Post-medieval pottery research in Flanders and in the Waasland

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SUMMARY

The present contribution brings a general survey of the state of research in the field of post-medieval pottery studies in Flanders, considering both the general situation and some of the main groups. The latter include the local majolicas and delftwares, the red and whitish earthenwares and the imported stonewares. The survey tries to provide some basic information concerning the different groups, but it is not intended to be a complete of even near-complete history of Flemish post-medieval ceramics. Its main point is to try and present a general research strategy for the analysis and interpretation of the post-medieval pottery production and finds in Flanders. To illustrate the point, a current research project on the post-medieval pottery finds from the Waasland is briefly discussed. As to Flanders in general, the need for more finds - and particularly for more closely dated ones - as well as for quantification and for a regional approach is demonstrated. The pottery is considered as being a real historical source and not just a chronological guideline.

RESUME

Cette contribution présente un aperçu général de l'état des recherches et des connaissances dans le domaine des études de la céramique post-médiévale en Flandre. Elle considère tant la situation générale que les différents grands groupes de céramique. Ces derniers incluent les majoliques et les faïences locales, les poteries rouges et blanches et les grès importés. L'aperçu tente de fournir les informations de base concernant ces différents groupes, mais l'intention de l'auteur n'est pas de présenter une histoire complète ou même presque complète de la céramique post-médiévale en Flandre. Le but principal est d'essayer de présenter une stratégie de recherche générale pour l'analyse et l'interprétation de la production et des trouvailles de date post-médiévale en Flandre. Afin d'illustrer ce problème, nous discutons brièvement un projet de recherches en cours sur les céramiques découvertes au Pays de Waes. En ce qui concerne la Flandre en général, l'on démontre la nécessité de disposer de plus de trouvailles - et plus particulièrement de trouvailles bien datées - ainsi que l'importance de la quantification et d'une approche régionale. La céramique en question est considérée comme étant une véritable source historique et non pas uniquement comme un guide chronologique.

Introduction.

In Flanders, post-medieval archaeology unfortunately has been developing but very slowly. In the late seventies, its position was still closely comparable to that of Flemish medieval archaeology in the fifties and in the (early) sixties : the archaeologists directly interested in this period and subject were few and far between and - apart from such notable exceptions as S. Vandenberghe's work on the Mechelen finds (2) - only the major buildings, the more artistic creations and the luxury products drew the attention of specialists who belonged to the realm of art history rather than to that of archaeology. This also applied to the field of pottery studies (3).

Since the mid-seventies and particularly from 1979-1980 onwards, however, the situation has gradually if slowly been improving, both in the field of post-medieval archaeology in general and in that of post-medieval pottery studies in particular. The first Belgian colloquium "Archéologie des Temps Modernes", organized at the Liège University, 23-26 April 1985, provided the occasion to try and sketch the general evolution of Flemish post-medieval pottery studies, particularly over the last decades. It also provided the opportunity to try and assess the preliminary results, as well as to think about possible future directions of research.

The main aims of this paper indeed are to present a concise survey of the evolution of post-medieval pottery research over the past years, to give an idea of our present knowledge and understanding of the subject, to identify research topics which urgently require attention and to make a few suggestions concerning methodology and general research strategy. As an illustration of the work presently in progress in Flanders, the preliminary results of a case-study on some of the Waasland finds will be discussed briefly. It should be emphasized that our purpose is not to write a (near-)complete history of Flemish post-medieval pottery, but rather to consider some of the main aims and methodological aspects of this type of research in order to try and avoid some of the pitfalls which medieval pottery research has not been able to elude.

Post-medieval archaeology and pottery studies in Flanders and Belgium : the general situation.

As has already been suggested, post-medieval archaeology is still very much of a newcomer in Flanders and it is growing rather slowly. Still, some progress has been made and to some extent its general development seems comparable to that of Belgian medieval archaeology in its early stages. Thus, for instance, some topics have been getting more attention than others. The post-medieval fortification works provide a good example of this (4) : at the moment, they appear to constitute the major area of active research (including archaeological fieldwork and excavations), just as castellology did - and to some extent still does - in medieval archaeology. So far, vernacular - not particularly rural - post-medieval architecture has had somewhat less success among archaeologists, particularly in Flanders. Nevertheless, it may be hoped that this eventually will take a turn for the better (5). In the meanwhile, one cannot but note another parallelism with Flemish medieval archaeology, where rural architecture has long been - and to some extent still is - neglected.

