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Citation for final published version:

Jervis, Ben 2013. Conquest, ceramics, continuity and change. Beyond representational approaches to continuity and change in early medieval England: a case study from Anglo-Norman Southampton. *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (4) , pp. 455-487. 10.1111/emed.12026 file

Publishers page: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/emed.12026> <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/emed.12026>>

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Unpublished Draft. Please cite published version. Jervis, B. 2013, 'Conquest, Ceramics, Continuity and Change. Beyond representational approaches to continuity and change in early medieval England: A case study from Anglo-Norman Southampton', *Early Medieval Europe* 21(4), 455-87.

Conquest, Ceramics, Continuity and Change.

Beyond representational approaches to continuity and change in early medieval England: A case study from Anglo-Norman Southampton.

Ben Jervis

Abstract:

Studies of Anglo-Norman material culture, and pottery in particular, have struggled to see how processes of change are reflected in the material record. In this paper I propose a new approach to the analysis of this material. By reconstructing how people interacted with objects, we can see how the agency to create Anglo-Norman England was distributed through material engagements. Furthermore, rather than reflecting continuity or change, these flowed through engagements with objects, generating unique meanings and experiences, challenging our existing ontology for understanding this period in relation to overbearing political developments and ethnic identities.

The period from the 10th-12th centuries in England saw the re-planning and planting of towns, the construction of castles and re-organization of rural landscapes. The Norman conquest undoubtedly contributed to these changes, however in order to assess its impact it should be considered in long term perspective, rather than as a single event.¹ A focus on landscape scale change has promoted a top-down view, in which the conquest had a profound impact on the people of England, with these changes representing the exertion of Norman control. The fabric of everyday life has been less intensely studied, examinations of Anglo-Norman material culture are extremely rare, partly because it can be difficult to define. Sykes' study into the zooarchaeology of the Norman conquest was an important first move in this direction.² By studying changes in diet and animal husbandry, Sykes concluded that change certainly occurred in the early medieval period, but that the conquest did not have a uniform effect. Whilst some changes were directly related to the imposition of Norman ideas and practices, others were part of an existing trajectory of change, whilst the Normans may also have intensified and adapted existing practices, rather than imposing new ones.³

This paper considers the conquest from a ceramic perspective, using a case study from Southampton. It is generally acknowledged that the conquest is not clearly reflected in the ceramic record, but that long term changes occur in the early medieval period.⁴ Here it is argued that pottery is an important tool for understanding continuity and change. What is distinctive about the approach taken here is the enrollment of ceramics in processes of continuity and change, rather than trying to see pottery as reflecting changes such as the presence of French⁵ immigrants in England, as has been the case in previous studies.⁶ The social context of Anglo-Norman England will be seen as constructed through engagements between people and objects. Therefore, rather than reflecting this social context, pottery and other objects are considered to have played an active role in its construction.

Moving Beyond Representation

Traditionally material culture is studied within a social context, being seen as having an intermediary role; reflecting trade patterns, identities or wider economic changes, for example. This perspective is representational as it sees patterning in material culture as reflecting an over-riding 'social', or as reflecting (or materializing) human action, where objects are given a level of secondary, human agency.⁷ In order to acknowledge the mediatory role of material culture in the past, an alternative approach is proposed, in which 'the social' is conceptualized as a series of interconnected engagements between human and non-human actors, which is ever changing as these engagements are made, re-made and dissolved. This approach is grounded in Actor-Network Theory (ANT), developed in a branch of sociology known as Science and Technology Studies.⁸ Its non-representational perspective is increasingly being applied in archaeology,⁹ as well as other disciplines.¹⁰

Rather than viewing 'the social' as a global set of conditions, imposed upon actors, this approach sees it as a web of interconnected, localized engagements. Therefore, 'the social' can be visualized on a flat plain, as connections are made between actors as they engage with one another (termed a process of 'social assembly'). No one actor is inherently more powerful than any other; power is generated through an actor's level of connectedness; for example a king is connected to his subjects through a range of officials and builds further power through connections with foreign royal families. In contrast, the peasant is connected to other peasants through everyday engagements, and also to the officials, but his connections are lower in number and do not spread over such wide distances. Because people engage with each other and with objects in different ways 'the social' develops as a series of individual 'social realities' which are stitched together to form a patchwork of associations, which make up 'the social' and through which meaning is generated and dispersed.

As 'the social' is formed of connections between actors it is ever changing, as these engagements are not lasting. Objects and the wider material setting have a role to play in making these engagements last. Durable objects, such as buildings, serve to mediate relationships between individuals and cue memory of past engagements, re-making or maintaining a particular association. More ephemeral objects, such as pottery, also have a role to play, as associations are repeated, either with the same vessel or a similar one, which replaces it. Continuity flows through these engagements; rather than reflecting stable 'social conditions', it is created through people

engaging with the same, or similar, non-human actors in the same way. Change comes about when these engagements fail to be remade. This could be a sudden change, or be more subtle, over the longer term, as engagements alter as an actor is acted upon by others, even if they feel that they are behaving in the same manner as they had been previously.¹¹ Change can be seen not only as scalar, but as being experienced to a different degree by individuals, depending upon how their relationships with human and non-human actors vary. Such change can be seen as distributed through the range of associations which an actor has constructed, meaning that they flow through engagements with the material world.

This brings us to a key and much debated issue, that of agency.¹² Within a conceptualization of the social as a web of engagements between human and non-human actors we need to acknowledge that objects, as well as humans, have agency. Traditionally ideas regarding material agency follow the work of Gell who argues that objects can be imbued with secondary human agency; that the object becomes an agent which materializes human intentionality.¹³ This approach is representational, as the object simply reflects human action and acts as an intermediary between individuals. The approach taken here is radically different. Agency is not considered to be a property which resides within people or things. Rather it is an emergent property, spun as people and things come together to cause effects. As such agency is achieved but is fleeting, in order to be sustained the associations through which it formed must be maintained and, furthermore, the effects of these comings together of people and things may be far reaching and unexpected. In short neither a person nor a thing is capable of acting alone, but when brought together agency, the possibility to cause effect, emerges. Thinking about agency in this way destabilizes the concept, forcing us to move away from an anthropocentric view of the world in which the social is a purely human construction, to a more realistic perspective in which the effects of things are accounted for. This is not to say that people are not capable of having intentionality, but that rather than residing in an individual, de-contextualized from its material surroundings, intentionality is a type of agency which emerges through particular processes of coming together.¹⁴

A non-representational perspective is well suited to a study of the Norman Conquest. By seeing 'the social' as a patchwork of associations and experiences, we can acknowledge that it was lived in a variety of ways, as

individuals created a range of social realities, which, when stitched together, form ‘the social’. We can also explore how continuity and change were brought about through these engagements; rather than seeing artifacts as reflecting change, we can explore how it flowed through engagements, how it was experienced by some and not others, how certain objects brought about durability and how the agency for the construction of Anglo-Norman England was distributed between humans and their material setting.

