Pots and potters in Tudor Hampshire

JACQUELINE PEARCE

Guildford Museum, Guildford Borough Council
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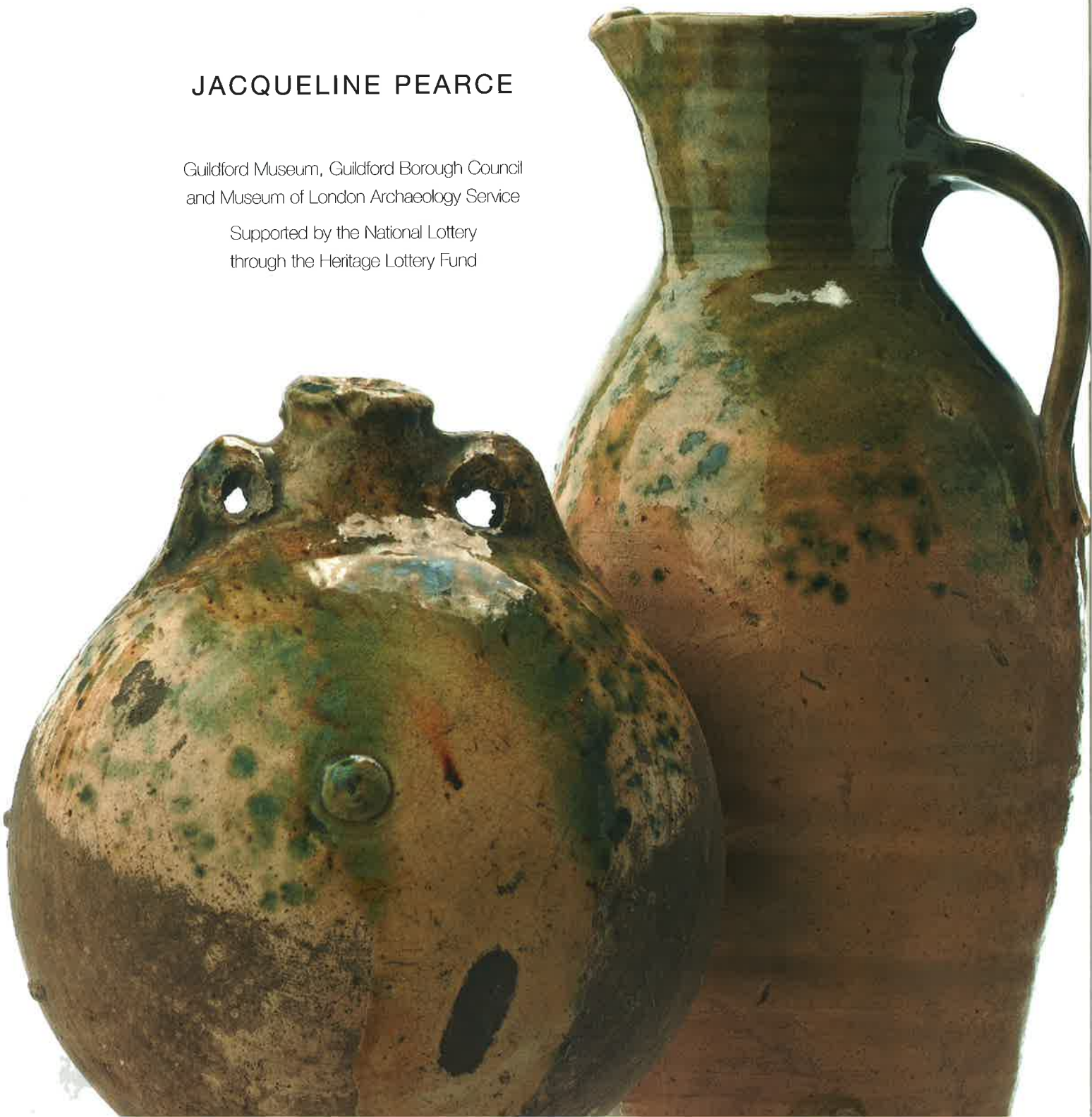

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Cover image: Surrey-Hampshire border whiteware – left, mammiform costrel (MoL Acc No 5749; ht 213 mm); right, slender rounded drinking jug (MoL Acc No A22530; ht 150 mm). Photograph by Andy Chopping, MoLAS.

Pots and potters in Tudor Hampshire

Excavations at Farnborough Hill Convent, 1968–72

Jacqueline Pearce

With contributions by Anthony Grey and Peter Tipton

Petrology report by Alan Vince

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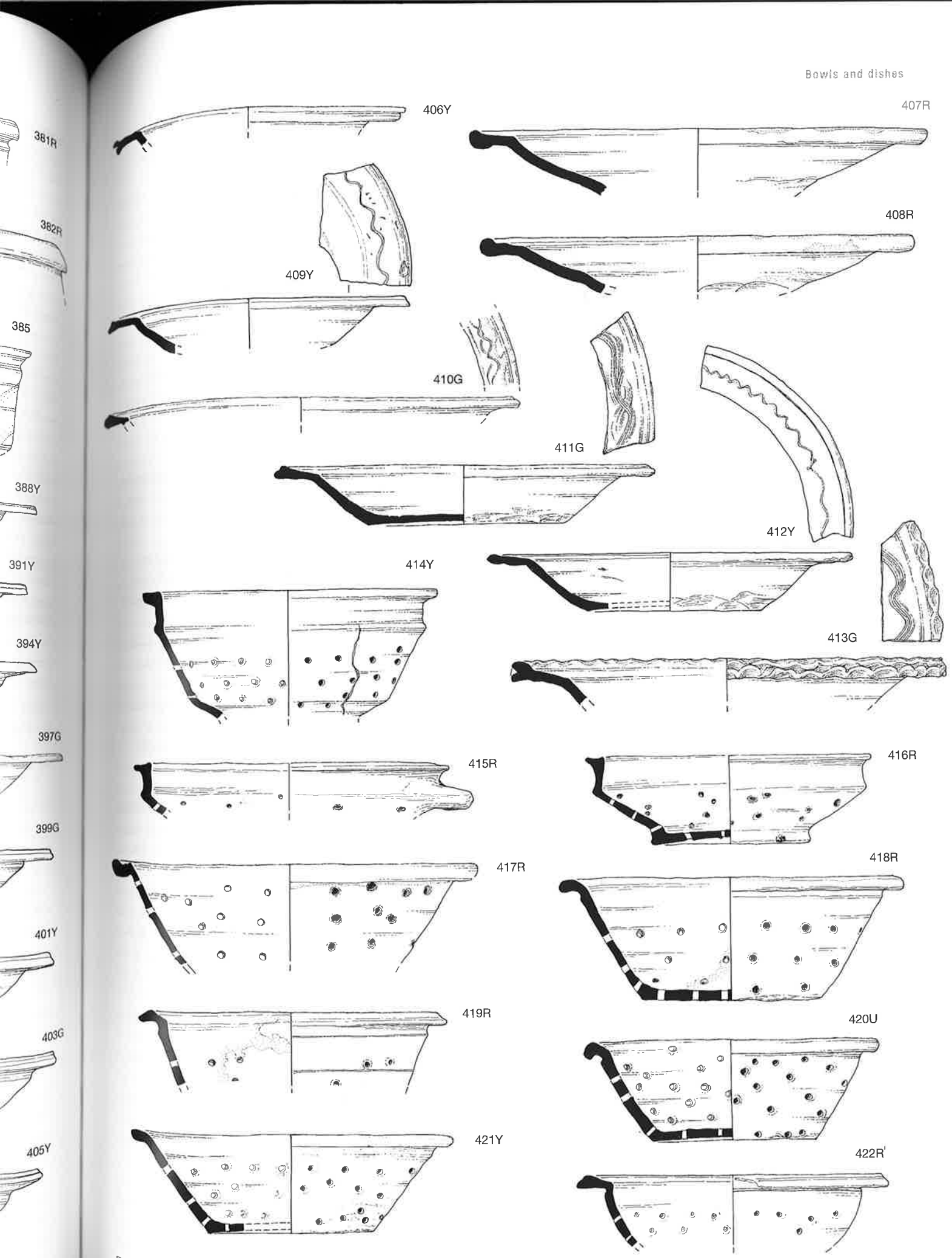

