these networks, however we must also consider that their agency is distributed through people as well as the documents themselves. This is also true of the local market within the town. Documents index attempts to control trade, for example, through ale being marketed in standard

measures (Stabel 2004, 196; Pearce *et al* 1985), which was enacted through the use of vessels of specific capacities. Even so, people tried to get around these controls (Dyer 1994, 279, 300). Therefore, whilst the agency for a town's market to function was partly distributed through documents, clearly it took further human and material agents to actually make a place function as a market and to maintain this role.

These developments in the market also changed the way that Southampton was provisioned with food. By 1100, peasants were increasingly producing foodstuffs for sale in towns, and landlords ran demesnes to profit from the urban market (Dyer 2002, 164). Such engagements between town and country served to generate wealth, with provisions mediating relationships between landlords and consumers. This exchange was one of the associations which made wealth and hierarchical position durable, and exploited the poorer members of the community, making their lower position equally durable. As in earlier periods brewing was a common activity in towns (Platt 1973, 47; Dyer 1989, 197; Thrupp 1948, 8), although this may no longer show up in the ceramic evidence as metal vessels may have been used (Dyer 1989, 206). Even water was sold door to door (Dyer 1989, 209), usually in leather vessels (Barron 2004, 256), although pottery may have been used to collect water from the river (*ibid*, 255). The agency behind the maintenance of these production and exchange networks was distributed in part through the jugs used to transport liquid, and this function also gave rise to the plain, utilitarian forms which appear to have played this mediatory role between producers/traders and consumers. Although households were primarily provisioned through the market, poorer households grew some staple foodstuffs, as is evidenced through the deposition analysis, and were distinguished from richer inhabitants who may have grown some more exotic foodstuffs, which were not so widely available in the market (Dyer 1994, 125). The households of burgesses with rural land holdings were supplied with at least some grain and meat from their demesnes (Dyer 1989, 196; Dyer 1994, 260-1). This provisioning strategy gave rise to a larger quantity of storage vessels in richer households, which in turn possessed some of the agency for this provisioning system to operate, and thus for these people to make durable their position within the economy of Southampton and its region. In terms of provisioning Southampton no clear distinction can be drawn between urban and rural life. Whilst identities of town and non-town dweller may have been keenly felt, there were significant interactions between Southampton and its hinterland and elements of everyday life would have overlapped (Hinton 2009, 458; Dyer 2005, 315). Citational and commercial engagements with pottery (for example shared cooking practices) and food (for example the cultivation of gardens) creating a patchwork of connected individual experiences of urban or rural life. This cannot be conceptualised as a cast iron distinction simply reflecting power and administrative structures, instead

Southampton and surrounding settlements must be seen as a group of connected assemblages of associations, with the lives of people who dwelled in them being interwoven with one another to varying degrees.

Power was also distributed through the way pottery was involved in provisioning workers, for example in controlling their entitlement to quantities of ale as payment (Hammond 1993, 61). Engagements between rich and poor were mediated through provisions and the associated material culture, but these differences also became embodied as richer merchants tended to live longer and were healthier than poorer members of urban society (Dyer 1989, 192). The quality of food, as well as access to it, was controlled by laws imposed by urban authorities and the health of individuals was in part distributed through these documents, as well as the consumers and traders, who, of course, had the agency to ignore them (Dyer 1989, 198; Hammond 1993, 44). Engagements through provisioning actively constructed the members of Southampton's population in a physical and metaphysical sense, with many elements of their life, from their social status and level of wealth to their health, being distributed through these webs of associations; associations which simultaneously led to the emergence of specific categories of storage, transportation and processing vessels.

Southampton's role as a port was made durable through repeated economic activity, with its growth being distributed through an increasing quantity of engagements in the 13th-14th centuries. These engagements generated wealth as well as building personal relationships through which power came to be distributed, with this activity being one factor behind the emergence and maintenance of an increasingly hierarchical society in the 13th and 14th centuries. Since the mid-Saxon period, markets had been located in places where trade could be controlled. In medieval towns markets were controlled by guilds, meaning that certain trading activity was in the hands of a few (Dyer 2002, 224; Kowalaeski 2006, 137; Stabel 2004, 195). It is perhaps unsurprising, given the central role of the market in urban life, that merchants were active in town politics. In Exeter in 1377, for example, merchants accounted for 75% of the highest ranking officials. Economic and political hierarchies were enmeshed in one another and these factors had an effect on domestic life too. People engaged with the market in such a way as to sustain a particular domestic network. The control of engagements was distributed through legislation, for example, only members of the guild could sell herring or mill stones, or sell retail outside of the market place in shops. Just as *Hamwic* was formed and maintained as a social assemblage in part through economic associations, and declined as these links were broken, so was Southampton. Its economic existence was distributed through the charters which controlled trade and production, with

engagements made in the carrying out of these activities; between economic groups, through mechanisms such as apprenticeships, with objects, through production, or with people and objects, for example through the supply of raw materials, all playing a role in this process of social assembly. The market was a nexus of these connections, drawing people practicing different crafts, those who sold objects and those who consumed them, together into networks, sustained by credit transactions, rules and reliance on one another (Rutter 1997). Pottery was just one element of this market, with these objects mediating relationships between rural craftspeople, middlemen and the brewers and vintners who used the pottery to sell their goods. Although, as we shall see, society became increasingly hierarchical, the market acted as a mediator for economic and personal relationships across these tiers of society, with the control exercised over crafts and trade making these relationships durable. We can see that merchants and traders played an important role in creating urban life and maintaining the structures associated with it (Kermode 1998, 313). Both inside and outside of the market people engaged with vessels in various ways, creating the multiple 'social realities' which, when stitched together, form the patchwork of connections we identify as medieval Southampton.

A contextualised analysis of the ceramic evidence can give us some insight into how these hierarchies were formed and maintained through everyday activities, principally in relation to food consumption. One way which one's hierarchical position was negotiated was through consumption of foodstuffs at the table. The range of highly decorated serving vessels and the wider variety of foodstuffs consumed in wealthier homes, did not only reflect wealth and status, but was active in creating it. Households of similar standing were joined by similar consumption practices, and these practices themselves formed and defined associations between members of the community. Falk (1997, 12) argues that in a highly structured society taste becomes a communal judgement. As such these households were joined by taste (both in relation to the sensory sensation, but also perhaps in a wider sense) through which people could 'eat into' a community, by allowing themselves to be categorised by what they ate and how (*ibid*, 20), distributing their self identity and the ways that they were perceived by others through their engagements with food and their material surroundings. One vessel form which mediated these associations was serving jugs (Gaimster 2005, 71), which formed part of a wider formal serving assemblage, including glass vessels. Mellor (2005, 157) has argued that the introduction of these vessels mirror an "ideological change in lifestyle", whilst Brown (2005, 91) has suggested their introduction was stimulated by changes in dining practices. I would take this further to argue that the agency to bring this change about was partly distributed through the jugs themselves. The difference relates in part to the way households were organised.

Differences emerged between those consuming liquids and those fetching and decanting them (i.e. servants), as well as them mediating relationships around the table.[46]

People were brought together through formalised dining which defined their relationships with one another (Weiss Adamson 2004, 57; Scully 1995, 8) as well as generating multiple meanings based on an individual's engagements with vessels, people and food. Both Phillips (2005, 146) and Tyson (2000, 26) have considered how the order in which people took their food and drink was constitutive of order in the medieval household, which was also determined by the use of dining space (Weiss Adamson 2004, 156; Gardiner 2008, 60). These vessels played a role in mediating hierarchy within the household, as well as being products of this organisation, with a need for distinctive serving vessels emerging, to mediate interactions between people made during formal dining. Different vessels played particular roles, whilst jugs were used communally, mediating relationships between people; perceptions of individuals were built through observing their engagements with utensils (their manners), with these objects possessing some of the agency for the construction of an individual's image, agency which was also distributed through themselves and those observing these engagements (see Willmott 2005, 125). The agency to negotiate social roles was distributed through associations between people and objects through domestic spaces (Gilchrist 1994b, 51). Formal dining did not always take place in homes. Although slightly later than the end date of this study, in 1434 a banquet was held in The Bargate, which at the time acted as the guildhall. Cooks and servants were employed and a wide range of foodstuffs were served, including some exotic items (Creighton and Higham 2005, 170). Such feasts, as well as other ceremonies and processions, not only served to make the guild internally cohesive, but re-enforced its place in town society (Stabel 2004, 191).[47]

In order for ceramic serving vessels to exist, they had to be connected to other actors, including glassware, the formal hall, foodstuffs, diners and servants. These vessels were actively brought about by the associations built between these actors in a larger household, and were active in maintaining the hierarchy within the home, as well as the householder's place in relation to other wealthy occupants of Southampton. These households were joined in a number of ways, for example through associations made

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[46] It should be noted that based on pictorial evidence, jugs were probably not placed on the table, but occupied a position on sideboards and probably carried around by servants as they decanted liquids from them (Duncan Brown, pers. comm.).

[47] See also the comments above on Anglo-Saxon feasting and the temporal cycle of consumption events.

in office (Platt 1973, 92; Kermode 1998, 68), their role in funding and maintaining the town's defences (Creighton and Higham 2005, 206), through the wearing of particular clothes (Hanawalt 1986, 45; Lechaud 2002, 119), their use of space (Giles 2000, 62) and their diet (Hanawalt 1986, 54; Christopher Woolgar, pers. comm.), which came together to build a myriad of connections through which a hierarchical 'social' was distributed and made durable. As well as being linked through the guild, consumption events in individual merchant households formed important connections through which commercial activity could be mediated, as well as extending ties which already existed through individuals sharing similar levels of education and going about their daily lives in similar material settings (Thrupp 1948, 247).