A Case Study: Introducing Early Medieval Southampton

Southampton is located on the south coast of England, on a peninsula between the River Itchen and the River Test and was the site of the mid-Saxon *wic* of *Hamwic* (figure 1). By the late 9th century this settlement was largely abandoned, with occupation shifting to the banks of the River Test. The reasons for *Hamwic*’s decline are many, but they probably result, in part, from disruption to trade by civil wars in Europe, Viking raids and wider changes to trading activity.¹⁵ From an ANT perspective we can see *Hamwic* as a social assemblage, constructed of a range of associations built through economic engagement. Once these ties were severed, the assemblage ceased to be remade.¹⁶

The evidence for late Saxon Southampton is comparatively scarce. The settlement is likely to be the site of the burh (defensive town), which may, in part, account for the re-siting of the town.¹⁷ Recent excavation demonstrates there to have been a formalised system of demarcated tenements, some of which remain fossilised into the form of the later medieval town.¹⁸ The presence of imported pottery, particularly in the waterfront area, demonstrates the continuation of international trade and the settlement also had a craft base.¹⁹ Indeed Southampton’s continued port function is considered to be a key stimulus for the development of the settlement. Archaeological evidence suggests that there was dense occupation in the northern part of the town and around the waterfront, but the settlement appears to be relatively dispersed and documentary evidence demonstrates that the street plan was less prescribed than that of Winchester.²⁰ The foundation of churches suggests that late Saxon Southampton was founded on a wider base than the trading site of *Hamwic*, fulfilling economic, defensive,

ecclesiastical and administrative functions, whilst the emergence of burhs across Wessex drew Southampton into a local as well as international urban network.

Following the Norman conquest the town developed, although the pace of change is questionable.²¹ A castle was constructed in the north-west corner, being imposed onto existing Saxon houses.²² 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 Southampton (still known as French Street), where St Michael's church was founded, dedicated to the patron saint of Normandy.²³ The English population continued to occupy the areas which were densely occupied in the late Saxon period. 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.²⁴ Southampton acted as an entry point for wine, exotic foodstuffs and building materials imported through Normandy. Wool, cloth and provisions for the Kings' fortresses comprised the main exports.²⁵ The tenth-eleventh centuries were clearly a period of change in terms of Southampton's urban landscape. The centre of settlement shifted twice, from the banks of the River Itchen to those of the River Test, and then the nucleus of activity appears to have shifted following the Norman conquest. There was continuity too though, with Southampton's role as an economic, ecclesiastical and administrative centre surviving the conquest and developing through the 11th-12th centuries.

The pottery from late Saxon and Anglo-Norman Southampton has been well studied.²⁶ The pre- and post-conquest pottery is different in character; however, the clear distinction suggested by the ceramic phasing is more blurred in reality, with many Anglo-Norman deposits containing large quantities of late Saxon types. Locally produced, handmade, Flint-tempered Wares are the most abundant late Saxon type and similar wares are known across southern England.²⁷ Jars/cooking pots are the most abundant form, but bowls/dishes and pitchers are also present in small quantities (figure 2). Handbuilt Sandy Wares are also present in very small quantities, occurring exclusively as jars. Several regionally produced products are present, the most common are wheelthrown Michelmersh-type Wares, produced to the north of Southampton in the Test Valley, present as jars and spouted pitchers, often with stamped decoration.²⁸ Chalk-tempered Wares are also present as jars and

pitchers, often decorated with thumb impressions or stamping. Like the Flint-tempered Wares these were produced across southern England. Exceptionally small quantities of glazed Winchester Ware and wheelthrown Portchester-type Ware are also present. The imported wares are very similar to those from *Hamwic* and principally come from northern France. The most common types are wheelthrown Whitewares (including a small quantity of Red Painted Wares) and Blackwares. There are some new, but related, types however, including a gritty ware from northern France which is an ancestor of the post-conquest Normandy Gritty Wares²⁹

Locally produced coarsewares continue to be the most common type in post-conquest assemblages, but a new type, Scratch Marked Wares occur.³⁰ These are related to the late Saxon pottery tradition, not seemingly having any stylistic influence behind them relating to the conquest, but with the change in size of these vessels potentially being influenced by the needs of the Anglo-Norman household. Whilst potentially decorative, it is likely that scratch marking was a technological development, designed to increase the surface area of the vessel to make it more resistant to thermal shock in firing or use. Similar types are present across Hampshire and Dorset. The vessels generally have a baggy profile, the rim is often decorated with thumb impressions and these vessels are generally larger than late Saxon equivalents (figure 3). Small quantities of English glazed wares, produced relatively close to Southampton, are present as tripod pitchers/jugs, a new type in this period. Imported wares are predominantly from northern France. The most common is Normandy Gritty Ware, present as jars and pitchers.³¹ Glazed- and Red Painted Wares are also present as serving vessels, whilst there are small quantities of Andenne-type Ware from the Meuse Valley and Paffrath-type Ware pipkins from the Rhineland.³²

No synthesis has been published of the non-ceramic finds from early medieval Southampton.³³ Late Saxon glass is exceptionally rare, as changes in glass composition means that fragments rarely survive.³⁴ It is likely that wooden vessels were widely used for drinking and food consumption, but none of this date survive from Southampton. Metal and bone utensils including spatulate implements, knives and pot hooks are known.. Diet appears to have remained relatively consistent between *Hamwic* and late Saxon Southampton, although there was a change in the later part of *Hamwic*'s occupation, which saw a relative decline in the quantities of pork and

mutton consumed, in relation to beef. Analysis of a recently excavated assemblage from the waterfront shows there to be a higher proportion of younger pigs in the Anglo-Norman phase than in the Late Saxon phase, conforming to a national picture, potentially the result of a taste for pork being a particular characteristic of French cuisine.³⁵ In general, it seems that the animals consumed did not change following the conquest, but that new provisioning systems, principally the growth of a market rather than tributary economy, meant that differences are apparent in the age of animals at death and the parts of the animal that were consumed.³⁶ The general picture in relation to diet suggests that the conquest had little direct impact on the foodstuffs consumed, although the provisioning mechanisms did change, probably as part of a longer term process.³⁷

Whereas the structural and topographic evidence suggests post-conquest changes in Southampton, the portable material culture suggests that the conquest had a more developmental impact. Locally produced pottery types appear to adapt to the new demands placed on vessels, whilst trade with France continued, with the importation of similar types to those exchanged in *Hamwic*. Our limited knowledge of other finds and of faunal remains suggests a similar level of continuity and development, rather than dramatic change.

Exchanging, Using and Disposing of Pottery in Early Medieval Southampton

Now that we have a picture of early medieval Southampton, we can examine the engagements between people and objects, which contributed to its creation and maintenance as a social assemblage. Previous studies of early medieval pottery in Southampton have focussed on issues of production and trade, although there have been short discussions of pottery's social role.³⁸ In order to get beyond characterisation and the consideration of pottery as a reflection of trading patterns, the material was re-examined using a methodology designed to reconstruct interactions between people and ceramic vessels. Three key moments were examined; exchange, use and deposition. In order to study exchange the distribution of every ware was plotted, to consider which types may have been sold in the town's market, which may have been traded only in certain areas of Southampton and which may have been exchanged through more restricted mechanisms. A programme of usewear analysis was undertaken to consider how different types of pottery were used, following the methodology outlined by

Skibo.³⁹ This has made it possible to divide pottery into broad classes based on function and also to reconstruct cooking practices. Finally, the depositional context of sherds was considered, to investigate changing waste disposal practices. Through these processes groups of traders, consumers and disposers emerged, with distinctive experiences and identities of continuity and change. These categories are, of course, constructs of the analysis, reconstructed from the traces left by people's interactions with the material and therefore the importance of these identities to an individual's sense of self remains open to speculation and no doubt varied through their life histories and through the cycle of engagements which constituted their daily life. This section summarises the ways that people engaged with vessels at various points in their biography, and outlines how categories of person, and of pottery, emerged through these associations.