Fig 62: Surrey-Hampshire border ware, flanged dishes (Nos 406–13), colanders (Nos 414–22). Scale 1:4. For glaze colour codes see Fig 40.

Fig 63: Surrey-Hampshire borderwhite ware, detail of the base of a BORDY flanged dish, showing knife-trimming.

of the rim, with clear-glazed whiteware the most common fabric (46.2% by sherd count, 45.4% MNV, 52% EVE and 46.1% weight), with about one third in BORDG, by each measure. Red border ware is much less common, perhaps viewed as less suitable for pottery intended for serving food at the table, and more appropriate for the kitchen. There are sherds from three whiteware dishes with manganese-stained brown glaze, which is rare on any form from Farnborough Hill, and never common for flanged dishes.

Colanders

Fig 62, Nos 414–22

Colanders are made in the same forms as bowls and dishes, generally having the deeper proportions of the former. They are adapted for straining by multiple piercing of the walls and base. It is possible that small sherds with perforations could be confused with the pierced walls of chafing dishes, which also resemble carinated colanders in their upper profile. Two main forms of colander were identified at Farnborough Hill, in every respect resembling the corresponding bowl form. These are carinated and flared, with the latter marginally more frequent on the site. Isolated base sherds are almost impossible to assign to one form or the other.

Carinated colanders have very much the same range of rim forms as carinated bowls, including everted and flat-topped, thickened forms with a rounded profile (Fig 62, Nos 414–15). Only one flanged rim was recorded and a few upright, thickened rims with a rounded profile. Rim diameters range from 220 to 300 mm. A slightly different pattern was observed with flared colanders, several of which have hooked rims, both simple and thickened, with a rounded edge (Fig 62, Nos 417–21). Everted and flanged forms are also found, again thickened, with a rounded or externally bevelled profile, comparable with rims on flared bowls and flanged dishes. These range in diameter from 220 to 360 mm. with most at the larger end of the scale. Colanders with a rounded profile are rare (Fig 62, No 422). One colander was recorded with a rounded profile. Made again in RBOR, it has a flanged rim comparable to the main form found on flared bowls, measuring 280 mm in diameter.

There are sherds from several handled colanders, all recorded examples having a carinated profile, and a flat-topped, thickened rim with a rounded profile (Fig 62, No 415). Rim diameters range from 220 to 300 mm, and at least one vertical loop handle was provided, attached at the rim and over or just below the carination. Two opposed handles seem more practical, given the size of the vessels, although no complete vessels could be reconstructed. Bases are flat and thickened around the edge, flaring out from a slight constriction above. This base form differs from those of the flared and carinated colanders, which are usually knife-trimmed around the lower walls.

Small holes, usually round, were pierced through the walls and base of all colander forms when leather-hard and before they were glazed, typically appearing rather random in their distribution, but seldom reaching as far as the rim. The edges of the holes tend to be roughly trimmed away externally with a potter's rib to remove the ring of clay that formed when the tool used to make them was withdrawn. The remains of these rings are usually still clearly visible, although the excess clay was cleaned away. Colanders are glazed inside only, inevitably seeping through the holes to the exterior. Carinated forms are more or less equally divided between BORDY and RBOR, while flared colanders are weighted more towards RBOR, and handled vessels are entirely made in redware.

Dating and distribution of bowls and dishes across the site

By far the commonest open forms are flared bowls and flanged dishes, which bear a close resemblance to each other in shape, differing mainly in depth. Their sheer numbers make patterns of distribution easier to detect, although these must be interpreted with the same caution as all other forms, subject as kiln waste was to redistribution across the site. Sherds from both forms show a marked concentration in and around Kiln 2 and the large waster dumps situated nearby (Dumps 2 and 5). Large numbers of sherds were also found along Drain 1 (the 'potsherd drain'), which ran east-west across the site just to the north of Kiln 4. This feature was a source of pottery of all forms, presumably laid to help improve drainage, and lined with wasters derived from other parts of the site. Smaller concentrations of flanged dishes were found in Kiln 3 and Dump 4, and of flared bowls in Ditch 1 and Dump 8, to the west of Kiln 4. Other bowl and dish forms are much less common by comparison, and more widely scattered across the site, although sherds were again more frequent in Dumps 2 and 5, and in Drain 1, with few associated with any of the kilns.

A total of 91 complete bowl and dish profiles were recorded, including many large sherds. Just over one third of these were found in Ditch 1, Dumps 2 and 5 and Kiln 2, and the rest came from Drain 1, which yielded numerous large sherds and substantially complete but damaged pots of all kinds. In each location, the breakdown of more complete open forms is relatively mixed, favouring no one type.

Open forms are all made in both white- and redware fabrics, which were in production at the same time, from the mid 16th century onwards, with a particular focus on Kiln 2 and the waster dumps closest to it. Flared bowls, one of the most prolific forms, were also made on the site in the late medieval coarseware, as were rounded and straight-sided bowls, all with flat-topped rims. Although none of these have been identified in the early 16th-century finewares, the line of descent is clear. All are practical, everyday household forms, and their shapes are perhaps the simplest and most obvious for open vessels at any date and in any place. Flared bowls are found in London throughout the second half of the 16th and 17th centuries, and were made during the mid 17th century at Hawley and Cove, [92] as were carinated bowls.[93] Straight-sided bowls were also made at Ash in the late 17th century,[94] and were used in London throughout the century. In form these bear a close resemblance to the straight-sided skillets found at Farnborough Hill, but without the handle and feet, although they are usually larger. The two types were clearly made concurrently on the site.