The durable, hierarchical, social was also distributed through the material setting, which allowed people to overtly demonstrate political allegiances and to show a wide range of international cultural and economic connections (chapter 8). Within medieval society it was important to transmit an image of being of a good class, as such a position was associated with trust and virtue (Thrupp 1948, 15; Guttierez 2000, 180). Such an image was created through the citation (but not copying) of religious practices in the way that food was served, and the use of pottery as a medium for this citation,[48] (Phillips 2005, 147; Tyson 2000, 25; Brown 2005, 97; Gardiner 2008, 60-1), the observance of religious fasts as well as feasts (Weiss Adamson 2004, 233), similarities between ecclesiastical and secular architecture and furnishing (Platt 1973, 103; Giles 2000, 67; Goldberg 2008, 133), and the treatment of guests. The decoration and inscriptions on Saintonge Redware pegaus may also have played a role in the construction of this image, with the large quantities of wine these vessels contained perhaps also establishing the host's reputation, as both wealthy and generous. Re-occurring acts of hospitality provided a setting in which these events could be remembered, building (or making durable) the host's reputation, and thus position, through repeated engagements with people and food, distributing these attributes through the material surroundings (Sutton 2001, 52; Gray 2010, 268). This serving etiquette included bodily gestures, such as kissing (Phillips 2005, 150) or servants kneeling (known from 14th century sources; *ibid*, 151). Hierarchy and opulence flowed through these physical relationships, which also cited the way people acted in the royal court or in ecclesiastical contexts (*ibid*, 157). Whilst such behaviour was prescribed, the agency for the hierarchy to be respected was distributed through the individuals, and the consequences of failing to adhere to etiquette (Hadley 2005, 102).

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[48] Some vessels may have displayed religious iconography (see Spavold 2010 for post medieval examples).

The image flowed through the material setting of people's lives; walls were often hung with coloured cloths and foods were coloured with sauces (Weiss Adamson 2004, 68). Although cheaper than other decorative objects, imported pottery may have been up to five times more expensive than local wares, once duty and travel costs were accounted for, meaning that its use indexes a high degree of disposable income (Guttierez 2000, 178). An image of opulence was distributed through engagements between people and a range of objects including metal trimmed wooden mazers, silver vessels and spoons. Continued engagements with these items not only created and made durable an image of wealth and the virtues and influence associated with this, but were seemingly active in bringing about this influence in real terms (Platt 1973, 93; Thrupp 1948, 146; Mellor 2004; Weiss Adamson 2004, 158; Guttierez 2000, 190; Goldberg 2008, 135). Motifs, particularly depictions of animals, or the reuse of animal parts, permeated material boundaries, with objects working together to create an atmosphere which transmitted a certain image of a household and thus were active in making and shaping the working of it (see also Pluskowski 2007, 36) (Figure 149). Noticeably outside of ports pottery did not seem to have a major role in creating such an image (Bryant 2004, 121), perhaps suggesting that its role in Southampton was created through particular continental associations. An atmosphere of opulence within households in Southampton and elsewhere gave rise to the development of elaborately decorated pottery, continued engagements with which were active in making the atmosphere and image it created durable; the two sustained each other, causing power and wealth to be distributed through engagements between people and the constituents of the material setting, for as long as this web of associations could be maintained.
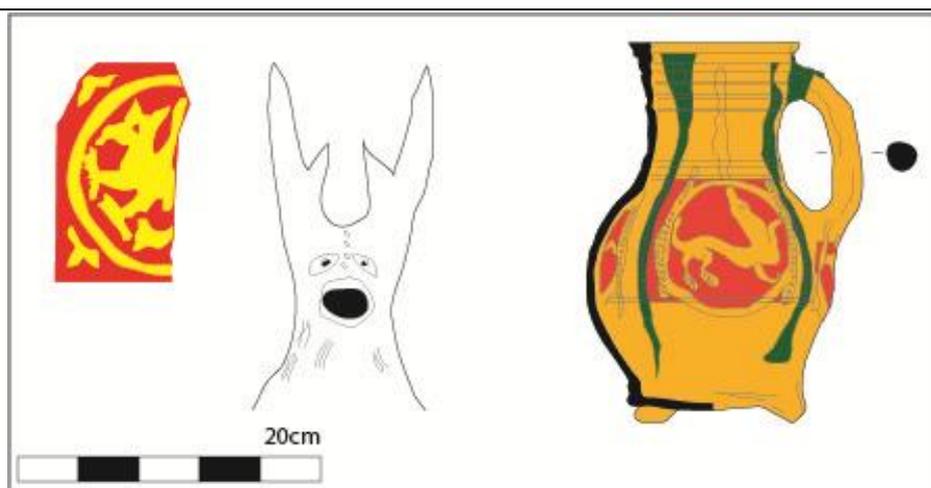
Figure 149: Examples of zoomorphic decoration on tiles and pottery from Southampton.

Tiles redrawn from Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975b. Pot redrawn from Brown (2002).

Some objects, such as a jug from Sussex found at Cuckoo Lane, and foodstuffs, may be illustrative of a householder's lands or urban holdings in other areas of the country (Platt 1973, 63). These vessels achieved a social premium by indexing an individual's wider connections, affiliations (chapter 8) and, by association, wealth, even if their exact provenance was not known (Gaimster 2005, 73; Guttierez 2000, 195). Engagements with these objects did not just reflect status but created it, the agency for its construction being distributed through the web of associations which formed the household. One such set of associations was the use of gardens or outside areas. In richer homes the garden appears to be a managed space, perhaps offering a link between public and private space in the household, in which private discussions could be held, but without bringing people into the private areas of the house (Koster 2007, 83). The building of relationships in these spaces made them 'private' although their openness allowed people's private business to be viewed (see Giles 2005, 305). The garden or yard areas of wealthier households were generally kept clear of waste, which meant that the agency to build relationships in this way became distributed through the management of tenements, and gardens became mediators in negotiating urban hierarchy. Whilst people may have deliberately used these spaces to transmit a particular image of themselves, this construction was also distributed through the space and observers, meaning that the image constructed need not have been that intended by the person using the space; in other words the agency was distributed through all of the actors, an individual's agency wasn't simply transferred to the garden.

The distribution of serving vessels demonstrates that such an image of wealth was not created by all members of urban society. Even within a merchant's home there were contrasts between the lavishly decorated halls and chambers and the sparsely decorated servants quarters (Lilley 2002, 218). Servants often lived in these homes (Dyer 2002, 199) and certain vessels are likely to have been used exclusively by them. Whilst wealthier households had a number of servants performing specific functions (Thrupp 1948, 152), citing practice in great households, they were present in poorer homes too, with a period of service being seen as part of the life cycle, as an apprenticeship for later life (Hanawalt 1986, 93; Fleming 2001, 74; Goldberg 2004, 22). Whilst joined by the house structure, experiences differed and individual households, as well as the wider urban community, were constructed of a patchwork of these partial connections. This process gave rise to a range of experiences of urban life, even in relation to the same object or space, causing the hierarchical organisation to flow through the engagements which constructed Southampton as a social assemblage. Children were socialised within the home, leading to the maintenance of use networks (Hanawalt 1986, 157). This socialisation, in an urban context at least,

was partly achieved through service, meaning that certain practices, in particular in cooking, would appear to have transferred between wealthier and poorer homes in Southampton.[49]

The clear distinction observed in cooking practices in the Anglo-Norman period does not appear to have continued into the high medieval period. Instead, we see a range of cooking practices within single kitchens. This may demonstrate connections between kitchens in the merchants' quarter and elsewhere in the town, perhaps through service. Cooking vessels acted as a mediator for the building of a network joining the utensils of the richer kitchen and those of poorer households through the transference of cooking methods in both directions, building partial connections across the patchwork of Southampton's social. Cooking is learnt through an 'embodied apprenticeship' (Sutton 2001, 135) meaning that in cooking people draw on past sensory experiences of taste and smell, experiences, which through a culture of service, were generated in a range of settings. Although cooking methods were similar, the organisation of cooking varied greatly. In smaller, poorer homes it was an activity central to domestic life, whereas in larger homes it was separated, carried out in a kitchen by servants, furthering the social difference which emerged through serving and consumption. Theories of cooking and ideas of 'good' food may have transferred into poorer homes (Scully 1995, 41). The practices of cooking built connections, based on similarities of experience, between households of different hierarchical positions. The nature of these engagements, in terms of household organisation, meant that power continued to be distributed through them. Cooking created a patchwork of engagements and experience, in some ways building a cohesive social group, in others building more partial connections which paint a more fractured picture.

In the merchants' quarter and the castle there are a lower proportion of ceramic cooking vessels, perhaps indicating the use of larger and more expensive, metal cooking pots in these areas from the 14th century. It is also likely that in a professional kitchen vessels would last longer, as they were being used in a specialised, defined space, rather than being at risk of being accidentally broken in the undertaking of other tasks or by children or animals.[50] The suspension of these over a fire may have been imitated by those using ceramic pots in poorer homes. Towards the end of the period metal vessels were probably present even in middling urban homes, based on household inventories (Dyer 1989, 205; Swanson 1989, 162; Kowaleski 2006, 105).

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[49] In rural contexts, coroners' records record that girls participated in activities such as drawing water or stirring pots over the fire and mimicked household work in play (Hanawalt 1986, 157).

[50] Children and animals are two of the main agents responsible for the breaking of pottery in ethnographic literature (e.g. De Boer and Lathrap 1979).