Within the late Saxon town the very limited distribution of Sandy Wares, seemingly produced in or very close to Southampton, suggests that they were exchanged at a localised (perhaps neighbourhood) level (figure 4c). This pattern of exchange was common in *Hamwic*, with different fabrics being prevalent in certain areas of the settlement.⁴⁰ The Flint-tempered Wares are much more common and may have been marketed centrally within Southampton (figure 4a), although there is a great deal of variability in the fabric of individual vessels and therefore it is likely that this ware too was produced and exchanged at a localised (neighbourhood) level.⁴¹ Stratigraphically post-conquest deposits in the eastern part of Southampton (the area of densest late Saxon occupation) are characterised by high quantities of late Saxon wares, suggesting that this pattern of production and exchange continued into this period in some areas of the town (table 1). In contrast, post-conquest deposits in western Southampton are characterised by high quantities of Scratch Marked Wares (figure 4d). Petrological and chemical analysis suggests that these wares were produced specifically for the Southampton market and their distribution indicates that within Southampton they may have been marketed widely, particularly in the 'French' quarter of the town.⁴² It is possible, based on the larger size of these vessels and the fact that some could be suspended (through the addition of pre-firing perforations), that local potters were diversifying to cater to the needs of a new group of consumer.

Wares had been produced for the urban market in the late Saxon period too however. Michelmersh-type Ware was produced around 9 miles north of Southampton for the urban markets of Southampton and Winchester (where they are more common)⁴³, as well as in the settlement of Romsey, associated with an important religious house, but is comparatively rare outside of these centres.⁴⁴ Within Southampton its distribution is focussed in the northern part of the settlement, contrasting with the distribution of some less common imported wares, principally found around the waterfront (figure 4b). These were likely imported for a merchant's own use or as a ship's equipment and may have fulfilled a similar role in the home to the Michelmersh-type vessels. A further possibility is that in Southampton the Michelmersh-type vessels fulfilled a role in food processing; an activity which merchants did not undertake. Michelmersh-type Wares were probably transported down the River Test for sale in Southampton, but were not acquired by all households. In contrast, Chalk-tempered Wares, also produced outside of Southampton, were marketed across the town.⁴⁵ In the mid-Saxon period similar vessels entered *Hamwic* as containers,⁴⁶ and the same explanation can perhaps be applied here. Common imported wares (Whitewares and Blackwares) were traded more widely within Southampton (figure 5a), but are exceptionally rare at other settlements in the area. Similar wares were marketed widely in *Hamwic* too and therefore this distribution pattern suggests some continuity of trading practices between these settlements. This settlement wide market for imported pottery continued into the Anglo-Norman period, as demonstrated by the widespread distribution of Normandy Gritty Ware (figure 5c). Some imports into post-conquest Southampton, principally French glazed wares (figure 5d), are only found in any quantity in the 'French' quarter however and it is also from this area that the highest quantities of locally produced glazed wares were excavated.

Exchange activity indicates a mixture of continuity and change. Clearly a group of potters emerged in the late Saxon period who were producing vessels for the urban market, leading to specific experiences of exchange and use of ceramic vessels within Southampton. In contrast, we see categories of local potter (who probably also exchanged their own wares) persisting through the production and exchange of Flint-tempered Wares, suggesting supply systems mirrored those in *Hamwic*. Therefore, rather than establishing this network, this activity made it durable. The same can be said for categories of international trader and of cosmopolitan consumer, categories unique to Southampton in its regional context. By the end of the period, change is

apparent, with the group of local potter/trader slowly dissolving. This process begins with the exchange of Scratch Marked Ware in the 'French' quarter, but by the 13th century the majority of pottery was acquired through Southampton's market, with a single producer (or group of producers) dominating.⁴⁷

Analysis of sooting patterns on vessels has demonstrated striking differences in the way food was cooked in different areas of Southampton in the early medieval period. In the late Saxon period, some in western Southampton suspended vessels over the fire, based upon the type and location of sooty deposits, whilst in the east vessels were more commonly placed into the embers (table 2). Late Saxon vessels do not commonly exhibit suspension holes and it is likely that this was achieved by fastening a chain around the restricted neck of the vessels. The suspension of vessels appears more common in north French contexts in the early medieval period, where vessels often display pre-firing perforations or lugs, and therefore we can perhaps see immigrants transferring imported cooking practices to a new context,⁴⁸ and engaging with locally produced cooking vessels in a different way to local people. We can perceive the emergence (or perhaps more accurately the becoming durable) of two categories of cook , based upon their use of similar vessels, as the experience of cooking cued memory and embodied knowledge about the correct way to cook. 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,⁴⁹ so this slow cooking technique may have been used to make the older animals available in Southampton tenderer. Depositional practices (see below) have hindered the usewear analysis of pottery from the Anglo-Norman phase. It is possible however, to argue that this practice of vessel suspension became increasingly common in the 'French' quarter through the early medieval period, with the vast majority of Scratch Marked Ware cooking pots from this area exhibiting indicators of this practice. A small number of vessels exhibit pre-firing perforations or lugs, suggesting that local potters may have adapted to the changing requirements of urban consumers. This patterning is not reflective of the conquest, as it has its roots in Southampton's earlier links with northern France; the conquest did not dramatically affect cooking practices, but may have served to solidify what had been two less well defined groups.

Differences can also be observed over space and time in relation to vessels used for storage, serving and processing (table 3). In the late Saxon period processing vessels (including Michelmersh-type Ware pitchers, perhaps used in brewing based on the presence of indicators of chemical attrition) were principally used in the north of Southampton, suggesting that specialist processing occurred in certain areas of the settlement.⁵⁰ Through the practices both categories of processing vessels and groups of specialist processors (e.g. brewers) emerged. Such specialisation can be seen through other craft activities, such as bone working. Similar groups emerged in other burghal towns, such as Chichester and Wareham, where similar spouted pitchers were used.⁵¹ Processing vessels are present in every assemblage however, suggesting that at least some food was processed in every home. In contrast, processing vessels are rare in post-conquest deposits, implying some change in provisioning strategies, namely that foodstuffs were acquired in a processed state. This may indicate that a more defined group of processing specialists emerged, some of whom may have operated in the countryside around Southampton. Therefore, the absence of these vessels not only indicates the presence of a specialist group, but may also be part of a process which served to define further the populations of Southampton and surrounding rural areas. This process is also indexed by the large quantities of storage vessels, which may relate to changes in provisioning, as well as to the expansion of household size. Southampton was largely supplied from outside, and therefore the presence of storage vessels was essential in maintaining urban life. Every household had some of these vessels, although some of those used around the waterfront may have been acquired to hold ship's provisions.