Handled flared bowls, or 'stool pans' as Holling called them, were also made at Cove, where some at least have two opposed handles.[95] In London, they are found especially in contexts dated to the early to mid 17th century.[96] The deeper carinated bowls, which look rather like large porringers without handles, are found in London in late 16th- to 17th-century contexts. Handled carinated bowls and dishes, however, have not previously been recognised in Surrey-Hampshire border ware from Farnborough Hill or from sites in London, and have not been identified at all at Cove, Hawley or Ash. Carinated bowls and dishes with similar flanged or broad, everted rims, a deep pouring lip and two opposed, horizontal loop handles were made throughout the 16th century in London-area early post-medieval redware, sometimes with a coating of white slip inside. They differ from the Farnborough vessels in usually having groups of pinched thumbing at intervals around the base angle. Comparable forms were also made in local redware at the same date in Norwich, where they are thought to demonstrate continental influence.[97] Both handled carinated bowls/dishes and flanged dishes seem to appear in the Surrey-Hampshire border ware industry at some time around the middle of the 16th century as new forms, for which no clear local precedent exists. The possibility that they were introduced under direct continental influence is considered in greater depth in Chapter 11 Flanged dishes became one of the most common forms made throughout the life of the border industry, while the handled carinated bowls appear not to have continued in production much beyond the end of the 16th century.

Porringers

Fig 64; Fig 65

A porringer is a small bowl with a horizontal handle. The term 'handled bowl' is recommended by the MPRG Guide to avoid the functional connotations implicit in the name 'porringer'.[98] The latter is, however, preferred here in order to maintain continuity with the earlier study of border wares from London.[99] Holling used the term 'handled cup',[100] although the evidence seems to be in favour of its being widely used for spoon foods. At Cove, Haslam also used the name 'porringer',[101] while Moorhouse preferred 'horizontal side handled cup' for examples excavated at Basing House.[102]

All porringers from Farnborough Hill have a carinated profile, with a single horizontal loop handle applied over the carination. There are, however, variations within the basic profile and treatment, which appear to have chronological implications, allowing three main types to be identified. In the first of these (Type 1), the carination comes relatively high on the body, at about one third of the height from the rim (Fig 64, Nos 423–31). A pronounced ridge was formed by pinching the clay between the thumb and fingers during throwing, generally emphasised by use of a rib or pointed tool, which left a distinct, incised groove around the top of the carination. The upper walls are typically plain, with no rilling of the kind found in other variants, and are usually upright. There are, however, six examples with markedly inturned walls, giving an almost biconical profile.

The second type of porringer found at Farnborough Hill (Type 2; Fig 64, Nos 432–42; Holling's B1b) is the most

by the manufacture of simply decorated mugs in the 17th century.

Vessels for cooking and food preparation

Cooking vessels dominate the later 16th-century Farnborough Hill assemblage, adding up to 54% of all white- and redwares by MNV, of which tripod pipkins are by far the most numerous (34.8% of all BORD and RBOR by sherd count, 35.1% MNV). The other main forms used for heating food are skillets and dripping dishes. Both skillets and tripod pipkins are characterised by having three feet, which raised them slightly above the heat source. This is a common feature of 16th-century ceramic cooking vessels, as seen on London-area and Dutch redware cauldrons and related forms. The long legs found on late medieval coarsewares were no longer made, and short, stubby feet sufficed to diffuse the direct heat. Some recipes called for a gentle heat, or, as *The Good Hous-wives Treasurie* of 1588 put it, a 'softe fier but no fier under the bottome' when cooking smothered rabbit in a pipkin.[15] Tripod pipkins, made in a variety of sizes, would be suitable for heating the pottage that formed a staple of everyday life for most of the country in Tudor times. This was easily made and resembled porridge, using grains such as oats or barley and vegetables, as well as meat for those who could afford it. The mixture could be left to simmer in a cauldron or pipkin with minimal attention required.[16] Tripod pipkins could also be used for more elaborate meals involving meat, fish or game and were ideal for simmering stews of various kinds. Their tubular handle was a definite advantage in that it allowed them to be removed from the heat with ease when the meal needed attention. This was not

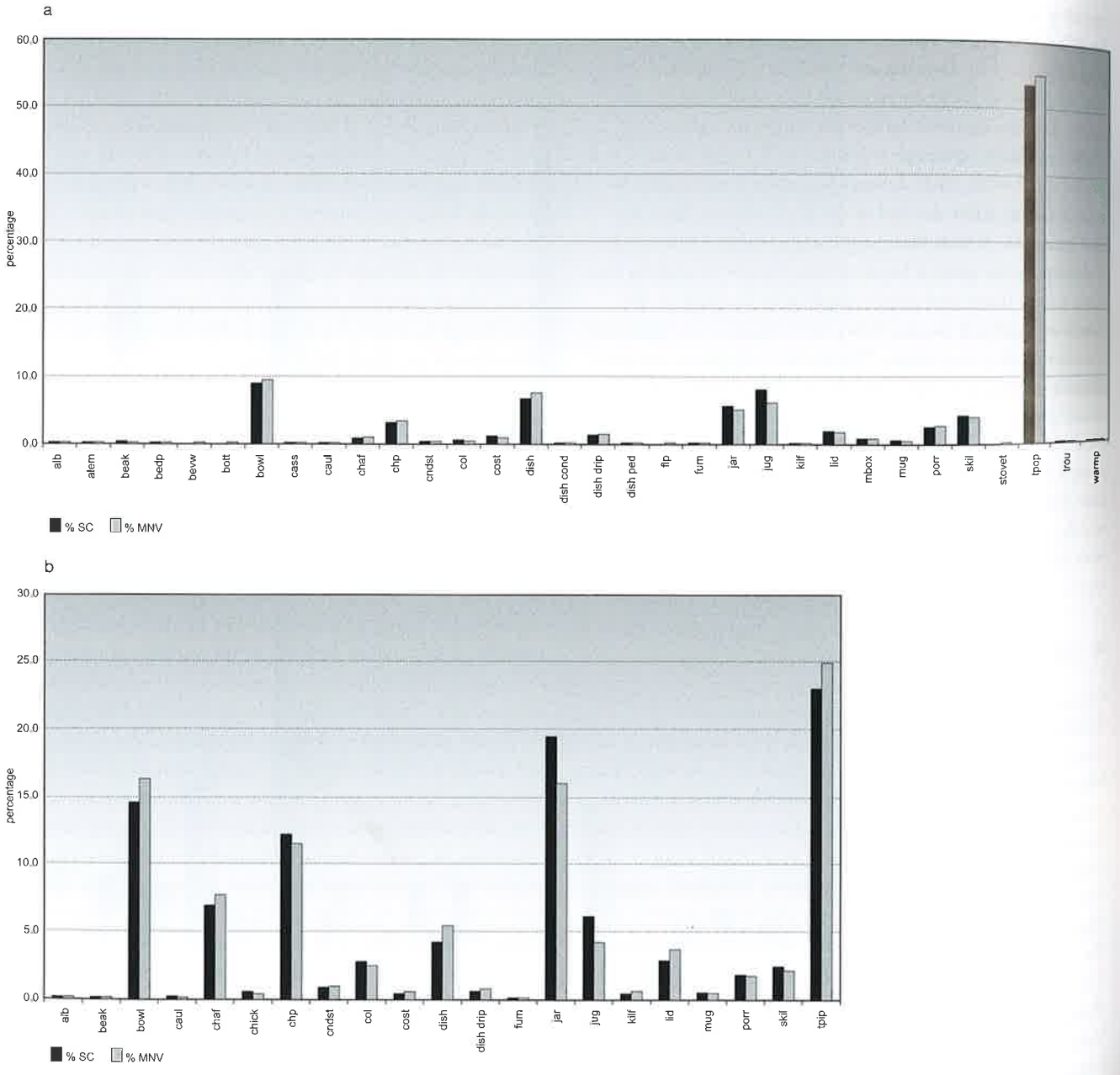

Fig 98: the relative proportions of forms in a) BORD and b) RBOR found at Farnborough Hill 1967–72, by sherd count (SC) and minimum number of vessels (MNV).