Slow cooking techniques may have been an essential part of the medieval household, as food could be left, allowing people to undertake other activities, which also led to the emergence of 'fast' food vendors in towns, who principally served the poor, who lacked the time and space to cook elaborate meals (Carlin 1998). This was certainly the case in rural areas, where fires were left to burn all day, with vessels resting on a trivet (Hanawalt 1986 40; 48). The ceramic evidence does indicate some differences in diet between richer and poorer homes; the presence of pipkins and dripping pans in the merchants' quarter suggests that in these homes more roasted meat was consumed with sauces, engagements which further constructed the atmosphere of wealth, and embodied one's social position, as discussed above. Whilst elements of cooking practice were transferred, these connections were partial and differences can be observed in the way that kitchens operated between different areas of Southampton.

Whilst serving practices demonstrate the formation of clear hierarchical relationships in relatively public settings, cooking practices index the degree of fuzziness present between these classes and how, whilst hierarchy was distributed through some engagements, others were active in creating groups across these boundaries. Certain associations cut through the formal hierarchy, and the ceramic evidence would suggest that these associations were principally those built through more private engagements. Certainly food consumption was very different in poorer households. Highly decorated serving vessels are rare in these contexts and would appear to have not translated into poorer homes for several reasons. Firstly, engagements with these vessels were constructed through formalised dining, an activity which was limited to richer households. Poorer people probably did have communal meals to celebrate religious festivals or events such as weddings (Hanawalt 1986, 60) and perhaps the small number of highly decorated vessels from poorer tenements were reserved for such occasions, when people often brought their own tableware and engagements with these vessels led to an individual's connections being demonstrated (overtly or otherwise) and their standing amongst their peers being renegotiated (Hadley 2005, 115). Secondly, the house itself was active in making these vessels 'work'. By being better lit, the range of colours and lustre on these vessels were activated in wealthier homes, especially when used alongside coloured glass and elaborately displayed foodstuffs. The homes of the urban poor were small, often single roomed, dark buildings, likely to have been lit by a single hearth and candles (Hanawalt 1986, 51), in contrast to the larger windows and ceramic lamps found in multi-storeyed, wealthier houses (Dyer 1989, 203; Verhaege 2009). Goldberg (2008, 131) has suggested from documentary evidence, that poorer members of the population tended to spend their money on acquiring tools and utensils, whereas the middle and upper classes spent more on furnishings and elaborate items of material culture, illustrating a difference in

values determined both by people's material needs and their aspirations to construct a particular image of themselves. The connections which brought decorated serving jugs into existence and maintained their place in household life were not present in these homes. Instead, plainer jugs were used and were active in making household organisation durable and restricting its engagements, causing hierarchy to flow through these domestic engagements. One's position was distributed through interactions with objects and people, and was made durable through continued engagements, which were all connected in a web. It was the interconnectedness, rather than top-down imposition, which made hierarchy durable at a day to day level, as one's position was perpetuated through the associations they were able to form.

Jugs were used for a variety of functions. Similar functions were carried out by plain jugs in wealthier homes too, although here they were active in making a multi-roomed dwelling, where storage, processing and consumption were separate, work. Jugs did not have the same function or meaning in all households. Their meaning was distributed through the use networks in which they acted, which included house structures, substances and other utensils, as well as the users. Engagements with the same vessel were active in creating a patchwork of realities of urban life. The use of pottery at sites such as York Buildings appears more in common with that in smaller towns (chapter 8) where there are few distinctive serving vessels, with most jugs being local types. The associations which led to engagements with decorated serving vessels appears to have been limited to wealthier households in larger towns.

The use of space expanded outside of the house. Deposition analysis suggests that the gardens of poorer homes were cultivated, with many of the foodstuffs consumed in these homes possibly being sourced from these gardens. In contrast to the gardens of wealthier homes, these were working, public spaces, which were active in building social relationships between others engaging in similar activity. In wealthier homes such relationships appear to have been managed, with this control being distributed through the household space and engagements with objects. In this setting these associations appear to have been more open, with the absence of defined spaces and the closer relationship between domestic activity and economic life, mediating more open and less formal personal relationships (see Sutton 2001 27, 130).

Whilst we have considered how objects were active in the creation of groups amongst the permanent population of Southampton, we have yet to consider the more transient merchants (chapter 9). Some may have been in Southampton for a matter of days, whilst others may have rented properties for longer periods. The urban experience in Southampton is likely to have been different to that on the continent. English towns

were small in comparison to European equivalents and had a much lower level of self-governance (Creighton and Higham 2005, 210). Certain amenities, such as bath houses would appear to have been lacking from English towns, but were common in Europe's larger cities (Mumford 1961, 293). There are similarities though, for example historical sources suggest that Paris and towns in Italy appear to have been equally dirty (*ibid*, 292). Certain objects, such as French pottery, were active in moderating this urban experience, creating a level of familiarity, at least in private space, by allowing people to use familiar objects in familiar ways, to create familiar realities. These less common imported wares, whose distribution is focussed on the merchants' quarter, would appear to have played a very distinct role in the creation of 'the social' in Southampton, as experienced by the more transient members of its population (see also Guttierez 2000, 179).

The associations formed through household practice appear to have generated a 'social' which was more clearly defined on hierarchical grounds than that in earlier periods. The agency for this distinction was also distributed through what Lilley (2009, 144) calls the 'moral topography' of the town, with laws being formulated to include or exclude certain groups, placing those of lower status, or morality, at the fringes, both metaphorically and physically. Hierarchy flowed through the relationships between people, objects and urban space, leading to people being categorised in certain ways. The absence of pottery from written sources, such as inventories (Briggs 2011), demonstrates that its social role was not necessarily recognised by medieval people. People were more consciously interested in its contents or the processes which it allowed them to enact, some vessels can almost be seen as a 'non-object', present and engaged with, but in such mundane and routine manner that they were not remarkable. Whilst not necessarily a conscious part of medieval society, objects clearly had a role in creating and maintaining these groups (Goldberg 2004, 3).

The role of pottery in social assemblages changed in this period. New types of pottery solidified and became active in creating hierarchy and some functions of pottery became distributed through vessels in other materials. In the medieval period each town formed its own version of 'the social' based on the people and influences present and the activities undertaken (Kermode 1998, 67). Southampton's continental ties allowed people to acquire objects and foodstuffs, engagements with which generated and made durable a particularly hierarchical society, differentiating it from smaller towns in its hinterland. Indeed the development of the market built a range of associations between Southampton and its hinterland and between members of Southampton's population. This hierarchy is just one side though; associations built in more private settings cut through it and were active in creating a patchwork of partial

connections which made up the social assemblage of medieval Southampton. It was the mixture of this hierarchy and internal cohesion which perhaps led to the sense of civic identity which Platt (1973 57) believes was so prevalent in medieval Southampton.

10.5 Summary: Long Term Perspectives

Throughout the study period we can see a number of trends emerging in the construction of 'the social' in Southampton. The development of 'the urban social' seems to be something of an organic process. Whilst at times, most noticeably after the Norman Conquest and following the shift of settlement location in the 9th or 10th century, conscious changes were made to the urban form. The development of the medieval urban lifestyle was a long trajectory, starting in the semi-rural settlement of phase 1 *Hamwic*. Increasingly the urban population developed more complex links with the hinterland, starting off potentially being supplied through rents and developing into an urban market which was supplied from a myriad of commercial interests. These included the growth of pottery industries producing for this market. We also see the development of social cohesion, in particular through the lens of waste disposal, as waste was managed in such a way as to allow the urban form to function.

One part of this increasing level of urbanism is the development of hierarchy within the town. Again, we appear to move from a relatively egalitarian system of provisioning and living in the mid-Saxon period (at least based on the ceramic evidence) to a highly stratified society by the 13th-14th centuries. Pottery was one actor which played a role in the emergence of this social structure, with vessel forms developing which mediated relationships between people, through formalised dining. The growth of the market was also active in this process, allowing people to generate wealth as well as providing the material capital required to build and maintain particular social relationships.

One area of continuity is Southampton's role as a port, but the nature of the relationship between its population and foreign merchants changed through time. Close relationships between the local population and immigrants in *Hamwic*, a settlement whose raison d'être was to mediate trade, led to the development of a noticeably cosmopolitan population, distinct from those living in its hinterland. This was maintained to a degree following the shift of settlement location, but merchants appear to have been marginal in this settlement, perhaps due to wider changes in trade in this period. They still provided the objects required for people to live a more cosmopolitan lifestyle. The growth of towns elsewhere in Wessex drew people more closely into an inland system of supply and this had some influence on the urban way of life. The Norman Conquest saw a switch in Southampton's topography which

allowed merchants to take a central role, and it was this role which promoted the development of hierarchy in the settlement. This had the effect of continental ties being focussed on one group, with poorer members of the population seemingly having more in common with those living in nearby small towns than the cosmopolitan urban elite. That said, although publically these hierarchical ties were promoted, privately we see some relationships forming which cut through this structure.

Engagements with pottery occurred at a personal level. Whilst contrasts can be drawn between urban and rural living, no single 'urban person' emerged. Instead, the self was defined through a series of connections, creating a patchwork of urban experiences, which, when stitched together, can inform us about the multiplicity of engagements from which distinctive forms of social life in medieval Southampton emerged. At any given time we can see how this 'social' could have been viewed in different ways depending on an individual's role in a particular engagement, and how different types of engagement caused tensions; between continental and domestic influences or between hierarchy and social cohesion. What we can see, by taking a long term perspective, is how the maintenance of particular associations and the dissolving or development of others pushed the population of Southampton along a particular trajectory, which saw the fragmented social of the early phases of *Hamwic* develop into the highly structured and cohesive social assemblage of the high medieval town, as the people and the settlement in which they dwelled became urban.

11. Conclusions

This research set out to better understand the role of pottery in medieval society and to place pottery back at the centre of medieval archaeology. In particular, the intention was to consider how pottery functioned in everyday life, to understand how most people interacted with it and to move away from economic approaches. This has led to a demonstration that, by looking at pottery in different ways and by considering how it was recategorised throughout its life, we can gain this understanding and use this information to add to our understanding of medieval society, both at single points in time and over the long term.