Serving vessels occur in the late Saxon period and are particularly prevalent at the waterfront. Similarities can be drawn with Winchester, where Winchester Ware serving vessels emerged.⁵² Serving vessels are not common 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. The use of imports emphasised continuity with *Hamwic*, but some people used newer types, such as Red Painted Ware. The use of these vessels was active in cuing memory and ties with people's individual past; be it a past in a previous settlement (*Hamwic*), or a more recent past in northern France, where Red Painted Wares were being introduced. These vessels are fairly widespread in Southampton, albeit in small quantities, suggesting that the particular processes in play within

Southampton created opportunities to access them; perhaps creating the ability to undertake social emulation leading to the emergence of cosmopolitan identities amongst members of Southampton's population. Alternatively these vessels may have fulfilled functions undertaken elsewhere by vessels in other materials. In either case, Southampton's population had unique access to imported pottery and, through its use, its population experienced domestic life in distinctive ways, potentially with multiple effects; cuing memories for some and allowing new identities to emerge for others. In the post-conquest period, when serving vessels (tripod pitchers and jugs) are fairly common around the waterfront, the effects of the use of these vessels are perhaps more tangible. More routine use of imported serving vessels by settled households can be suggested to have formalised dining, with it being a process through which social differences emerged, for example between formal diner and domestic servant. The use of these vessels mediated, in a physical sense, the emergence of social within the home (see below). In eastern Southampton a case can be made for continuity in the types used (principally Normandy Gritty Wares, as the more highly decorated types used as serving vessels around the waterfront are uncommon here). Here we appear to see greater continuity in household practice, as the distinction between kitchen and serving vessel was blurred. Distinction occurred through the use of vessels for cooking, storage and serving. These were not sudden changes, but rather had their roots in the late Saxon period. Although there were changes in vessel use following the conquest these developments cannot be seen in isolation, or as immediate responses to the invasion. Instead they relate to long-term changes, as groups were not only re-formed, but became better defined.

Analysis of depositional practice has demonstrated noticeable patterns in the treatment of waste through space and time. In *Hamwic* most waste accumulated onto middens, before being used to close abandoned features or removed from the settlement, perhaps to be spread onto fields.⁵³ It is perhaps unsurprising that *Hamwic* did not have a horticultural element. As an urban settlement it was distinctive from its surrounding region, potentially functioning as a centre for the collection of food rents negating the need to be self sufficient.⁵⁴ In contrast, horticulture appears to have developed within the late Saxon settlement, evidenced through the build up of 'garden soils' within the occupied area. Through this activity distinctive forms of urban identity developed, with the agency behind this emerging through a particular process of social assembly and urban formation. The

dispersed nature of the settlement created the opportunity to undertake horticulture, although in turn this could be one reason why the settlement emerged in this form. This change demonstrates developments in the relationship between town and country, provisions were increasingly being provided through the market, rather than through a tributary system. As a burh it would also have been desirable for Southampton to have a degree of self sufficiency, should it come under attack. Therefore through undertaking particular waste disposal practices new forms of urban identity and perceptions of waste emerged. There were elements of continuity, for example in the use of middens, but also of change, for example the development of horticulture. Rather than reflecting cultural norms, the undertaking of these activities contributed to the emergence of late Saxon Southampton as a distinctive place.

Following the conquest contrasts emerge in the treatment of waste across Southampton. Around the waterfront, pottery was generally dumped into features and much is likely to have been removed from the town. A range of factors underpinned this change. The increased profitability and specialisation of mercantile and craft activities meant self sufficiency, or the growth of foodstuffs to supplement income, was no longer required. Additionally, it created pressure on space, requiring rubbish to be managed differently. New practices and perceptions surrounding waste did not develop in isolation, but rather as the result of particular processes of social assembly, the effect of which were, more widely, to underpin the emergence of the waterfront as a distinctive area, populated by people with distinctive identities and experiences of urban life, as well as perceptions of their surroundings. Away from this area the practice of urban horticulture remained. Difference became increasingly marked through the Anglo-Norman period, as people disposed and perceived of waste differently; some seeing it as a resource, other as disposable. Just as change around the waterfront did not occur in isolation, neither did continuity. The people in this area do not appear to have been in a position to acquire wealth, they were taxed heavily and may not have been so active in the market, as is demonstrated through the pottery they used.⁵⁵ Disposal practices, identities and perceptions of waste emerged simultaneously, as one element of the changing processes of social assembly, in which different kinds of relationships with similar actors: urban space, traders, objects and provisions in the market place and other members of the urban population were enrolled.

Pottery and Social Change

By re-examining the ceramic evidence from Southampton, we have been able to reconstruct long term patterns in the exchange, use and deposition of pottery and begin to consider the role of these practices in processes of group formation. The central theme of this paper is an assessment of continuity and change, comprising an examination of how the agency for these processes developed and their effect, particularly in relation to elements of identity. In order to approach these issues I begin with an examination of these processes at the household scale, before building outwards to examine them across the settlement and outside of it.

Within the home the most tangible way in which pottery was enrolled in processes of continuity and change was in experiences of cooking and eating. It is tempting to see differences in cooking practices as reflecting ethnic divisions within the town and to consider differences in the distribution of jugs to reflect social status. However, material culture is central to identity formation and therefore it must be considered that identities emerged in relation to these processes and particular experiences. Therefore the agency for identities to emerge was not located within individual intentionality, but emerged through experiences of the material world, which can be destabilising (change) or familiar (continuity). Usewear analysis demonstrated spatial and temporal differences in cooking practice, but it must be considered that these practices had multiple effects.

Beginning around the waterfront we see the expansion of new cooking techniques following the conquest, a development which had its roots in the Late Saxon period. A conscious distinction between French or Norman and English cuisine does appear to have existed amongst the upper classes; Edward the Confessor employed a French chef in Winchester and when Herbert Losinga founded a bishopric in Norwich a member of his household was sent to Fécamp to learn to cook in a French kitchen.⁵⁶ It is tempting, based on the ceramic evidence discussed above, the location of these vessels around the waterfront and this evidence to argue for cooking practices to reflect ethnic divisions in Southampton. The preparation and consumption of food is a central component of identity formation and whilst we may choose to consume specific foodstuffs in particular ways to express a certain form of identity, experiences of eating are also central to the emergence of feelings of