so easy with the two-handled cauldrons, which were better left in place on the heat until the food was cooked. The relatively deep form would also have retained the heat well, helped by the use of a lid, provision for which became standard. The cauldron never took off in the later 16th-century border ware industry, probably because of the success of the tripod pipkin. The *Schweinetopf* was similarly unsuccessful, in numerical terms at least, even though one example managed to reach the new English colony in Virginia in the early 17th century.[17]

Skillets could be taken on and off the heat with ease, in the same way as tripod pipkins, although not all had a tubular handle. The deeper form was smaller than the open, shallow type, which could be used more in the manner of a frying pan. The latter never really gained popularity in border ware, probably because equivalent forms in London-area and Dutch redwares had already collared the market. Neither of these industries made tripod forms, and the relative infrequency of excavated examples in London suggests that the ceramic frying pan never caught on in England in the same way that it did in the Low Countries, even though its roots can be traced to the late medieval period.[18] Deep and medium skillets resemble the modern saucepan in form, apart from the provision of feet. They could be used for heating sauces and individual components of meals rather than all-in-one pottages and stews. Their form allowed small quantities of ingredients to be heated fiercely or gently, giving greater control over the cooking process,

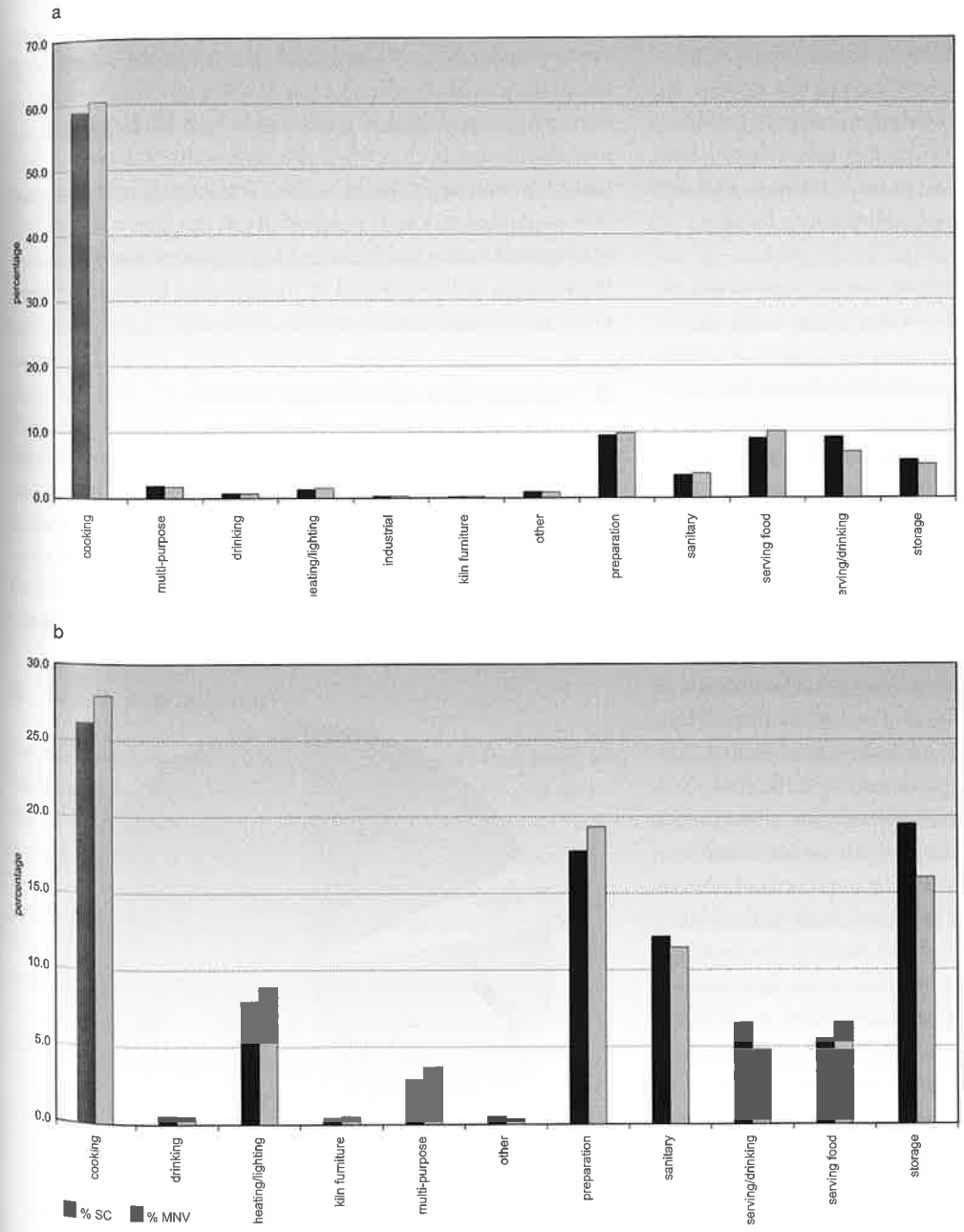

Fig 99: the relative proportions of forms (excluding unidentified sherds) in the main functional categories found in a) BORD and b) RBOR at Farnborough Hill 1967–72, by sherd count and MNV.

which was a necessity when making some of the more delicately flavoured sauces, egg dishes or sugar-based preserves and confections.[19] The importance of being able to provide a good variety of different dishes at the table, especially when entertaining, is emphasised in Tudor books on 'housewifery' aimed largely at women in the growing middle classes. Emulation of the gentry became something of an imperative, and this had a knock-on effect on ceramics, which were required not only to cater for new recipes and ways of preparing food, but also to provide a pleasing display at table. An ever-increasing variety of new sauces were being introduced in the second half of the 16th century, some quite simple and others decidedly exotic, such as a sauce for capons made with claret, rosewater, sliced oranges, cinnamon and ginger.[20]

Dripping dishes had been used throughout much of the medieval period to collect the juices from spit-roasted joints of meat, and the border ware examples fit into this tradition. The form appears to have been short-lived in the 16th-century industry, again probably failing to compete with London-area and Dutch redware dripping dishes. It may be that people expected certain forms to be in redware, just as they expected drinking vessels and tablewares to be in whiteware.

All these cooking vessels made in border ware would, of course, have been used alongside kitchen wares made in other ceramic fabrics and in other materials, especially metal. Some meals were best cooked in a vessel made of pottery, while others fared better in a metal cauldron or skillet, although ceramic cooking pots were no doubt cheaper and readily available throughout society. The same applies to vessels used for preparing and serving food, rather than heating it. Forms associated with general kitchen usage account for 11% of all BORD and RBOR made at Farnborough Hill. These are principally bowls and dishes of various shapes and sizes, which were among the main forms made by potters throughout the medieval period, although they occur in much greater variety in the 16th century. The larger flared and carinated bowls, including two-handled forms, would be used in dairying, for settling milk, for making pastry or bread dough and generally for mixing and blending. Smaller bowls could also be used for any number of purposes in the kitchen, as well as for serving food or even for drinking. Ceramic colanders are a new form in the 16th-century kitchen, used for straining and draining foodstuffs before and during cooking. They are part of the increased specialisation in ceramic forms that characterises the Tudor period.