11.1 Pottery Use in Medieval Southampton

This is the first time that a multi-phase, medieval urban assemblage has been subjected to a systematic programme of usewear analysis. This has been successful in furthering our understanding of pottery use in the period. The most striking finding has been the utilisation of different cooking methods, both within individual phases and through time, and the ways that these relate to particular pottery types (as in the Anglo-Norman period) or transcend production based types (as in the Anglo-Saxon period). Our understanding of jugs has also been furthered, with the acknowledgement that these have a wide range of functions, although it may be useful to produce methodologies for better investigating non-cooking vessels such as these.

The furthering of Brown's (1997a) work on the distribution of pottery in the town has also proved valuable, highlighting differences in the ways that people sourced pottery for particular functions and, in particular, demonstrating that highly decorated serving vessels would appear to have reached Southampton through a particular, restricted network. It has also been possible to examine why certain vessels came to Southampton, with residue and usewear analysis identifying vessels which are likely to have been used as containers.

Depositional analysis has generally only been used to assess residuality and create ceramic sequences. The contextualising of these practices into discussions of the role of ceramics has also permitted a consideration of the role of pottery as rubbish in creating wider urban landscapes. By moving away from sourcing and dating pottery and by looking at use in a more systematic way, our understanding of Southampton's medieval pottery has been enriched, as we can now better understand its social role and the relationship of vessels to one another, especially highlighting that the same

'type' of vessels could be used and understood in a variety of ways within a single settlement.

11.2 Regional Context

A further aim was to place Southampton's pottery in its regional context. It is unfortunate that most assemblages were too fragmented, or not from secure enough contexts, for usewear analysis to be carried out. Interesting patterns have arisen from this analysis, in particular the similarities in assemblages from small towns in Hampshire and from certain areas of Southampton. When considered in this context the merchants' quarter (and therefore the best published pottery from Southampton) is an anomaly and not typical of most people's experience of urban life. A major finding is the identification of a continuum of function from rural assemblages to these rich urban assemblages, both in regard to the functions of vessels, with an emphasis shifting from preparation and processing to serving and also in regard to sourcing. Brown's (1997b) study began to illustrate this trend, but the inclusion of assemblages from small towns has greatly added to our understanding of this relationship.

The relationship between the assemblage from Southampton and assemblages in northern France must remain hazy, due to the published record from this area focussing on production, rather than consumption sites. We can, however, begin to see similar trends emerging in the French context and this could prove a fruitful line of enquiry for future research. Much work has focussed on the highly decorated wares, as these are the types principally found on English excavations, but a study of the full range of wares will not only allow us to consider the role of pottery in social life in northern France, but also to study flows of associations between southern England and the continent, such as those identified in cooking practice and decorative styles in this study.

11.3 Interpreting Pottery

The theoretical and methodological frameworks used in this study have allowed us to reconstruct everyday engagements between people and pottery, and to consider how these engagements were active in creating the medieval 'social'. In particular this has focussed on the way that pottery was categorised and how this related to the formation of categories of people and social assemblages.

11.3.1 Changing Categories

This study has addressed a fundamental issue in ceramic research, that vessels are generally termed in reference to production traits or generalised functions. Instead a scheme has been used which has recategorised pottery as it went through its life, from traded item, to functional object, to waste. It has been demonstrated that cooking vessels were generally sourced locally, whilst serving vessels typically came from further afield and may have been traded through different mechanisms. This process of recategorisation changed over time, as Southampton's associations with its hinterland and the continent influenced the prototype vessel in the minds of consumers in the town. Perhaps of most interest is the way that vessels came to be recategorised as waste, and be in the state in which they are recovered. Generally use based divisions appear to be irrelevant to how a vessel was disposed of, and production based traits are completely irrelevant at this point. Instead we can examine how objects came to be waste and how, by engaging with waste in particular ways, categories of people emerged. All engagements with pottery led to the development of categories of people, with the agency for this categorisation being distributed through all of the actors present in any engagement, and not being imposed by an over-riding 'social'.

11.3.2 Pottery and 'The Social'

Examination of the engagements which created categories of pottery and people also allow us to consider the formation of social assemblages. Obviously, only certain elements of 'the social' can be explored through pottery. Studying these engagements has allowed us to explore, interrelated themes including, the relationship between Southampton, its rural hinterland and the continent, the emergence of hierarchy in the town, the development of the market and urbanisation. By identifying different engagements with similar pottery types, sometimes even within the same act, we can see how people and objects were joined by a series of partial connections, which when stitched together build a patchwork of multiple realities of urban life, combining to form a particular social assemblage. By taking this approach life has been animated, no longer do we need to see material culture as reflecting past action, we can consider the nature and crucially the affect of performance, a process which can enrich archaeological interpretation. The long temporal span of this study has also allowed us to explore how certain elements were more durable than others, as associations with particular people or types of objects were remade, whilst others dissolved, leading to a fluid and changing social. What this study has achieved, to some extent at least, is to move beyond citing 'social explanations' in the understanding of distribution or

depositional patterning, to consider the role of these engagements in the emergence, maintenance and dissolution of a particular social context.

Much has been written about the potential of non-representational approaches for archaeology. Medieval archaeologists have been slow to adopt approaches which acknowledge material agency, but calls to take inspiration from prehistoric archaeology (e.g. Gilchrist 2009b, 394-5) must be tempered with the same caveats as taking inspiration from non-representational thought in sociology or geography; that is that we must develop theories, frameworks and methodologies which allow us to answer the particular questions which the study of medieval archaeology poses. This study has demonstrated that their use can enrich such analysis, but also the archaeological process, forcing us to consider the relationship between methodology and interpretation (see also Gilchrist 2009b, 400). We are demanded to reconsider our methodological approaches, to look at objects in new ways so as to reconstruct engagements throughout an object's life, rather than focussing on production or producing generalised statements about an vessel function. Certainly this is a challenge, but one that our analytical methodologies are developed enough to meet. By going beyond production in ceramic analysis we are able to consider a fuller range of engagements, and through the traces these leave, consider how groups of people and pottery simultaneously emerged. It will be most successful where specialists collaborate, to identify interconnections between the traces of engagements, breaking down ontological boundaries between settlement and burial contexts or types of material, to consider the interconnectedness of these spheres of engagement, allowing us to develop a uniquely archaeological translation of non-representational thought.

11.3.3 Pottery and Medieval Archaeology

The interpretive potential of pottery in medieval archaeology has largely remained untapped. Interpretations generally focus on the economics of trade and production, which has led to pottery studies becoming marginalised, their saving grace perhaps being the ability of pottery to provide a date. By looking at everyday engagements with pottery this study has placed ceramics at the centre of an interpretation of medieval society, as having an active role in constructing it and containing a wealth of information about associations to people, objects and the wider environment, which can be unlocked in future analysis. In short, by considering the whole life of pottery and not just its production and exchange, it can be shown to be relevant to the wider field of medieval archaeology and retake its rightful place as one of our best indexes of the associations which built the medieval social world.

11.4 Methodology

The study of distribution and deposition utilised well rehearsed archaeological and statistical methods. The study of usewear was more revolutionary. Although it is not the first time it has been applied to medieval material, it is the first time a systematic study of urban material has been carried out. This has highlighted the utility of this analysis, but also potential limitations and areas which could be improved.

11.4.1 Evaluation

Usewear analysis has added greatly to our understanding of pottery in medieval Southampton. The findings have been limited however. Whilst well suited for the study of cooking practices, more subtlety in understanding processing, storage and serving functions would be useful. This would require the carrying out of further, relevant experiments, along the lines of those which provide the grounding for the techniques used here. One limitation of the study of the *Hamwic* material was that sherds were not recorded to fabric level. Doing this would have allowed us to better consider the relationship between exchange networks and use networks. The analysis was limited by the number of secure groups, and this is reflected by the bias toward 'storage' vessels, which is partly due to the fragmentation of some vessels. This would need to be addressed in future research. Usewear analysis has added value to this study and further analysis would have helped to build a fuller picture. Ideally this programme would be expanded and be carried out alongside a reconsideration of the environmental evidence.

11.4.2 Recommendations

The value of this analysis can only be fully realised if comparable assemblages are studied in the same way. Several recommendations can be put forward for these future studies:

- The full information should be extracted from a sherd, meaning that usewear analysis should be carried out alongside more traditional fabric and formal analysis.
- The technique is best carried out alongside a programme of residue analysis and detailed faunal/environmental analysis.
- The condition of material should be considered when selecting sherds for analysis, including an understanding of their depositional history.

- Usewear indicators should be recorded in such a way that generalised classes can emerge, in the same way as during formal and fabric analysis, based on the wide variation in usewear signatures on material from Southampton.
- Experiments should be carried out to explore what traces may be indicative of some practices not accounted for in the current methodology, principally storage, serving and processing (based on techniques known from medieval literature).

11.5 Further Work

In many ways this analysis is a pilot study, focussed on one town and intended to demonstrate the potential of looking at pottery through a different lens. Certain strands have emerged throughout the research which would benefit from future studies.

11.5.1 Residue analysis

The pilot residue analysis study demonstrated that sherds from old excavations are still suitable for analysis and that, when coupled with usewear analysis, this is a useful tool. It is currently applied unsystematically, partly due to the cost of the technique. Further residue analysis, perhaps led by usewear analysis, could extend our understandings of the contrasts between households. For example, were those cooking in different ways, cooking different things? This would allow us to consider how partial the links were between households and, therefore, better understand some of the associations which caused 'the social' in Southampton to assemble in a particular way.