continuity and homeliness.⁵⁷ With this in mind we can question the effect of experiences of cooking and eating on experiences of continuity and change and thus on senses of identity. Certainly by the end of the period, if ever, these distinctive cooking practices were not just undertaken in immigrant homes. A contrast can perhaps be drawn between the ways that these actions came about and their effect, in relation to those who adopted new practices and those who adapted existing ones. Through using locally produced vessels in a distinctive way (i.e. suspending them over the fire) French households adapted existing practices through the use of local material culture. The agency to bring about continuity came to be re-distributed, through the use of new types of cooking vessel; the practice remained static but the actors changed. The effect of this action was to maintain a distinctive identity through the bringing about of continuity and familiarity. Rather than taking this as evidence of the maintenance of a distinctively French identity in Southampton, I am arguing that a group emerged and was maintained through action, a further (probably intentional) effect of which was to bring continuity to unusual surroundings, re-making the household in a foreign environment. It can be argued however that the familiarity fostered through these engagements varied depending upon the nature of one's engagement in food practices. As we have seen the wealthiest households employed specialist cooks, meaning householders were little influenced by the use of unfamiliar vessels. Their food would have been similar in texture and taste to that consumed in France, whilst the smells and sights associated with cooking would have added to a sense of continuity. The ability to mediate continuity through foodstuffs was furthered through changes in provisioning, which allowed households to secure supplies of prime meat.⁵⁸ In these households cooking and eating can be seen to have led to the emergence of two groups. One was grounded in familiarity through the continued consumption of similar foodstuffs. The other experienced varying levels of continuity and change through practice and the use of local vessels, the exact nature of which depended upon their own life history (ie. whether they were local servants or came with the household). The differences in the material properties of north French and Scratch-Marked Ware vessels may have caused them to behave differently, meaning that familiar cooking practices had to be re-mastered, leading to the emergence of a disrupting agency. These practices created difference within the household as experiences of continuity and change also related to the emergence of a hierarchical structure, in which the gastronomic desires of the householder directly impacted upon the experience and identity of the domestic staff.

Within the homes of existing members of Southampton's population the adoption of new cooking practices will have had different effects. Here, the sensory experiences associated with handling locally produced cooking pots and a general continuity in the foodstuffs available would have cued memory of past engagements.⁵⁹ In these households it was in the bodily experiences of cooking and eating that experiences of change were felt, spinning a destabilizing agency and potentially a changing perception of identity. This might be classed as the emergence of a hybrid Anglo-Norman identity and, given the relationship between Norman identity and status, it could be argued that the stimulus behind this activity was not to align ethnically with the immigrant group, but rather to align with the incoming power through developing a 'Normanized' identity.⁶⁰ The need to adjust to changing power structures is demonstrated 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.⁶¹ Therefore the agency for these changes in household practices can potentially be located in the far reaching re-weaving of the social fabric of early medieval Southampton, with these interactions forming one tiny but connected thread in this broader tapestry.

In contrast, it appears in the east that Late Saxon cooking practices may have persisted for longer. Experiences of cooking mediated continuity in these households, who had potentially been the most negatively affected by the conquest, facing heavier tax burdens and potentially being re-located by the re-organization of the urban topography (Golding 1994: 79).⁶² Pottery and food may have acted as a medium through which private resistance could be enacted, either intentionally or sub-consciously, by drawing upon traditional and familiar practices and tastes, mediating continuity in the face of wider change.⁶³ To see this familiarity as resistant it to ignore the possibility however that these people may not have been exposed to French practices and therefore did not have the experience required to adopt them, at least not immediately. As new practices were gradually adopted, perhaps as people gained this experience through patterns of service, experiences of change can be considered to have developed both in relation to cooking practice and experiences of eating, perhaps as new tastes developed. Through experiences of food at least, it does not appear that these households experienced rapid change, but rather a gradual process, which occurred as the social map of Southampton was redrawn. One reason why the Conquest does not appear to mark profound change in household experience may be that were

A key feature of this period is the emergence of tripod pitcher and jug forms.⁶⁴ These vessels were both active in the construction of the Anglo-Norman household, and were formed by it.⁶⁵ They emerged alongside the larger houses of the Anglo-Norman period, in which space was increasingly divided, meaning that cellars, kitchens and dining areas became separated in some homes.⁶⁶ Therefore the tripod pitcher emerged in tandem with the changes to household structure. The agency for the emergence of tripod pitchers was partly distributed through these contexts of use and exchange and in turn the durability of these structures was maintained through engagements with these pots. 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. In using these vessels, people and object became one, the performance of using these vessels mediated social relationships, forming a household network in the west of the town which was quite different to that formed in the late Saxon period.⁶⁷ ‘The social’ changed as associations emerged with new objects and material settings, and connections with older forms fractured. The emergence of jugs does not reflect change, but is a component of this process.

However, the distribution of Red Painted Wares (a minor presence in *Hamwic*) which is focussed on the waterfront area in the late Saxon town (figure 5b) suggests that this situation may extend into the pre-conquest period. Although related to existing whitewares, the red painted decoration did not conform to existing mental prototypes or aesthetics, and therefore its limited distribution perhaps indexes the occupation of this area by immigrants, or merchants who had become familiar with the type, who were building ties with northern France, by engaging with pottery which was fashionable there, but less well known in Southampton. post-conquest
nservingconsumption

At the household scale no single process of continuity or change is reflected in the ceramic record. Rather, by considering the location of the agency for the emergence of new forms such as jugs and the multiple effects of use practices, it is possible to see that multiple processes of continuity and change emerged, in which the identities of individuals and groups were manipulated, not simply through their own intentionality but through the ways in which they were forced to relate to their surroundings. The ceramics do not therefore simply

illustrate areas of division on ethnic or status grounds, but rather offer a starting point from which to explore the extent, rate and experiences of change at the household scale.

Analytically Southampton has been divided into quarters, however it is more realistic to conceptualise the town as made up of connected neighbourhoods. These were more than just spatial arrangements, but collections of people underpinned by relationships with their material surroundings. Two ways in which pottery can be seen as contributing to continuity and change at the neighbourhood level are through the treatment of waste and exchange.

The pattern of exchanging pottery at the neighbourhood level appears to have persisted from *Hamwic*, with the networks this activity created or maintained potentially mediating continuity in the experiences of those who had re-located from *Hamwic* to the new settlement. Regionally, Southampton appears unique in comparison to other burghal towns, in that a distinctive pottery industry was not set up to support it, emphasising how the production and exchange of these wares mediated continuity in Southampton, whilst also contributing to its distinctive sense of place in its regional context.⁶⁸ This network though appears to have become gradually unstitched and re-formed as these neighbourhood scale exchange networks were replaced by settlement wide marketing by the thirteenth century. It is in the act of deposition however that the household can most physically be seen as spilling into the neighbourhood. The experience of forming and living around middens acted not only as a symbol of continuity in practice despite re-location of the settlement, but acted as a focus for waste, guiding future depositional events. Yet, this was not a completely unchanged process. Changes in provisioning strategies and the nature of the settlement as a defensive and administrative, as well as trading centre, led to the emergence of horticulture, an activity which, in some areas continued following the conquest. Horticulture seems to have been tolerated, or even encouraged, by the Norman authorities, given the evidence for similar activity in towns in Normandy.⁶⁹ This shift towards the undertaking of some small scale horticulture, either for subsistence or marketing, served to introduce change in domestic experience and the nature of the urban landscape, but over the long term, continuity can be seen to flow through the engagements between

people and waste, a process which was not simply due to the acts of particular disposers, but which was also subject to external influences, such as the decision by the authorities to allow this continuity to occur.

This was not a uniform situation however and, particularly against the backdrop of the more intensive use of space, new practices of disposal emerged around the waterfront. These practices can be considered both as a product of and as contributing to the rise of a merchant class (see above). In particular a group developed with a particular notion of disposability; who perceived of waste differently. 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. Concepts of waste varied as people engaged with it in different ways, adding to the patchwork of meaning and experience in urban life. These short examples provide some insight into the ways in which processes of continuity and change varied between neighbourhoods and did not occur in isolation, but were connected to a raft of other practices and processes which formed the town of Southampton; a town which was in flux, as persistent and emergent relationships were formed between its inhabitants and their material surroundings.