Drinking and serving liquids

In the second half of the 16th century, vessels used for drinking and serving beverages continued to play an important part in the Farnborough Hill industry, accounting for 8% of all BORD and RBOR by MNV. The two functions have been grouped together here because of the difficulty of separating the excavated sherd material according to vessel size (see Chapter 6). Most slender rounded jugs are of a size suitable for drinking, while more than half the rounded jugs identified were significantly larger, and were probably used for serving. Both forms continued to be supplied to the Inns of Court, where they were used for wine and beer. Costrels too were used for holding beverages, and the standing, bottle-shaped form, which was developed at Farnborough in the later 16th century, could be used at the table in addition to its traditional role as a portable flask. This may be seen as part of the growing taste for attractive tablewares, although the form still retained its practical adaptation for carrying that allowed it to be used by travellers and farm labourers in the fields. In the later 16th century, cups appear no longer to have been made at Farnborough Hill, as taller beakers and mugs began to increase in popularity. By the mid 17th century, mugs formed a major component in the output of the pottery at Minley Road, Cove,[21] although vessels of the same form were found in small numbers at Farnborough, probably dating to the end of the 16th century. Ceramic mugs became very popular in the 17th century in a variety of wares supplied to London, especially in the fine redware, black-glazed wares and Metropolitan slipwares made in the Harlow area of Essex,[22] and in tin-glazed earthenware,[23] but never in the local London redware industry.

Serving food and storage vessels

Vessels for serving food and for use at the table accounted for 9% of all BORD and RBOR at Farnborough Hill. These consist mainly of flanged dishes or platters and porringers, which could be used for heating and eating spoon foods. Border ware porringers found on consumer sites are frequently sooted around the base, indicating that they were

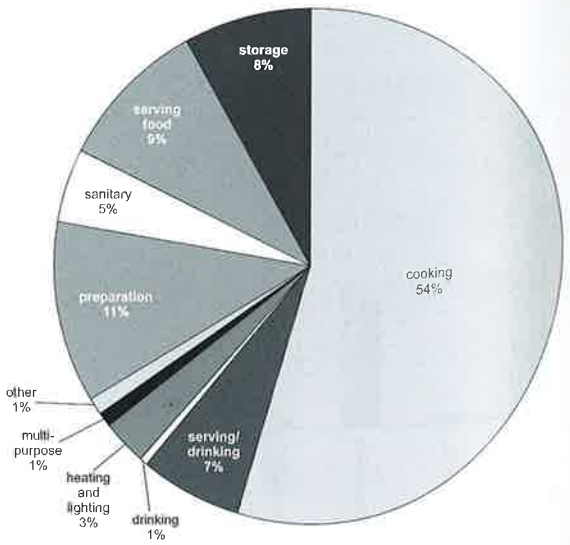

Fig 100: pie chart to show the breakdown of the main functional groups in BORD and RBOR combined, measured in MNV.

used for heating as well as serving food.[24] By the 16th century, trenchers of bread had largely been replaced by wooden trenchers, with ceramic dishes becoming more common towards the 17th century. Condiment dishes and pedestal salts were also made in border ware, making separate, communal provision for this necessity of every mealtime, as opposed to the individual salt cellar usually combined with wooden trenchers.

Storage vessels of various kinds constitute 8% of all BORD and RBOR from Farnborough Hill. There are sherds from three small jars of *albarello* form, a type also known in border ware from London, although they are far more common at the end of the 16th and 17th centuries in tin-glazed earthenware. The main forms of storage vessels found at Farnborough are cylindrical butter pots and rounded jars. Butter was potted up in these tall, unglazed jars after churning and salting and could then be sent to market. Border ware jars are scarce in London excavations, suggesting that the area was not a source of dairy produce for the capital. In the Tudor period, Suffolk was a major source of much of London's butter,[25] and cylindrical butter pots in Midlands purple ware are relatively common finds in 17th-century contexts.[26] The frequency of cylindrical jar sherds at Farnborough Hill argues that they were more important in the local market. Rounded jars also appear to have been made more for local distribution and are not found in London. These could be used for any number of purposes and rim forms typically allow for a lid to be fitted. Basket-handled jars are a notable newcomer to the Farnborough potteries, one that did not last for very long and which again appears not to be marketed in London. The form of the handle is designed to allow the jar to be carried, and similar vessels were made in both London-area and Dutch redwares, as well as in the Lower Rhineland (see Chapter 11).

Health and hygiene

Sanitary wares include two new forms that were first made at Farnborough Hill in the 16th century, the chamber pot and the bedpan. Chamber pots, in the form of a rounded jar with a single vertical loop handle, were not made in the later medieval pottery industries of the region, and the form produced at Farnborough is similar to vessels made in the Low Countries and the Lower Rhenish earthenware potteries (see Chapter 11). Holling believed that flared handled bowls were used as stool pans in a commode or close-stool, citing illustrations in contemporaneous woodcuts as evidence.[27] These include depictions of the bedchamber in which just such a bowl is placed under the bed. The form could equally have been used in the kitchen of course, and any sanitary function it might have had was displaced in the late 16th century by the form of the chamber pot. Bedpans were quite an innovation, their design ideally suited to their function. It is surprising that they are so rare, since they would have had obvious benefit in the sick room.

Heating and lighting

A number of different forms were used for heating and lighting in the home (3% of all BORD and RBOR). These include chafing dishes and fuming pots or heating stands, which were used to hold hot embers or charcoal to heat food or beverages contained in a dish or beverage warmer. The ceramic chafing dish can trace its ancestry back to the 13th century, and was well known in metal form, examples in silver being used at table by gentry and royalty alike. Its manufacture at Farnborough Hill is part of the wider adoption of this form of heating that took place during the 16th century. The purpose of the chafing dish was to serve as a kind of portable brazier or stove. This accounts for its specialised design, which provided for burning charcoal or embers to be placed inside the bowl in order to cook or heat a wide range of dishes prepared in a vessel, probably covered, that was placed on top of the rim supports. The ashes would fall through the perforations in the base of the bowl and could be emptied out through the pedestal aperture, which also increased ventilation to keep the source of heat alive. The body apertures served a similar purpose and improved the performance of the chafing dish.[28] Use of the chafing dish for cooking is well attested in Tudor recipes. Gentle heating seems to have been the aim, as required in the preparation of an Elizabethan trifle: the recipe instructs the cook to mix sugar, ginger and rosewater in a pint of thick cream and 'make it luke warm in a dish on a chafingdish and coals'.[29] Charcoal was the best fuel to provide a gentle, constant heat, and ceramic or metal chafing dishes were often used for making sauces and confectionery.[30] They were also used as braziers, for example, to heat iron wafer-tongs, or searing irons.[31]