11.5.2 Intra-site Studies

The placing of Southampton into its regional context was an important part of this project. Further studies would prove valuable, not least identifying assemblages, perhaps from further afield, which would be suitable for usewear analysis. It would also be useful to compare the situation in Hampshire with elsewhere, for example to compare with the relationship between Norwich or Exeter and nearby rural settlements and small towns, to see how localised the trends identified here are, and to expand this framework into a consideration of continental sites. Only by comparing Southampton with other settlements can we understand which associations were widespread and which were active in making Southampton a distinctive social entity.

The questions raised here can only be fully answered if they are raised prior to material being excavated, to ensure that adequate data is collected to understand depositional histories, that the sampling strategy ensures large assemblages are excavated and, ideally, that excavations respect the boundaries of medieval tenements, to allow us to compare the pottery used in different homes.

11.5.3 Other Materials and Architecture

Pottery did not act alone and the discussions in chapter 10 have demonstrated a range of associations between objects of other materials, architecture and pottery. Further research must focus on complete artefact assemblages, studying the range of functions but also similarities and differences in terms of aesthetic and tactile properties (see also Astill 2009, 266). Such a study would be interdisciplinary and require collaboration between several specialists. Only by studying as complete a range of associations as possible will it be possible to expand our social network outwards, to draw in the 'plasma' in which our pottery centred associations are submerged.

11.5.4 Expanding the Theoretical Approach

This thesis has demonstrated a new way of looking at medieval material culture, which allows us to acknowledge its active role in the creation and maintainace of the medieval 'social'. Within the context of urban archaeology there is great scope for its expansion, to continue to explore issues of heterogeneity of experience, for example in drawing upon historical sources to explore the formation of gendered 'social realities' and to contrast at a finer level between how engagements with objects mediated different experiences between rich and poor. This study has only scratched the surface of what could be achieved if historical sources and all strands of archaeological evidence are integrated fully. We can go beyond reproducing our knowledge of medieval towns to creating new perspectives, to explore the process and experience of 'being urban'. This approach demands our interpretations to have a solid data set behind it, every conclusions has a set of engagements behind it and it is knowledge of these varied engagements through space and time which form the foundation of interpretation. Whilst we may never be able to fully reconstruct medieval experience, we can create a foundation from which we can begin to sketch a reconstruction and from which we can acknowledge the heterogeneity and vibrancy of medieval urban life, to move beyond generalised, over-whelming clichés which representational study serves to exacerbate.

11.6 Concluding Remarks

This study has demonstrated that pottery has great potential to provide further information about medieval society. A strength of this project has been the integration of theoretical and methodological frameworks and both should be considered before any assemblage is analysed. In order to realise the interpretive potential of medieval pottery its wider relevance must be demonstrated. This study has been a step in that direction, focussing on the engagements of numerous human actors, and looking beyond the kiln and the market. We must however go further, to continue to explore themes of wider relevance, to demonstrate how engagements with pottery mediated a range of experiences and the creation of identities throughout the lifecourse, through space and time and across perceived social boundaries. By continuing to push these interpretive boundaries and taking an integrated approach to ceramic study we can move closer to achieving this aim.

Appendix 1: Summary of Assemblages from Southampton Considered in this Study

Hamwic

Excavations in *Hamwic* have been ongoing since the 1940s. Many of the excavations were poorly funded rescue excavations and, because of this, the standards of site recording vary. The best records come from the most recent excavations at Six Dials and St. Mary's Stadium. The stratigraphy has been written up in four volumes (Holdsworth 1980, Morton 1992, Andrews 1997 and Birbeck and Smith 2005).

Site(s)	Description	Reference
Melbourne Street (SOUs 1, 4, 5, 6 and 20).	At SOU 4 some features are present which pre-date a main east-west street, suggesting that there may have been early activity in this area. Graves were excavated at SOU 20. It is likely that the area was occupied throughout the whole of *Hamwic's* occupation. Several buildings, all of post-hole construction, were excavated. A number of pits, including latrines, were excavated. Evidence of metal and textile working was recovered.	Holdsworth 1980.
Northumberland Road (SOU 19).	Several pits were excavated, although only one is definitely of mid-Saxon date. No structural evidence was excavated but the presence of a cess pit suggests that there may have been occupation nearby.	Morton 1992 (microfiche).
Clifford Street (SOUs 15, 32 and 39).	A range of deposits was excavated at SOU 32 including an early cemetery and a structure, potentially a church. Later pits, associated with iron working, were dug through these graves. Evidence of iron and bone working was recovered in this area. There is a relatively high density of pits at SOU 15, including a possible property boundary.	Morton 1992.

Western Periphery (SOUs 36 and 99).	Both sites consist of several dispersed trenches. At SOU 36 several early pits and a possible grubenhäus were excavated. Several wells were dug in this area, although it is unclear if these are contemporary with one another. A number of sceattas were recovered from one pit, known as the Kingsland Hoard. There is little evidence of craft activity. A cluster of postholes at SOU 99 may be indicative of early structures. Gravel surfaces are likely to be part of the network of roads and backstreets which traversed *Hamwic*. Pits of a range of different depths were dug and these are likely to have had a variety of functions. Few finds were recovered.	Morton 1992.
Centre (SOUs 34, 35 and 43).	The earliest features in this area are graves at SOU 34, probably dating to the early 8th century. Pits contained evidence of metal and bone working. The records for all three sites are incomplete.	Morton 1992.
North of Chapel Road (SOUs 7, 8, 11, 18, 33, 38 and 40).	SOU 7 is a small site, several pits were excavated and there is some structural evidence, including linear features. A single grave was excavated. At SOU 8 the bulk of occupation evidence appears to date to the 8th-9th centuries. Several pits and a series of poorly recorded surfaces were also excavated. There is evidence of copper working. At SOU 11 a number of postholes, associated with structures and boundaries, were excavated but it has not been possible to identify the layout of the structures themselves and the holes likely illustrate	Morton 1992.

	several phases of rebuilding. Occupation appears to have been most dense from the 8th-9th centuries. Wells and pits were also excavated. A similar range of structures were excavated at SOU 18.

SOU 33 lies close to St Mary's Church. One part of the site is characterised by a series of pit alignments but the most interesting feature is a single deep pit, which contained a wide range of imported pottery and food waste, and may be associated with feasting activity (see chapter 10). The evidence for the other two sites is limited due to poor recording. | |
| Marine Parade (SOUs 10 and 13). | A small number of pits and gravel surfaces (possibly roads) were excavated at SOU 10. SOU 13 is a cemetery and little pottery was recovered from it. | Morton 1992. |
| Southern Periphery (South of Chapel Road; SOUs 9, 14, 16, 17 and 22). | SOUs 9 and 17 form a single site. A series of pits, possibly associated with iron working, were excavated. A line of stake holes may mark a fence line.

Several pits were excavated at SOU 14 and the contents of these appears to suggest the presence of functional divisions in the site layout, with pits in the west characterised by domestic waste and those in the east by craft waste, principally from bone working.

SOUs 16 and 22 are considered together. The most important feature is an early grubenhäus. There are also late, post built, structures at the site. It has been suggested that the site was a semi-rural farmstead in the earliest phase of *Hamwic* and it may have | Morton 1992. |

	continued to have been occupied throughout the life of the settlement.	
Six Dials (SOUs 23, 24, 26, 30, 61 and 169).	These are the largest series of excavations and they recovered a high density of occupation activity. Many structures were excavated and boundaries, in the form of fence lines and pit alignments, were identified. There is evidence of a range of craft activities including bone, metal and textile working. Gravel road surfaces were also excavated.	Andrews 1997.
St. Mary's Stadium (SOU 1069).	An early cemetery was excavated. This was succeeded by later settlement. The pottery from this site was only recorded to ware level, so it has only been included in the discussion of use.	Birbeck and Smith 2005.

On the basis of the ceramic evidence and the site records the following contexts were included in the usewear analysis.

SOU	Context
1	F1, F29.
4	F13, F15, F111, F3512, F3523.
5	F10, F11, F14, F16, F21, F27.
6	F30, F33.
11	F45, F46, F48, F66.
14	F26, F27, F28.
24	2066, 2119, 2163, 5013. 5142, 7001, 7023.
26	F1019, F2016, F2018, F2019, F2020, F2025, F3022, F3027, F3033, F4044, F5020, F5022, F5023, F7006.
30	F1001, F1005, F2016, F2027.

31	4605, 4685, 4713, 4807, 4872, 5236, 5235, 5240, 5414, 5452, 5454, 5588, 5589, 5705, 5734, 5750, 5853, 5855 5987, 5999.
169	F8454, F8576, F8585, F8682, F8840, F9717, F10675, F12325, F12329, F12338, F12342, F12381, F12385, F13046.
1019	1262, 1263, 1354, 2002, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2081, 2082, 2086, 2087, 2139, 2809, 3105, 4369, 4370, 4371, 4372, 5065, 5074, 7164, 7165, 7681, 7710, 7711, 7713, 7714.

Late Saxon-High Medieval Southampton

Area/ Site	Description	Reference
West Quay (SOUs 142, 149, 859, 860, 861, 902).	Excavations at SOUs 142 and 149 recovered a structure of 10th-11th century date, which may have acted as a merchant's warehouse, based on the presence of a quantity of imported pottery. A portion of the town ditch was also excavated. Pits and structural evidence, principally dating to the late Saxon period, were excavated in advance of the West Quay shopping centre. Some later features were disturbed by post medieval activity.	Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a, Russel in prep.
Eastern High Street (SOUs 105, 106, 162, 175, 934).	Deposits at SOU 105 were badly disturbed by post-medieval activity. A portion of late Saxon ditch was identified, along with a series of later structures, yard surfaces and pits. The site has	Brown 1994; 2002. Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a. Kavanagh, Unpublished. Smith 2001.

| | evidence of a medieval pottery industry, in the form of wasters of Southampton Whiteware.