Finally we can consider the ways in which interactions with pottery mediated processes of continuity and change at the settlement wide scale, both within the town and in relation to its hinterland. The extent to which a settlement wide market persisted into the later stages of *Hamwic* is unclear – certainly it seems that there was a fracturing of existing connections and a re-mapping of spatial organisation and distribution patterns within the settlement in its latest phase.⁷⁰ The extent to which the presence of a settlement wide market, primarily for the regionally produced Chalk-tempered and Michelmersh-type Wares, and later the Scratch Marked Wares, indicates continuity is unclear. Indeed the fact that these industries were relatively short lived indicates that the associations which underpinned them were less durable than those behind the neighbourhood level exchange of wares produced in or very close to Southampton. Clearly the exchange of pottery in general terms contributed to the process of continuity, re-making the presence of Southampton as a regional market, however on closer inspection the picture seems more turbulent, with local industries forming and ending, as the agency for their formation and maintenance emerged and dissolved in relation to changes in demand associated with the re-

organisation of towns more generally and changing patterns of ceramic use. Provisioning networks were formed between Southampton and rural sites, being made. Yet these networks were not fixed and, as they were remapped around the time of the Norman Conquest the demand for vessels to process these goods in towns appears to have been replaced by a need for storage vessels. The development of gardens, which may have emerged as the result of an insecurity amongst burgh-dwellers regarding their place in relation to the rural hinterland,⁷¹ may also have stimulated the initial demand for these vessels. These vessels, such as spouted pitchers, emerged with a particular form of provisioning strategy and contributed to a particular formulation of the urban 'social', with the form dissolving as the 'social' was re-mapped and the relationships between urban consumers and rural producers re-formulated, a process which, in turn, led to the emergence of a more clearly defined group of storage vessels, which based on the analysis of vessel sizes, appear to have been produced specifically for this function.⁷² The development of wealth also contributed to further changes, in particular developing the agency for the guild merchant to increasingly control trade and eventually the town in the thirteenth century, a political change which did not occur in isolation, but was the result of particular social assemblages, not least those which formed, maintained and developed the market.⁷³

Southampton's trading role extended into the continent as well, and trade links clearly continued to be made between merchants and the Southampton market, bringing continuity to the cosmopolitan nature of the port town, whilst differentiating it from towns and villages in its hinterland where imported pottery is exceptionally rare.⁷⁴ The similarities between the Late Saxon imports and those exchanged in Hamwic suggests

that consumers continued to cite existing and long held ideas about the appearance of these vessels, and therefore that their exchange provided a further medium for continuity. Yet international trade was also a medium for change, through the exchange of Red Painted Wares (see above) and also new post-conquest types. International trade can therefore be considered to have had multiple effects in relation to continuity and change. The act of exchange re-made Southampton's port function, infusing the 'social' with continuity and Southampton's inhabitants with a cosmopolitan identity, whilst some continuity was also present amongst the material actors involved. Yet change was also mediated through the importation of new types, which when used within households, had varying effects in regard to the emergence of concepts of familiarity and identity.

As a burghal town, Southampton was connected to other similar settlements, which became centres for trade, production and administration.⁷⁵ No longer was Southampton's principle role as a port, its function was split between these various roles. The network was made durable through economic engagements, but also 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.⁷⁶ Yet Southampton was unique within this group, its port role and history gave it a unique character in relation to the newly founded towns, whilst its pre-Conquest links to Normandy meant that change, at least from a ceramic perspective was not sudden or major. Southampton was unique, even compared to other towns which had mid-Saxon origins, for example in London north French wares are relatively minor components of pre-conquest assemblages, meaning that new links with France had a more profound impact on its trading links.⁷⁷

By the thirteenth century many elements of continuity from the late Saxon period were lost, yet the processes of continuity and change at play in Southampton were neither uniform nor simple. Clearly the Norman conquest was a catalyst for change, causing elements of the social, including the physical layout of the town, to be re-mapped. Within a generation the immigrant population had amalgamated some English customs into their own lifestyles and it is likely influences also trickled in the other direction.⁷⁸ The extent to which the town was entirely amalgamated is unclear, the continued distinction between 'French' and 'English' streets and their associated churches points to continued divisions in Southampton, yet the divisions observed in 11th century Southampton appear rooted as much in economic and political power structures as in ethnicity. 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, and in which the adoption of an ethnic identity through undertaking particular practices was closely related to the furthering of personal power.⁷⁹ Analysis of the ceramic evidence suggests that the conquest was not a watershed, but rather that through the acquisition, use and deposition of pottery some of the threads of longer term processes of continuity and change were interwoven at a range of scales.

Conclusions

Ontologically our understanding of the early medieval period is still structured in terms of ethnic groupings and rigidly defined periods, with 1066 perhaps being the most clearly defined break of all. This research has focussed on the practices through which continuity, change and senses of identity emerged in the early medieval period. It has shows that experiences of these processes mediated multiple processes of continuity and change, even within single households, and considered the effect of interactions between people and their material surroundings in terms of senses of identity which extend beyond simple ethnic distinctions, to consider identities in relation to feelings of familiarity and power relationships. By focussing on practice time has perhaps been neglected, but it is important to remember that these were not smooth progressions, but rather occurred intermittently, in the moments of exchange, use and deposition which could have happened on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. It was in these moments of action which the agency for continuity and change, for the emergence of identities was formed and enacted, meaning that patterns observed in ceramic evidence do not simply reflect these processes but contributed to them. Furthermore, the nature of practice forced pottery, people and other spaces and materials into promiscuous relationships, with far reaching consequences, for example causing the effects of action in the town to spill into the surrounding countryside.

What has been presented here is a case study of an approach in relation to a single town, and this is not to say that engagements with pottery created 'the social' in the same way across England or the Norman world. Indeed the research has shown that individual experiences of the conquest varied even within households. In particular appears most profoundly felt at the household scale amongst those seeking to align themselves with the incoming power and those working in their households, rather than by the lower classes or the immigrants themselves. 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.⁸⁰ 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. Clearly by examining further connections we can establish a deeper understanding of the processes through which the social in early medieval Southampton and beyond was formed. What will remain common to these discussions is that rather than attempting to use the context to explain our observations, we can acknowledge the variety of ways that early medieval England was constructed and experienced.

Captions:

Figure 1: Location plan (A. Location of Southampton; B. The relationship between *Hamwic* and Southampton; C. Plan of Southampton demonstrating location of areas mentioned in the text).

Figure 2: Examples of Typical Late Saxon Pottery (A. Flint-tempered Ware jar; B. Flint-tempered Ware bowl; C. Michelmersh-type Ware pitcher; D. Chalk-tempered Ware jar; E. Red Painted Ware pitcher; F. North French Whiteware jar) (redrawn from Brown 1994).