It is possible that Type 1 chafing dishes, with an open pedestal and no base perforations, may have been used differently. In relation to finds from Basing House, Moorhouse refers to Queen Elizabeth's Inventory of Jewels and Plate of 1559, in which the use of hot water in a silver chafing dish is described as a means of keeping meat hot without fire.[32] This would, of course, only work in a chafing dish which had no body perforations. There are examples of this kind at Farnborough Hill, but the only one that could be classified was of Type 2, with a pierced base. It is therefore uncertain whether any of the Farnborough chafing dishes were intended for use with hot water only, as a means of keeping food warm rather than cooking it, although it does seem very unlikely. The kind of decorative silver chafing dish that would have been suitable to place on the queen's table is a far cry from the robust ceramic vessels made by the Surrey-Hampshire border ware potters. It would hardly have been appropriate for cooking and would never have been intended to hold coals or embers. The ceramic chafing dishes, on the other hand, are entirely suitable for this purpose, and it must be assumed that this applies to both types made at Farnborough Hill. Type 2 would have quickly been recognised as superior, with its improved ventilation and air-flow through

also found in 15th-century CBW skillets or frying pans in the capital,[90] although not at Farnborough Hill. The 16th-century dripping dishes made in 16th-century London-area redware are quite different in shape, far more squared, with angular corners, and solid, straight handles.

Other late 16th-century forms found at Farnborough Hill that appear to have medieval roots include rounded jars, conical and domed lids. The jar form has parallels with rounded jars or cooking pots made in CBW, although they differ in having no neck and a flat base, and in the form of the rim. The medieval jars typically have a flat-topped rim, while the later forms are either everted and thickened or clubbed. Since the rounded jar is an obvious form for storage, the links with the earlier ware may be simply fortuitous. The same applies to the domed lid, which was also found at Farnborough in CBW, and in London.[91] The use of lids on cooking pots seems to date to the end of the 14th century, when bifid rims were first made in CBW.

The second half of the 16th century saw the Farnborough potters continuing to make several forms that were clearly derived from the late medieval/transitional industry. Some of these, such as mugs, continued to evolve, while others (for example, jugs and money boxes) hardly changed at all, and a few, such as dripping dishes, appear to have been discontinued altogether by the end of the century. Most of these 'traditional' forms were marketed in London, and only the rounded jars and dripping dishes seem to have had a more local distribution.

The influence of the London-area redware potteries

London was always the major market for the Blackwater Valley potteries. Equally important in the capital's ceramic supply were the local pottery industries, which supplied mostly utilitarian red earthenwares in a range of forms that complemented, but did not always duplicate those made at Farnborough Hill. These were mainly large jugs for serving rather than drinking, storage jars, cauldrons and pipkins, bowls and dishes, as well as some lesser domestic forms and heavy-duty industrial vessels. There are interesting and striking parallels between some of the forms made in London during the 16th century and those made in Farnborough at about the same time, not all of which were marketed in the capital (Fig 109). The main forms in question are:

Carinated handled dishes and bowls
Carinated handled colanders
Basket-handled jars
Cauldrons
Chafing dishes
Waisted beakers
Beverage or perfume warmers
Fuming pots or heating stands
Double dishes
Sprinkler-type watering pots

Continental influence in the London potteries

It is not always clear in which direction the influence, if such it was, went. Some of the vessels listed here may simply have been part of the ceramic 'vocabulary' of the time, their origins, in terms of original inspiration, obscured by their widespread adoption by potters working in different industries. In other cases, the forms are sufficiently distinctive and 'unusual' to suggest closer, more specific links between the Surrey-Hampshire borders and the London-area redware potters. Caution is needed in attempting to trace the source of these forms and to identify which industry made them first, but several types on the list given above are new to the border potteries in the 16th century and the possibility of direct or indirect influence needs to be considered. Did potters from London move into Farnborough or one of the neighbouring villages, did the Farnborough potters imitate vessel shapes made in London, or did London potters copy Farnborough forms?

There seem to be two levels of influence involved in certain forms of vessel made at Farnborough, which are usually associated more with the London redware industries, and which do not appear in border ware from London assemblages. Their ultimate origins seem to be on the

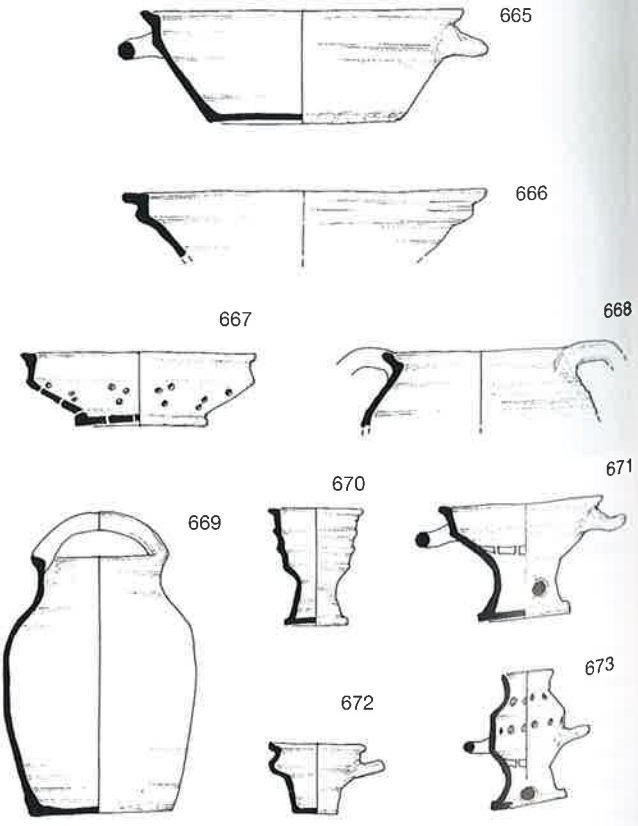

Fig 109: Surrey-Hampshire border wares, forms showing parallels with 16th-century London-area redwares. Carinated handled bowl (No 665), carinated bowl (No 666), carinated colander (No 667), cauldron (No 668), basket-handled jar (No 669), waisted beaker (No 670), chafing dish (No 671), beverage or perfume warmer (No 672), fuming pot or heating stand (No 673). Scale 1:8.

Continent, with the influence of Low Countries pottery particularly strong in 16th-century London redwares, although the forms are also made in earthenwares from the Lower Rhineland. These influences, most likely reinforced by immigrant potters settling in the capital, can be seen in cauldrons, pipkins, skillets or frying pans, dripping dishes and carinated handled bowls. The use of white slip coating in specific zones according to form, can be closely paralleled in Dutch red earthenwares. This never features at Farnborough Hill, no doubt because they chiefly made whitewares. Potters from Antwerp were the first to make tin-glazed earthenware in London, setting up their factory in 1571 in Aldgate[92]. It would be very surprising if other potters from the Low Countries were not also settling in London, making their influence on vessel forms inevitable. These were, however, soon absorbed into the local idiom and began to develop along distinctive lines. Any apparent Dutch influences at Farnborough Hill may therefore have been inspired at second hand by virtue of their absorption into the London redware industry.