Five pits of late Saxon date were excavated at SOU 106. The site records for this site are incomplete, however there is also evidence of late Saxon bone working.

SOU 162 is located at the corner of Winkle Street and High Street. Excavations recovered structures of medieval date but few features. The low quantity of finds from this site may suggest that material was dumped directly into the sea, given the sites waterfront location.

SOU 175 was the largest excavation dating to this period. Several late Saxon pits were excavated, one of which contained possible waster sherds. There is very little evidence of Anglo-Norman activity with much of the pottery of this date being recovered from the upcast of the town rampart. High medieval pits, garden soils and yard surfaces were excavated (see chapter 7).

Excavations at SOUs 934 and 997 recovered further evidence of a late Saxon ditch (the same feature identified at SOU 105). High | |

	medieval evidence was scarce, with much of the pottery being recovered from layers associated with 13th century tenements on this site, which were remodelled in the 14th century.	
Western High Street (SOUs 25, 110, 111, 122, 161, 164, 393).	Excavations at SOUs 25 and 111 recovered evidence of late Saxon occupation in the form of pits, postholes and road surfaces. The site was an important medieval tenement, a stone structure known as Bull Hall was constructed in the early 13th century. A series of pits and a stone lined garderobe were excavated. Cross fits between pits suggests that their filling is contemporary. SOU 110 is the site of West Hall. A 10th century ditch was excavated and in the 12th century a stone building was constructed. Excavations focussed on the backyard area. A stone garderobe and several other pits were excavated. SOU 122 has an incomplete site archive and much of the medieval evidence was truncated by post-medieval deposits. Stone buildings were constructed in the 13th century. Three late Saxon pits were excavated at SOU 161 and a	Brown 1994, 2002. Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a.

	single pit was excavated at SOU 164. A large quantity of medieval glass was recovered from SOU 161, but the pottery from this site has not been quantified due to issues with the site archive. Post excavation work on SOU 393 was not completed, but a large quantity of material from an Anglo-Norman pit was studied.	
Castle/Simnel Street (SOUs 29, 123, 124, 125	Excavations at SOU 29 examined the castle bailey. Late Saxon deposits were excavated, including possible remains of the original defensive boundary. A 13th century lime kiln was excavated, which was cut by a rubbish pit. One of the castle garderobes was excavated at SOU 123 along with a group of pits, which pre-date the building of the castle's curtain wall. The garderobe contained a large and important group of Anglo-Norman pottery. A stretch of late Saxon ditch was identified at SOU 124 and stretches of the Post-Conquest motte ditch were also examined. A line of rubbish pits were excavated outside of the castle. The ditch was largely left clear of waste until the 14th century, when it was filled in.	Oxley 1986. Brown 2002.

	Several early medieval pits and timber structures were identified at SOU 125. Much of the evidence was destroyed when a cellar was built in the 15ᵗʰ century.	
Friary (SOUs 199, 1355).	The site archives for SOU 199 are incomplete, but features have been phased and there is Pre-Conquest, as well as Post-Conquest material here. The majority of the pottery was recovered from layers and it would seem that the Friary precinct was kept clear of waste. A small quantity of pottery was residual in grave fills. Late Saxon features were excavated at SOU 1355 and these are sealed by layers, suggesting a hiatus in the Anglo-Norman period. Most of the high medieval pottery was recovered from layers, graves and pits.	Unpublished site archive. Andrew Russel pers. comm.

On the basis of the ceramic evidence and the site records the following contexts were included in the usewear analysis.

SOU	Context
25	1123,1168,1183,1189,1190,1191,1192,1193,1194,1196,1208,1211,1227, 1228,1238,1240,1241,1244,1245,1246,1247,1251,1254,1259,1260,1264, 1267,1272,1284,1285,1291,1292,1305,1306,1308,1324,1327,1334,1510, 2076,2077,2080,2099,2107,2109,2113,2120,2128,2134,2166,2589,3019, 3022,3023,3024,3027,3028,3030,3031,3038,3041,3042,3043,3044,3045, 3046,3047,3057,3059,3068,3074,3078,3079,3081,3087,3088,3089,3090, 3096,3099,3103,3104,3120,3130,3172,3179,3183,3190,3198,3206,3231, 3235,3239,3243,3245,3250,3251,3254,3258,3267,3268,3270,3271,3274, 3279,3282,3290,3291,3292,3312,3322,3351,3353,3385,3393,3395,3428,

	3443,3444,3446,3449,3453,3475,3477,3481,3483,3486,3493,3494,3501, 3503,3509,3516,3526,3528,3537,3539,3541,3542,3578,3579,3592,3616, 3617,3619,3625,3629,3639,3640,3644,3649,3671,5011,5021,5022,5024, 5027.
106	94,95,96.
110	73,75,76,78,80,81,331,332,334,1711,6017,6018,6019,6020,6021, 6022.
111	46,54.
123	1,236,256,267,271,293,294,296,297.
124	46,474,525,526,531,532,563,573,574,576,577,600,606,687,704, 721,724.
125	228,387,443,445,460,488,591,594,612,719.
129	39.
142	5.
149	1.
166	12326.
175	11,16,21,29,32,36,39,53,54,79,81,85,138,146,152,153,158,159,171,180, 181,183,184,187,196,197,199,301,303,306,2313,2314,2315, 2318,2332,2371,2409,2410,2411,2421,2422,2440,2489,2492,2498, 2617,2618,2622,2624,2647,2705,3204,3222,3228,3232,3234,4105,4107, 4123,4124,4338,4371,4372,5465,5475,5485,6839,6865,6871, 6875,7284,7895.
393	1553,1554,1555,1557,1562,1564,1565,1568,1569,1570,1572,1574,1575, 3203,3205,3465.

Sites not considered

Several excavations were not included in the analysis. Unpublished excavations from *Hamwic* were not considered. These generally only have small assemblages of pottery and in some cases post-excavation work has not been completed. Excavations at Cook Street (SOU 254) were not considered as the features principally relate to burial. For the medieval period several sites published by Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975a) were not used as the site archives are not in a useable state. The recent excavations in the 'French Quarter' (SOU 1382) were not considered as post-excavation analysis is still ongoing and records were not available until the end of the research.

Appendix 2: Assemblages from Hampshire Considered in this Study

Pottery from a number of sites in Hampshire was examined as part of this project. These sites are summarised below. Numbers in brackets refer to Hampshire Museums Service accession numbers.

Site	Details
Nursling (A1987.1).	Excavations at Lee Lane recovered 329 sherds of pottery, principally of 11th-14th century date. The pottery was recovered from a series of ditches and early medieval pits.
Romsey (A1985.10, A1988.4, A1989.16, A1990.6) . Abbey (A1988.6/A1988.7/ A1991.18/A1994.29/ A1996.43).	Pottery from five sites is considered in this study. The excavations at Romsey Abbey have been published (Scott 1996) and the original pottery data collected by Dr. Andrew Russel was used in this study. At 11 The Hundred a length of ditch, running north-south and dating to the late Saxon period was excavated, along with 14 pits and 15 postholes dating to the medieval period. The ditch may have been a boundary feature and contained a very mixed pottery assemblage, mostly of 10th-12th century date. The ditch was cut by two pits which can be dated to the Post-Conquest period, on the basis of large pottery sherds. At least two of the medieval pits were cess pits and these form an alignment, which may have marked a property boundary. The pottery from these pits is very fragmented and is likely to have been redeposited, with the pits possibly having been emptied, based on the fact that some were recut. A line of postholes may relate to a building which fronted onto The Hundred. The bulk of these pits probably date to the 12th-13th centuries, with two having a later, 14th-15th century, date on stratigraphic grounds. Much of the pottery in these pits is residual, but a number of types are present which are indicative of this later date, including Coarse Border Ware and Transitional

Sandy Wares. The cess layers are likely to have been periodically sealed with layers of redeposited waste material, and the pits closed with dumps of similar material.

The medieval sequence at 15 The Hundred is less clearly defined and many of the pits had been cut by post-medieval features. A stretch of Anglo-Saxon ditch was excavated, which may be related to that from 11 The Hundred. This contained a sherd of a fine, wheelthrown sandy ware, of possible late Saxon date. In the southern part of the site, two pits were excavated. The primary fill of one dates to the 12th-13th centuries, with the uppermost layers having a 14th-15th century date. The other was filled with redeposited material, perhaps in the 14th century. In the eastern part of the site, two phases of pit digging can be identified on stratigraphic grounds. The earliest phase would seem to date from the 11th-12th centuries, based on the small quantities of pottery recovered, which include Wessex Coarsewares and Flint and Sand-tempered Wares. The later pits seem to date from the 13th-14th centuries, based on the presence of Laverstock-type Wares, South Hampshire Redware and Wessex Redware. A series of structural features were also excavated, which can tentatively be dated to the 12th-14th centuries, on the basis of very small quantities of pottery.

The Newton Lane Link Road excavations recovered evidence of Prehistoric and Roman occupation, as well as a series of Anglo-Saxon, medieval and post-medieval features. Only Roman pottery was excavated from the features deemed by the excavator to be of Anglo-Saxon date. From the 12th-14th centuries a series of pits was dug, and a new channel was dug into the 'shitlake'. This is one of a number of streams running through Romsey and acted as a drain for the privies for houses in this area (Scott 1996, 5). The pits at the site were filled in different ways, some principally contain redeposited material, whilst

| | others contain more intact deposits, seemingly dumped quickly, directly into the features. Others have mixed depositional histories.