Figure 3: Examples of Typical Anglo-Norman Pottery (A. Scratch Marked Ware jar; B. Locally produced tripod pitcher; C. Local Coarseware jar; D. Andenne-type Ware pitcher; E. Normandy Gritty Ware pitcher; F. Paffrath-type Ware pipkin) (Redrawn from Brown 2002).

Figure 4: Distribution of selected early medieval local wares in Southampton (A. Flint-tempered Ware; B. Michelmersh-type Ware; C. Late Saxon Sandy Ware; D. Scratch Marked Ware).

Figure 5: Distribution of selected early medieval imported wares in Southampton (A. North French Blackware; B. Red Painted Ware; C. North French Glazed Ware; D. Normandy Gritty Ware).

Table 1: The composition of assemblages from deposits of post-conquest date in Southampton.

Table 2: Late-Saxon and Anglo-Norman cooking practices at sites in Southampton. Data for Late-Saxon and Anglo-Norman deposits respectively, Maximum No. of Vessels.

Table 3: Quantification of the early medieval assemblage from Southampton by use. Late-Saxon and Anglo-Norman deposits respectively, Maximum No. of Vessels.

	S i t e Code	L a t e Saxon	A n g l o - 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 1

		Waterfront	Castle	Eastern High St.	West Quay	Total
Late Saxon	Placed in embers	83%	34%	76%	77%	77%
	Suspended	17%	66%	24%	23%	23%
	Total	209	47	145	1033	1434
Anglo- Norman	Placed in Embers	20%	5%	Due to depositional practices and the apparent longevity of the late Saxon tradition in this area no data is available.		11%
	Suspended	80%	95%			89%
	Total	255	451			706

Table 2

		Waterfront	Castle	East of High St	West Quay
Late Saxon	Cooking	37%	42%	38%	49%
	Specialist Processing Vessels (e.g. Michelmersh Pitchers) as %ge Processing vessels	1%	0%	5%	6%
	Everyday Processing Vessels (e.g. Local jars) as %ge processing vessels	99%	100%	95%	94%
	Processing	19%	15%	16%	14%
	Probably Storage (as %ge Storage/serving)	98%	98%	100%	95%
	Probably Serving (as %ge Storage/serving)	2%	2%	0%	5%
	Storage/Serving	44%	43%	46%	37%
	Total	594	117	458	2156
Anglo-Norman	Cooking	25%	37%	Due to depositional practices and the apparent longevity of the late Saxon tradition in this area no data is available.	
	Processing	6%	2%		
	Storage	57%	45%		
	Serving	13%	16%		
	Total	180	356		

Table 3

¹ See O. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes. Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002); P. Sawyer, 'The Anglo-Norman Village;', in D. Hooke (ed.), *Medieval Villages* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 3-6.

² N. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective*, BAR International Series 1656 (Oxford, 2007).

³ Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, pp. 48-9.

⁴ M. McCarthy and C. Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD900-1600* (Leicester, 1988), pp. 68-9.

⁵ The use of the terms 'French' and 'Norman' is contentious. In this paper '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: H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans. Ethnic hostility, assimilation and identity 1066-1220* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 33. 'Norman' is generally 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: E. Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman Identity on Southern Italian Chronicles', (2005) *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27, pp. 85-100, at p. 90).

⁶ For example Brown's attempts to relate imported pottery to immigrant households in Southampton: D. Brown 'The Social Significance of Imported Medieval Pottery', in C. Cumberpatch and P. Blinkhorn, *Not so Much a Pot, More a Way of Life* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 95-112.

⁷ Generally following A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Perspective* (Oxford, 1996).

⁸J. Law, 'On the Methods of Long-Distance Control: Vessels, Navigation and the Portuguese Route to India', in J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief. A New Sociology of Knowledge?* Sociological Review Monograph 32 (London, 1986), pp. 234-63; J. Law, *Notes on the Theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity*, <http://comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc054jl.html> (1992); B. Latour, 'On Recalling ANT', in J. Law and J. Hassard (eds.), *Actor Network Theory and After*, (Oxford, 1999), pp. 1-14; B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An introduction to Actor Network Theory* (Oxford, 2005); M. Callon, 'Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay', in J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief. A New Sociology of Knowledge?* Sociological Review Monograph 32 (London, 1986), pp. 196-233. M. Callon, 'Actor-network Theory – The Market Test', in J. Law and J. Hassard (eds.), *Actor Network Theory and After* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 181-95.

⁹ For example C. Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture* (Philadelphia, 2005); A. Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (Cambridge, 2007); D. Hicks, 'The Material-Culture Turn: Event and Effect' in D. Hicks and M. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 25-98; C. Knappett, *An Archaeology of Interaction. Network Perspectives on Material Culture & Society* (Cambridge, 2011); I. Hodder, *Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things* (Oxford, 2012).

¹⁰ For example in human geography; N. Thrift, 'Steps to an Ecology of Place', in D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre (eds.), *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 295-322; B. Anderson and P. Harrison, *Taking Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography* (Farnham, 2010).

¹¹ J. Urry, 'Mobile Sociology', *Journal of British Sociology* 51(1) (1996), pp. 185-203, at p. 196.

¹² See J. Robb, 'Beyond Agency' *World Archaeology* 42(4), pp. 493-520 for a recent discussion of agency theories in archaeology.

¹³ A. Gell, *Art and Agency*.

¹⁴ C. Knappett and L. Malafouris (eds), *Material Agency. Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach* (New York, 2008); S. Whatmore, 'Hybrid Geographies: Rethinking the 'Human' in Human Geography' in D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre (eds.), *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 22-39, at p. 27; B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 63-86