Bowls and dishes

This scenario provides a possible context for the carinated handled bowls and basket-handled jars found at Farnborough, forms that ultimately have a Low Countries origin but which seem to have been introduced into the border potters' repertoire through their adoption by the London redware potteries. The distinctive form of the carinated bowl, with its opposed, horizontal loop handles, was not made in the later Surrey whiteware industries, but was found in redware dating to the end of the 15th century at the Cheam High Street kiln site, where it is described as a 'wall-sided dish'.[93] The form was also made in redware in the late 15th to early 16th century at Kingston upon Thames, where examples have a slightly convex base with groups of pinched thumbing or 'pulled feet' around the base-angle.[94] Comparable examples are known in the contemporaneous redware fabric made at Woolwich Ferry Approach,[95] and are widely distributed throughout excavated consumer assemblages from London, represented, for example, in the early 16th-century redwares excavated at Guy's Hospital.[96] They are often coated internally with white slip under a clear or green glaze, reinforcing the Low Countries connection. The form, probably used for settling milk and for cheese-making, was not produced after the end of the 16th century, and does not appear to have been made at any of the other centres in the Blackwater Valley.

Colanders of various forms were made in London-area early post-medieval redware, often with a white slip coating inside. These include carinated handled bowls perforated liberally below the level of the carination.[97] Other forms of colander made in both London-area redware and at Farnborough Hill are simply perforated versions of some of the main types of bowls and dishes produced by each industry.

Basket-handled jars

Basket-handled jars represent another interesting, if minor, component of the London redware assemblage in the early 16th century, one that also found its way briefly into the Farnborough repertoire. They do not appear to figure in the excavated kiln waste from Cheam and Kingston, but were made in redware at Woolwich in the early 16th century.[98] Examples in both London-area redware and Dutch red earthenware are known from various consumer sites in London, although they are never common. A near-complete vessel found in the early 16th-century assemblage at Baynard's Castle in London is made in London-area bichrome redware, with an everted collar rim and marked ribbing round the upper body. It has a convex base with pinched thumbing and the basket handle is also thumbed.[99] Their distinctive design, however, which apparently failed to 'catch on' locally, makes their appearance at Farnborough Hill all the more striking. Once again, there is no evidence that they were made at any of the other sites producing border ware, nor that they were sent to the London market, and their manufacture appears to be restricted to the later 16th century. Carinated handled bowls and basket-handled jars were made in both white- and redware at Farnborough, so if their forms were indeed inspired by London redwares, it was not felt necessary to use red-firing clay alone to make them. There are also differences in detail between the two industries. Pulled feet were never made at Farnborough, and the convex base form disappeared with the demise of coarse border ware. These are features that clearly display the influence of Low Countries potters and pottery, and which were brought into the London repertoire along with the forms with which they are associated on the Continent. This influence was diluted by the time it reached Farnborough Hill, accounting for minor differences in detail. In other words, the Farnborough pots were not direct imitations, but demonstrate the adoption into the local idiom and adaptation of specific forms, presumably to meet specific functional requirements.

Vessels for cooking and heating

Cauldrons became one of the main forms of ceramic cooking vessel made in the London redware industry during the 16th century. In shape they bear a close resemblance to *grapen* made in the Low Countries, and imported into London from the late 14th century onwards.[100] They represent a new departure from cauldrons made in late medieval Surrey whitewares, which appear to owe their origins to metal forms. The earliest cauldrons found in London were made in London-type ware and Kingston-type ware in the late 13th century and have angular handles and long legs.[101] Both features are also found in coarse border ware, although the handles gradually lose their angularity.[102] Cauldrons with long legs were certainly made at Farnborough Hill, and typically have an internal lid-seating. This form was

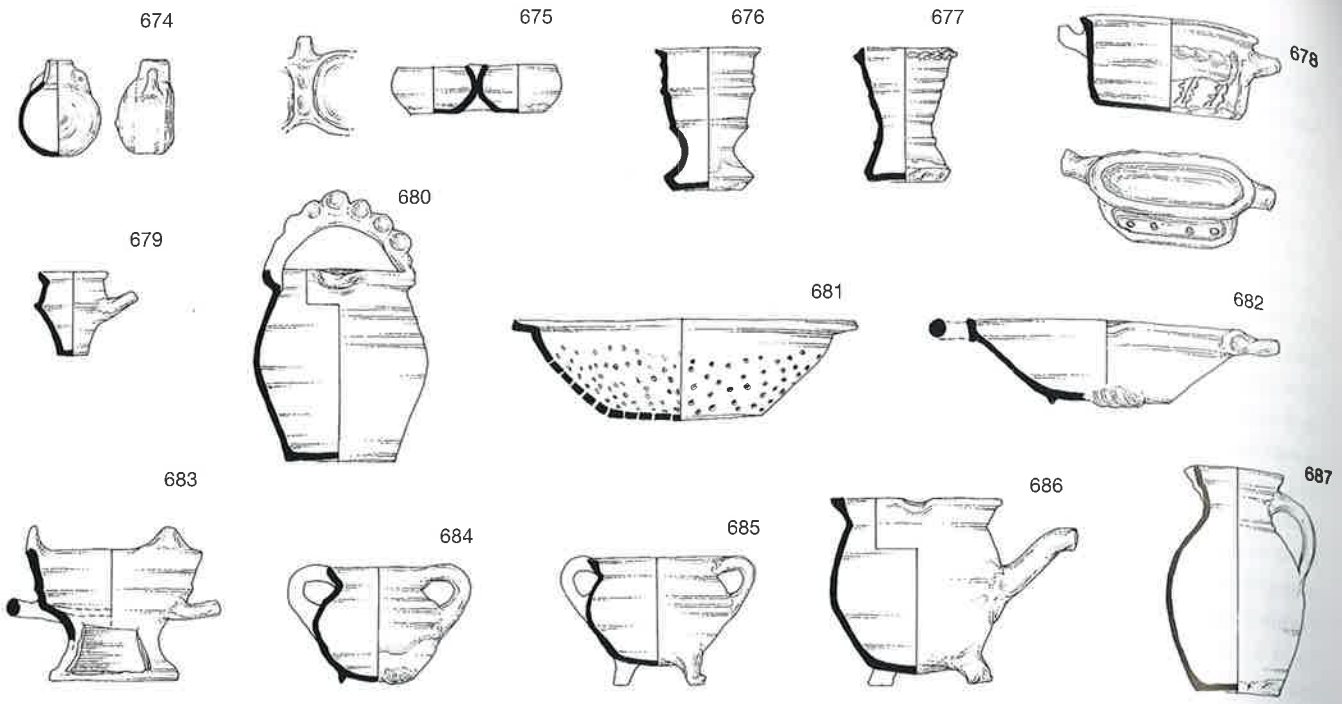

Fig 110: London-area redwares. Parallels with forms made in Surrey-Hampshire border ware in the later 16th century (Nos 674–683) and forms not made in border ware (Nos 684–87). PMRE mammiform costrel (No 674), PMSRY condiment dish (No 675), PMSRG waisted beakers (Nos 676–77), PMSRG double dish (No 678), PMSRG beverage or perfume warmer (No 679), PMRE basket-handled jar (No 680), PMSRY flared colander (No 681), PMSRY handled carinated bowl (No 682), PMSR chafing dish (No 683), PMSR cauldron (No 684), PMRE cauldron (No 685), PMSRY tripod pipkin (No 686), PMRE rounded jug (No 687). Scale 1:8.

discontinued with the end of coarse whiteware production. There are, however, sherds from at least three cauldrons in the later 16th-century kiln waste, two in whiteware and one in redware. In form they can be compared with Dutch-inspired cauldrons made in London-area redware at a similar date.[103] Two-handled cooking pots of *grape* type with short feet were first made in the London area in Cheam redware at the end of the 15th century,[104] and at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries in Kingston redware.[105] The form did not, however, get much further at Farnborough Hill where the introduction of the tripod pipkin with tubular handle seems to have swept all before it. This highlights a very important way in which the London redware industry and the potteries of the Surrey-Hampshire borders complemented each other in their supply of the capital's ceramic needs.