The final large assemblage included in this study is that from Church Street. A series of channel and ditch sections were excavated here, the pottery in which generally dates to the 11th-12th centuries. A yard, consisting of several layers of oyster shell and earth, as well as a contemporary gravel surface, was identified. The earliest pits at this site were heavily disturbed, but the pottery is suggestive of an 11th-13th century date. A further series of layers, structural features and a well could be dated to the 14th-15th centuries. The ceramic evidence suggests that the well was closed with a series of dumps of redeposited material in the late 14th century. Two pits were filled in the 14th century, with a mixture of contemporary dumps and earlier, redeposited material. |
|---|---|
| St. Margaret's Church, Wellow (A1984.14). | A small excavation recovered 347 sherds, mostly of 12th-14th century date. The pottery was from features, but no records are present in the site archive. |
| King's Somborne (A1984.42, A1984.43, A1990.2, A1997.13). | Pottery from several small assemblages was examined. Excavations in 1990 investigated an Anglo-Saxon grubenhäus and the bulk of the pottery from this site was Anglo-Saxon in date.

In 1997 a series of ditches and pits was excavated. Most of the material appears to have been redeposited in a large ditch. Amongst this material was a quantity of early and high medieval pottery.

A small group of unstratified, early medieval material was excavated at the Junior School site. Material from the Palace site and the graveyard is all residual, but was quantified. Pottery previously published by Timby (2004) was also included in the analysis. |

Alton (HCMS1979.3, A1978.7, A1978.14, A1980.14, A1980.15, A1980.18, A1980.27, A1984.31, A1997.19, A1997.26).	Pottery from several rescue excavations in the town was analysed. An early medieval pit and a series of layers from 30 High Street contained a small quantity of medieval pottery. Similar medieval groups were examined from 37 High Street. The material from Amery House is principally of early medieval date and came from a series of layers. Material from an early medieval ditch was also examined. Unstratified material from Site D was recorded and consisted of a mixture of early-post medieval material. The largest assemblages came from Johnson's Corner. Although there was significant post medieval disturbance, several pit groups dating from the 13th-15th centuries were recorded. Small medieval groups from Normandy Street, the Police Station site and Market Square are also included in this study.
Kingsclere (ACM 1938.14).	An unstratified assemblage of 509 sherds was recovered. The material ranges in date from the Roman-post medieval periods, but the majority is of 13th-14th century date.
Old Arlesford (Winchester Museum).	A small late Anglo-Saxon group with little later disturbance was recorded. The exact provenance of the sherds could not be determined.
Micheldever (Winchester Museum).	A small assemblage from several disturbed Anglo-Saxon features at Denver Close was examined.
Sparsholt (Winchester Museum).	Excavations at Sparsholt allotments recovered a small group of early medieval material.
Abbots Anne (A1994.12).	An assemblage of 350 sherds was recovered from excavations at Memorial Hall, Abbots Anne. The pottery was unstratified and is principally of 13th-14th century date.
Andover (A1988.38, A1990.14).	Material from two sites was examined. A total of 353 sherds from Newbury Street were recorded, with post medieval contexts being ignored. This is a relatively coherent assemblage, largely recovered from pits. Material dating from the late Saxon period to the 15th century was

	recorded. The 551 sherds from Church Close are considerably more fragmented and much of the material is likely to have been redeposited. The pottery dates from the late Saxon to early modern periods.
Holbury (HCMS1971.498).	An unstratified assemblage of 996 sherds was examined. These were principally of post medieval date, but 54 sherds of late Saxon-high medieval pottery were present.
Christchurch	Material from 2 published sites; X11 and X12 (see Jarvis 1983) were re-examined. Only features of medieval date were recorded. A coherent assemblage from pit groups at X11 could be closely dated to the 12th-14th centuries. The material from X12 was much more fragmented and much is likely to have been redeposited.
Basingstoke (BWM1957.68, BWM1959.228, BWM1960.27).	A group of 178 sherds dating from the early medieval – post medieval periods was recovered from building works across the town. Most (128) came from the Co-Op Site, where an assemblage of 11th-14th century date was recovered. Thirty sherds came from the Woolworths site, of 11th-17th century date.
Long Sutton	An unstratified assemblage of 123 sherds was examined. The material dates from the early-high medieval periods.
Liss (ACM1960.8, A1987.6).	An unstratified assemblage of 125 sherds was examined. All of the pottery is local and dates from the 12th-14th centuries.
Overton (WOC817).	A group of 200 sherds was recovered during building work. The pottery is principally of 12th-14th century date and consists of a mixture of Surrey and Kennet Valley wares.
West Worldham (ACM1949.70).	An unstratified group of 60 sherds from King John's Hill was examined. The pottery ranges in date from the 13th-17th centuries and includes West Sussex Ware and Bentley-type Wares.
Havant (A1992.30).	120 unstratified sherds from Oakbourne Cottage were

	examined. The majority of the assemblage is of later medieval date, but small quantities of early and high medieval pottery were present.
Chalton (University of Southampton).	Excavations during the 1970s investigated Anglo-Saxon features including a large grubenhäus, pits and structural features. The pottery is highly fragmented and consists of a range of early-mid Anglo-Saxon types.

In addition to these sites, data for the tables and maps in chapter 8 is derived from published sources:

Amesbury: Powell *et al*, 2009.

Brighton Hill: Rees, 1995.

Carisbrooke: Mepham, 2000b.

Collingbourne Ducis: Timby, 2001.

Cowdrey's Down: Millet and James, 1983.

Fareham: Holmes 1978; Brown unpublished.

Fordingbridge: Mepham, 2003a.

Foxcotte: Matthews 1985.

Goch Way: Mepham 2004.

Itchen Abbas: Fasham and Whinney, 1991.

Milton: Hurst and Hurst, 1967.

Newbury: Vince *et al*, 1997.

Petersfield: Timby, 1993.

Popham: Hawkes, 1986.

Portchester: Cunliffe, 1976; Cunliffe and Munby, 1985.

Riverdene: Timby, 2003.

Salisbury: Mepham 2000a.

Swaythling: Mepham 1995.

Wherwell: Mepham 2003b.

Wilton: Andrews *et al* 2000.

Winchester: Holmes and Matthews, forthcoming.

Wroughton Copse: Brown, 1997b.

Appendix 3: Form Analysis of the *Hamwic* Pottery

Quantified analysis of the form of the *Hamwic* pottery has never been undertaken. Body and base sherds are generally undiagnostic and the high level of fragmentation means that rims are the only consistently diagnostic feature. Therefore, this very basic analysis will discuss the rim and vessel forms present, amongst the sample of the assemblage subjected to usewear analysis.

The only forms identified amongst the local wares are bowls and jars, with jars accounting for all but two of the identified vessels. No bowls are present amongst the Organic-tempered Wares examined. The jars typically have simple, everted rims. Only one diagnostic example falls outside of this class and this was a thickened version of the same form. These are also the only jar forms illustrated by Timby (1988), although she did also identify two bowls, with simple, inturned rims amongst the other *Hamwic* material.

One Sandy Ware bowl was identified in the sample, with a simple, everted rim. Timby (1988) illustrates examples of this form (76)[51], as well as examples of bowls with slightly inturned rims (75). As with the Organic-tempered Wares jars all had simple, everted rims, although one vessel had a straight edged, rather than rounded, profile. These simple rim forms are the only types illustrated by Timby (1988) (e.g. 43, 51, 52).

Only jars were present amongst the Chalk-tempered Wares examined. The jars all have simple, everted or slightly thickened, everted rims. These are the only rim forms identified by Timby (1988) (e.g. 14, 15, 16), who also illustrates examples of lamps and handles, perhaps from bowls.

Two bowls were present amongst the Mixed Grit-tempered Wares, one with a simple, everted rim and one with a more upright form. There is slightly more variation amongst the jar rims present. The majority still have simple, everted rims, with thickened and straight-edged variants being present in small quantities (e.g. 94, 95, 96). There is also one example of a simple, inturned rim. Timby (1988) illustrates a spout, perhaps from a pitcher in the late Saxon tradition (108), a simple, upright rim form (120) and an example of a cauldron-type vessel in the French style, with

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[51] Numbers relate to figure numbers in Timby (1988).

suspension holes (98). Flint-tempered Wares were scarce in the sample. All of the jars present have simple, everted rims (e.g. 150).

Twelve Shelly Ware jar rims were present in the assemblage analysed. All are simple, everted forms. Timby (1988) illustrates examples of bowls with clubbed or flanged rims (144), similar in form to some wheelthrown, imported vessels, providing further evidence that these are imported coarsewares, in which there was some overlap with the finer wares in terms of the forms produced.

This quantified analysis has been very limited in its scope and confirms the picture provided by previous analyses. Although the fabric of vessels changes over time, the fundamental elements of form do not, with the bag shaped jar, with a simple everted rim, dominating through the period, and indeed, being the most common form into the Post-Conquest period.

		Organic-tempered	Sandy	Chalk-tempered	Mixed Grit-tempered	Flint-tempered	Shelly	MVC
Bowl	*Simple, Everted*		1		1			**2**
	Simple, Upright				1			**1**
	Total		*1*		*2*			**3**
Jar	*Rolled, Everted*		1					**1**
	Simple, Everted	19	469	110	179	15	12	**804**
	Simple, Inturned				1			**1**
	Simple		1		2			**3**
	Simple, Everted, Straight Edged		1		3			**4**
	Thickened, Rounded, Everted	1	1	4	2			**8**
	Unid	1	5	2	2			**10**
	Total	*21*	*478*	*116*	*189*	*15*	*12*	**831**
Unid.	*Simple, Everted*	4	54	22	33	1	2	**116**
	Simple, Upright		2		1			**3**
	Simple, Everted, Straight Edged		1		1		1	**3**
	Simple		31	12	21	3	7	**73**
	Thickened, everted		1		4			**5**
	Unid		6	4	20	2		**32**
	Total	*4*	*95*	*38*	*80*	*6*	*10*	**233**
MVC		**25**	**574**	**154**	**271**	**21**	**22**	**1067**

Table 62: Occurrence of rim forms on jars from *Hamwic* (max. vessels).