- ¹⁵ A. Morton, *Excavations at Hamwic Volume 1: Excavations 1946-83, excluding Six Dials and Melbourne Street*, CBA Research Report 84 (London, 1992), pp. 76; R. Hall, 'The Decline of the Wic?', in T. Slater (ed.), *Towns in Decline AD100-1600* (Aldershot, 2000) pp. 120-36, at p. 131; M. Blackburn, 'Productive Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600-1180' in T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider, K (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (Macclesfield, 2003) pp. 20-36, at p. 31
- ¹⁶ See also B. Jervis, 'A Patchwork of People, Pots and Places. Material engagement and the construction of 'the social' in *Hamwic* (mid-Saxon Southampton), UK', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11(3) (2011) pp. 239-65; F. Theuws, 'Exchange, Religion, Identity and Central Places in the Early Middle Ages', *Archaeological Dialogues* 10(2) (2004), pp. 121-38.
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- ²⁰ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 6.
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- ²² J. Oxley, *Excavations at Southampton Castle* (Southampton, 1986).
- ²³ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 7.
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- ²⁵ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp.21.
- ²⁶ D. Brown, 'Pottery and Late Saxon Southampton'; D. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton c. 1066-1510*, CBA Research Report 133 (York, 2002); B. Jervis, 'Placing Pots: An Actor-led Approach to the Use and Perception of Pottery in Medieval Southampton and its Region (cAD700-1400)', PhD Thesis, University of Southampton (2011).
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- ³¹ D. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, pp. 22.
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- ³⁹ J. Skibo, *Pottery Function: A Use-alteration Perspective* (New York, 1992). Usewear analysis entails the examination of sooting patterns and indicators of physical (e.g. abrasion) and chemical (e.g. processes such as fermentation) attrition on pottery sherds.
- ⁴⁰ B. Jervis, *A Patchwork of People, Pottery and Places*.
- ⁴¹ Wasters of this ware have been excavated at the site of York Buildings (SOU 175), suggesting it was manufactured within the settlement. D. Brown, 'Pottery and Late Saxon Southampton', p. 131.
- ⁴² P. Spoerry, 'Ceramic Production in Medieval Dorset and the Surrounding Region', *Medieval Ceramics 14* (1990) pp. 3-17. Spoerry's analysis demonstrates that the chemical signature of Scratch Marked Wares from Southampton are distinctive from those known to have been used and produced in east Dorset and west Hampshire.
- ⁴³ J. Cotter, 'Post-Roman Pottery' in B. Ford and S. Teague, *Winchester A City in the Making. Archaeological Excavations Between 2002 and 2007 on the Sites of the Northgate House, Staple Gardens and the Former Winchester Library, Jewery St*, (Oxford, 2011), pp. 261-89.
- ⁴⁴ B. Jervis, 'Medieval Pottery from Romsey: An Overview', *Hampshire Studies 67*(2) (2012), pp. 323-46, at p. 328.
- ⁴⁵ See D. Brown 'Pottery in late Saxon Southampton', p. 149.
- ⁴⁶ J. Baeten, B. Jervis, D. De Vos and M. Waelkens, 'Molecular Evidence for the Mixing of Meat, Fish and Vegetables in Anglo-Saxon Coarseware from Hamwic, UK', *Archaeometry* (in press).
- ⁴⁷ D. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, pp. 12-13.
- ⁴⁸ E.g. JC Routier, 'Céramiques Médiévales de X^e et XI^e Siècles en Flandre et sur le Littoral du Nord-Pas-de-Calais', in V. Hincker and P. Hussi (eds.), *La Céramique du Haut Moyen Âge dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe Ve-X^e Siècles* (Caen, 2004) pp. 267-88. See also the beachhead scene of the Bayeux tapestry where a cooking pot is depicted as suspended over a fire, although this may be a metal vessel.
- ⁴⁹ N. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, pp. 16.
- ⁵⁰ Incidentally a similar process of economic specialization occurred within towns in Normandy, for example Rouen: D. Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (London: 1982), pp. 131.

- ⁵¹ B. Jervis, 'Pottery in Late Saxon Chichester: A reassessment of the evidence', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 147, pp. 61-77, at p.67-8
- ⁵² M. Biddle, 'Winchester Ware', in V. Evison, H. Hodges and J. Hurst, *Medieval Pottery from Excavations. Studies Presented to Gerald Clough Dunning, With a Bibliography of his Works*, (London, 1974), pp. 137-66.
- ⁵³ Recent work in Hamwic does suggest that the southern part of the settlement may have been more rural in character than the densely settled northern area. However environmental evidence does not suggest that this area was exploited for the growth of food crops. N. Stoodley, 'New Light on the Southern End of Hamwic: Excavations at the Deanery by Southampton City Council Archaeology Unit and Wessex Archaeology', *Hampshire Studies* 67(2) (2012), pp.240-2; J. Russel, 'New Evidence Regarding the Southern End of Saxon Hamwic SOU 1332', *Hampshire Studies* 67(2) (2012), 243-86.
- ⁵⁴ See P. Blinkhorn 'Of Cabbages and Kings: Production, Trade and Consumption in Middle-Saxon England' in M. Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999).
- ⁵⁵ B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonization. The Normans in Britain, 1066-1100* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 79.
- ⁵⁶ C. Lewis, *The French in England*, pp. 126; Matthew, *Britain and the Continent*, pp. 38.
- ⁵⁷ Falk; Sutton
- ⁵⁸ N. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.p. 48
- ⁵⁹ Jones 2007
- ⁶⁰ 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; see for example Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 73; D. Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 129 for a discussion of the many ethnicities present amongst the population of Rouen.
- ⁶¹ See O. Creighton and R. Higham, *Medieval Town Walls. An Archaeology and Social History of Urban Defence*, (Stroud, 2005) pp. 214; K. Lilley, *City and Cosmos. The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London, 2009) pp. 147.
- ⁶² B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonization*, pp.79.
- ⁶³ See A. Kyle, 'More Than Just a Quick Fix? Repair Holes on Early Medieval Souterrain Ware', in B. Jervis and A. Kyle (eds.), *Make-do and Mend: Archaeologies of Compromise, Repair and Reuse* (Oxford, 2012), pp.81-96 for a similar discussion in relation to the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland.
- ⁶⁴ D. Brown, 'A Note of Tripod Pitchers' in I. Horsey and K. Jarvis (eds.), *Excavations in Poole 1973-1983*, Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series 10 (Dorchester, 1992), pp. 102-6.
- ⁶⁵ See N. Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory. Space, politics and affect* (London, 2008), pp. 42 for a wider discussion of how the emergence of products and their value is distributed through the environment in which they are embedded.
- ⁶⁶ C. Daniell, *From Norman Conquest to Magna Carta*, pp. 83; M. Weiss-Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, 2004), pp. 59; R. Brown and A. Hardy, *Trade and Prosperity*, pp. 274-6.
- ⁶⁷ See N. Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory*, Chapter 4.

⁶⁸ C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 65; B. Jervis, 'Making Pots, Making Identities in a Late Saxon Town', MA Dissertation, University of Southampton (2007).

⁶⁹ O. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, pp. 162.

⁷⁰ B. Jervis, 'A Patchwork of People, Pots and Places', pp. 259-60.

⁷¹ G. Astill, 'Community, Identity and the Later Anglo-Saxon Town: The Case of Southern England', in W. Davies, G. Halsall and A. Reynolds (eds.), *People and Space in the Middle Ages 300-1300* (Turnhout, 2006) pp. 233-54, at p. 250.

⁷² B. Jervis, *Placing Pots*, pp. 198.

⁷³ See C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 19.

⁷⁴ For example in a recently excavated assemblage from Winchester imports account for less than 1% of the pottery; J. Cotter, 'Post-Roman Pottery', pp. 267 whilst it is concluded that imported wares were not deliberately traded to Oxford in the late Saxon period; M. Mellor, 'The Saxon and Medieval Ceramic Finds from the Town Sites', in A. Dodd, *Oxford Before the University. The late Saxon and Norman Archaeology of the Thames Crossing, the Defences and the Town* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 326-345, at p340

⁷⁵ J. Haslam, 'King Alfred and The Vikings: Strategies and Tactics 876-886AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in History and Archaeology* 13 (2006), pp. 122-54, at p. 131, 139.

⁷⁶ C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, pp. 52-9.

⁷⁷ A. Vince and A. Jenner, 'The Saxon and Early Medieval Pottery of London' in A. Vince, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: II. Finds and Environmental Evidence*. (London, 1991), pp.19-119, at p. 45.

⁷⁸ M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, pp. 208; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 198;

⁷⁹ See also E. Johnson, *Normandy and Norman Identity*, p. 90; H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 43, 71.

⁸⁰ N. Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory*, pp. 54; J. Law and A. Mol, 'Notes on Materiality and Sociality', *The Sociological Review* 43(2) (1995), pp. 274-94.