Chafing dishes are another 16th-century introduction to Farnborough Hill. Although the form was known in London-type ware as early as the 13th century,[106] it does not appear to have been made in any of the Surrey whiteware industries, including coarse border ware. Its popularity in ceramic form dates chiefly to the 16th century, and examples are known in Cheam redware and at Woolwich,[107] apparently predating their adoption at Farnborough Hill. Once again, the border ware forms show differences in detail when compared with London-area redwares, many of which have a white slip coating and *sgraffito* decoration.[108] In essence, however, both industries were responding to culinary developments of the time, with the London potteries apparently leading the way.

Other forms

A small number of less common forms were made in both London-area redware and Surrey-Hampshire border ware in the 16th century. These are sufficiently distinctive to suggest that this was more than independent development in two different industries. Examples made in the London-area redwares are often slipped and some have *sgraffito* decoration, but it is not clear in which direction the influences went. The forms in question are beverage or perfume warmers and fuming pots/heating stands, waisted beakers and double dishes. All appear to have been developed during the 16th century with very specific functions in mind, and none have an obvious late medieval ancestry. None are recorded in the redware production waste found at Cheam High Street, Kingston or Woolwich and all are rare finds on consumer sites. The London redwares differ in some details from the border ware examples, but the similarities are still striking. The waisted beakers made at Farnborough Hill may well have developed from flared corrugated mugs made in the early 16th-century fineware fabrics. There is a possibility that they were inspired by continental forms, especially beakers made at Beauvais and Raeren,[109] although this seems unlikely given that they are virtually unknown in either ware in London. In the local London-area redware, the form becomes a vehicle for some of the most elaborate decoration to be found in the industry. It is almost invariably white-slipped and often green-glazed, with folds and indentations around the body. *sgraffito*

decoration and bizarre crenellated or thumbed rim forms.[110] By comparison, the Farnborough version seems rather tame, and probably far more practical.

Beverage warmers are again found in slipped redware[111] and closely parallel the example identified at Farnborough Hill, as well as others made in border ware found in London.[112] This is a most unusual form, apparently supplied to London by these two industries alone. If the interpretation of their function is correct (see Chapter 7), then they were designed for use with a heating stand. Both forms were made in London redware and at Farnborough Hill, although the London stands are not only very rare, but also far more elaborate than those made in border ware.[113] Unlike carinated handled bowls and basket-handled jars, however, heating stands or fuming pots seem to continue in production into the 17th century on the Surrey-Hampshire borders, where they were also recorded at Minley Road, Cove.[114]

Double dishes were made in both London-area slipped redware, and in border ware, as attested by finds from sites in London. They were not identified at Farnborough Hill, which is a little surprising, since a near complete example was recently found in an early 17th-century context at Jamestown in Virginia, a site where other border ware forms probably made at Farnborough were found.[115] The form is so unusual, however, that its production at Farnborough Hill cannot be ruled out simply because no sherds were found. The fact that it was made in the same two pottery industries that also shared a number of other unusual forms in common certainly reinforces the links between them. As far as can be determined, production was taking place more or less simultaneously during the second half of the 16th century, and it is difficult to tell which industry originally developed the forms, if indeed one did inspire the other. It may not be too far-fetched to see this small group of intriguingly different vessels as growing out of the kind of business connections that appear to have existed between London and Farnborough potters, as illustrated by the will of Richard Dee of 1593 (see below and Chapter 3).

The relationship between the London and border ware industries

The London-area redware and Surrey-Hampshire border ware industries each found their own share of the lucrative London market, which directly influenced their overall production. To a large extent, the industries were able to co-exist without needing to compete too vigorously because they concentrated on making forms that were complementary, and for which the clays used by each were best suited. Farnborough Hill and other border potteries had secured the market for fine drinking vessels, which they retained throughout the 16th century. Cups, mugs and drinking jugs are almost unknown in London-area redware, although both industries made beakers. The border ware dominance of this market remained more or less unchallenged until the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, when a wide range of mugs made in the redware potteries of the Harlow area of Essex began to reach the capital. These become increasingly common in London during the 17th century, made in both post-medieval fine redware and post-medieval black-glazed ware, [116] their production running parallel with the move towards making brown-glazed mugs in the border ware industry, exemplified by mid 17th-century finds from Minley Road, Cove. Since examples of these mug forms were found at Farnborough Hill, albeit infrequently, it seems possible that they may have developed in the Surrey-Hampshire borders, perhaps from the rounded cup and mug forms made in the early 16th-century fine white- and redware fabrics.

Where London potters concentrated on making redware cauldrons and tripod pipkins with straight, solid handles, Farnborough Hill and all other border ware potteries were focusing their efforts on making tripod pipkins with tubular handles, a very different form. Both seem to have been popular with Londoners and frequently occur together in the same excavated assemblages. Bowls and dishes were made in various forms in both industries, although the carinated form made at Farnborough does not appear to have been sent to the capital. Large jugs used for serving rather than drinking formed an important part of the London redware industry in the 16th century, but were much less common at Farnborough Hill than small jugs, which probably were used as drinking vessels. The larger jug forms found at Farnborough are rare in London. London-area redware was also well suited to making very large storage jars. Sometimes fitted with a bunghole and two opposed handles, and often having a reinforcing band of thumbed clay around the neck, there is nothing like these vessels at Farnborough Hill, nor at any of the other border potteries. Although red border ware was used for rounded jars at Farnborough and at Cove, they never reached the monumental proportions of some of the London vessels. Examples were found in the mid 17th-century kiln waste at Woolwich , although the form is known in excavated contexts dating at least as early as *c.* 1580.[117] Industrial forms too were made in the robust London red earthenware, including cucurbits and other vessels used in distilling, large braziers,[118] sugar moulds and collecting jars.[119] London-made redware dripping dishes, made very much after the Dutch model, seem to have cornered the market for this form in the capital,[120] and although they were made at Farnborough Hill following the late medieval tradition, they appear never to have been sold in London, and were consequently short-lived. On the other hand, the border ware potters were supplying Londoners with a whole range of forms that did not form a major part of the local redware industry, if they were made at all, including porringers, skillets, flanged dishes, tripod pipkins, costrels, candlesticks, and several other less common types. Thus, the two major pottery industries were able to survive side by side by supplying largely different elements of their market's ceramic requirements.