Appendix 4: Reclassification of the *Hamwic* Imports

The *Hamwic* imports (and by association most discussions of mid Anglo-Saxon imports) are classified by the system devised by Hodges (1981). This divides sherds into types based on one of three criteria; a known source; the range of inclusions and surface colour. It is widely acknowledged, privately if not in print, by many specialists that this classification system is now outdated for several reasons. Firstly, whilst we may know one source producing a particular type, it is possible that several other sources were producing similar pottery. Secondly, although the range of inclusions stay the same, no further work has been undertaken to source these, generally less common, imports. Finally, the division of the majority of imports in to black- grey- and white- wares masks other differences between fabrics, principally in their texture and surface finish. Therefore, in October 2010 the author and Pieterjan Deckers undertook to reclassify the *Hamwic* fabric series based on a wider range of criteria.

This exercise focussed on reclassifying the greywares and blackwares in particular. It was decided that the division between grey and black is irrelevant, the colour principally demonstrating that the vessels were fired in a reducing atmosphere. Therefore, these have been grouped together as reduced wares, before being sub-divided on the basis of texture and surface finish, leading to the creation of three groups:

Burnished reduced wares – Generally well fired, thin walled vessels with a burnished exterior surface. Tating-type Ware can be seen to fit into this group.
Sandy reduced wares – Reduced wares with an unburnished exterior surface, typically with a wall of thin to medium thickness. The fabrics are sandy, with no distinctive large inclusions.
Gritty reduced wares – Thick walled reduced ware with a rough texture and large, gritty inclusions.

Oxidised wares and whitewares were also sub-divided into sandy and gritty types. Sherds of Ipswich-type Ware were also identified in the assemblage. Classes named after production sites or regions have been maintained, with the suffix '–type' introduced after them, to demonstrate that they were produced at several centres. Beauvais Ware has been renamed Red Painted Ware to acknowledge that red painted whitewares were produced across northern France in this period. This terminology has been adopted in the discussion of pottery distribution (chapter 5). The reclassification is summarised in Table 63.

Fabric	Hodges Class	Group
120	Class 6	Reduced, Burnished (Tating Ware)
121	Class 6	Reduced, Burnished (Tating Ware)
122	Class 7	Badorf-type Ware
123	Class 8	Rhenish Relief Band Amphorae
125	Class 9	Red Painted Ware
126	Class 10	Mayen-type Ware
127	Class 11	Seine Valley Ware
128	Class 12	Sandy Whiteware
129	Class 13	Reduced Sandy
130	Class 14	Reduced Sandy
131	Class 14 (5)	Reduced Sandy
132	Class 14	Reduced, Burnished
133	Class 14	Reduced Sandy
134	Class 14	Reduced, Burnished
135	Class 14	Reduced Sandy
136	Class 14 (4)	Reduced Gritty
137	Class 14	Reduced Sandy
138	Class 14	Reduced, Burnished
139	Class 14	Reduced Sandy
140	Class 14	Merovingian Biconical
151	Class 15	Reduced, Burnished
152	Class 15	Reduced, Burnished
153	Class 15	Reduced Sandy
154	Class 15	Reduced Gritty
155	Class 15	Reduced Sandy
156	Class 15	Ipswich-type Ware
157	Class 15	Reduced, Burnished
158	Class 15	Reduced, Burnished
159	Class 15	Reduced Gritty
160	Class 15	Reduced Sandy
161	Class 15	Reduced Sandy
176	Class 12	Sandy Whiteware
177	Class 17	Coarse whiteware
178		Oxidised Sandy
179	Class 19	Coarse whiteware
180	Class 20	Oxidised Sandy
181	Class 21	Red Burnished
182		Loire Valley Ware
183	Class 23	Alsation Ware
184	Class 24	Plain Sandy
185	Class 20	Oxidised Sandy
186	Class 25	Plain Sandy
187	Class 25	Oxidised Gritty
188	Class 26	Oxidised Sandy
189	Class 20	Loire Valley Ware
190	Class 28	Sandstone-tempered Ware
191	Class 29	Argonne-type Ware
192	Class 30	Possible Soutterain Ware
193	Class 31	Oxidised Sandy
194	Class 32	Reduced Gritty
195	Class 33	Mayen-type Ware
196	Class 34	Normandy Sandy Ware

197	Class 35	Red Painted Ware
198		Coarse Oxidised Ware
199		Metamorphic Rock-tempered
200		Micaceous Gritty Ware
201		Badorf-type Ware
202		Sandy Whiteware
203		Sandy Whiteware
205		Oxidised Gritty
206		Sandy Whiteware
208		Red Painted Ware
209		Oxidised Gritty
210		Red Painted Ware

Table 63: Reclassification of the *Hamwic* imports.

Appendix 5: Residue Analysis of the *Hamwic* Pottery

Twenty-four sherds were submitted for residue analysis at KU Leuven. It was decided to principally focus on sherds dating to phase 2 (Sandy Wares and Chalk-tempered Wares) to determine if there were differences in ceramic use in different areas of *Hamwic* at this time. The following is taken from the report produced by Jan Baetens. The full report has been deposited with Southampton City Museum.

After surface cleaning with a hand drill, the sherds were coarsely ground with mortar and pestle and powdered with a ball mill. Five grams of powdered sherd were extracted by the soxhlet technique together with a quantity of internal standard (heptadecane) in chloroform : methanol (2:1 v/v). With each extraction batch (max. 6), an analytical blank was extracted and analysed. Subsequent to extraction, the total lipid extract was derivatised with MSTFA (for trimethylsilylation) and after removal of excess reagent and solvent, the sample was injected on GC-MS (gas chromatograph coupled to mass spectrometer). The results of the analysis are summarised below (Table 64).

In six samples (1, 3, 10, 20, 21 and 22), the amount of extractable lipids was very low and in some of them indicators of intrusion by contaminants (environmental lipids, handling) were observed. Either these vessels were not frequently used for storing, serving or preparing foods or the lipids were lost through excessive degradation processes. Alternatively, the lipids can be preserved as higher molecular weight polymerised compounds. Such compounds are not amenable to analysis with GC-MS. The other 18 samples indicate the preparation of a wide range of foodstuffs. Ruminant fats dominate these sherds, evidenced by P/S ratios below 1.0, the pronounced presence of odd and branched chain fatty acids (C15:0 and C17:0), the presence of these odd fatty acids in oxidation products (even number mid-chain ketones) and the presence of multiple positional isomers of octadecenoic acid (C18:1) and their respective degradation products.

The identification of fish fat has always been a delicate case in archaeological residue analysis. In the samples from *Hamwic* alkylphenyl fatty acids were present in very low quantities and therefore we could not confirm the presence of C20 and C22 alkylphenyl acids. Nevertheless, four vessels gave strong indications for fish based on the occurrence of C18 alkylphenyl fatty acids, pristanic and phytanic acid, and C16 to C20 vicinal dihydroxy fatty acids. In addition, the presence of nonadecenoic acid in

samples 9 and 11 was also interpreted as an indicator of fish or marine foods and could possibly be useful in future lipid analyses. However, since many vessels displayed a multi-use signature, these interpretations have to be treated with care. The presence of *Brassica* wax was noted in 10 samples based on a dominance of C29 aliphatic compounds such as nonacosane, 15-nonacosanol and 15-nonacosanone. For this purpose, a new criterium was proposed based on the presence of 15-nonacosanone as the predominant C29 ketone. The genus *Brassica* comprises species such as mustard, turnip and cabbage. In addition, sample 14 must have contained another vegetal compound as evidenced by sitosterol, and samples 15 and 16 contained a relatively high amount of vanillin, which might indicate the presence of woody herbs and roots.

In one sample beeswax was detected based on by the presence of palmitate esters, very-long-chain alkanols and alkanes, (1,ω-1)-alkanediols and 15-hydroxypalmitic acid. The presence of beeswax in only 1 sample is remarkable and could be related to the sealing or waterproofing of the vessel enabling storage of liquids.

In conclusion, the vessels from *Hamwic* were used for the preparation of different foodstuffs. The heating of ruminant fat seems, however, to be the primary use. Vegetables were also prepared (specifically *Brassica*) and fish indicators were detected as well. Obviously, it is not unusual that such vessels fulfilled a range of functions.

Sample	SOU	Context	Fabric	Animal Fat	Fish Fat	Brassia Wax	Other Vegetals	Beeswax	Food Processing
1	24	2119	10						
2	31	2001	10	ruminant		x			x
3	24	5018	11						
4	1	28	11	ruminant		x			x
5	1	1	12	ruminant					x
6	4	19	12	ruminant					x
7	11	15	11	ruminant	?				x
8	24	5018	59	ruminant		x			x
9	24	5013	40	ruminant	x(?)				x
10	4	3523	12						
11	14	28(4)	10	ruminant	?	x			x
12	4	3523	10	x		x			x
13	14	28(4)	10	ruminant	x(?)	x			x
14	4	3523	10	ruminant			x		x
15	14	28(4)	12	ruminant			roots?		
16	14	28(4)	10	ruminant		x	roots?		
17	14	28(4)	12	ruminant		x			x
18	4	3523	40	ruminant				x	
19	4	3523	12	ruminant					
20	31	5676	Chalk						
21	31	5676	Sandy						
22	31	5676	Sandy						
23	31	5676	Sandy	ruminant		x			x
24	31	5676	Sandy	x		x			x

Table 64: Summary of the results of the residue analysis.

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