One of the major problems seems to be the general attitude towards our post-medieval archaeological heritage. Many specialists - including not only historians but also a number of archaeologists - seem to feel that the sheer amount of historical evidence makes archaeological research somewhat superfluous as far as the post-medieval period is concerned. Again, the problem is not unlike the one encountered in medieval archaeology (6). The achievements in some of the neighbouring countries adequately denounce the error of this attitude. The example set by the Society for Post-Medie- val Archaeology in Great-Britain and its contribution to historical understanding is clear enough. The wealth of information provided by the historical evidence and its great value of course are obvious and no (post-medieval) archaeologist worth his salt would dream of denying this or of neglecting this evidence. It also is clear, however, that these sources do not answer all the questions. Furthermore, the continuously growing archaeological record includes more and more post-medieval traces and remains and luckily, modern research will no longer stand for them being ignored : they have to be identified and studied and as the historical evidence does not necessarily provide the required information, an archaeological approach is necessary. Similarly, the art historians'approach of the medieval and later archaeological remains - valuable though it is - often tends to be somewhat biased towards the more artistic products and remains of the past, an attitude which is not always totally compatible with the requirements of present-day archaeology.

Post-medieval pottery constitutes a case in point. Until the mid-seventies (and not taking into account the very few exceptions), the attention mainly went to the more luxurious products such as the majolicas, the faïence and the different types and groups of procelain (7) ; furthermore, the discussion mainly focussed on (richer) items, kept in different collections. The historical evidence concerning the different products and production centers was not forgotten. Meanwhile, however, the more common pottery of the post-medieval period was studied mainly by folklore specialists (8), but again, the approach was somewhat different from that which modern archaeology would and should advocate. In fact, it was much closer to a good but somewhat old-fashioned antiquarianism. So, generally speaking, post-medieval pottery largely remained an item without any archaeological context or even broader archaeological interest, and - far worse - in some cases, the material yielded by excavations was more or less deliberately discarded : it had neither a sufficient art historical value, nor did it arouse the interest of archaeologists concerned with much more important archaeological problems.

In the early to mid-seventies, however, the tide slowly began to turn, first in the field of post-medieval pottery studies and later also in that of post-medieval archaeology in general. Several factors influenced this evolution. First, there was the growing interest in medieval archaeology, which had now become more or less respectable, although sometimes still regarded as slightly odd. The growing number of excavations on medieval sites also yielded a certain amount of post-medieval finds which could no longer easily be neglected. Furthermore, from 1975 onwards, urban archaeology started to grow in the Flemish cities (9) and while most of the excavations were (and are) not specifically aimed at post-medieval remains, they yielded a fair amount of important post-medieval finds (10). Rescue archaeology also played a major part, for instance in Mechelen, where, from the late sixties onwards, S. Vandenberghe - whose part in the development of post-medieval archaeology and particularly post-medieval pottery studies can hardly be overestimated - salvaged numerous medieval and later contexts and regularly published the finds (11).

Meanwhile, as regards common pottery, some progress had also been made with the study of the documentary and even of the iconographical sources. One of the publications which no doubt had a major influence was the systematic analysis of the documentary evidence concerning the potters of Bergen op Zoom in the Netherlands, not very far north of Antwerpen. Although this important production center is not located within the borders of present-day Belgium, it belonged

to the old Duchy of Brabant and both the production - consisting mainly of a whole range of glazed red wares - and the production organisation (rules, guild, etc.) were doubtlessly comparable to those of other Flemish and (southern) Brabant centers (12). In Flanders, this type of more historical work would start yielding results at a somewhat later date. In this respect, one may mention B. Bailleul's and particularly D. Lievois' interesting studies concerning the Gent potters, as well as W. Tillie's analysis of the documentary evidence for for the Poperinge potters (13). In the case of the study of the iconographical sources, the situation was slightly different, though hardly any better at first. So far, this type of work had generally been limited to the occasional comparison of one or two pots with those represented on one or two paintings (14). In 1973, a start was made with a more systematic approach : P. Peremans and M. Jacobs prepared an analysis of the pottery - to be more precise of the stonewares, the common pottery and the majolicas - depicted on the 15th and 16th century Dutch and Flemish paintings (15). But although it was hoped that this work could be continued during the late seventies and the eighties, leading to a systematic analysis of the 17th and 18th century paintings, the pressures of external circumstances unfortunately decided otherwise (16). As a result, not all the methodological and interpretation problems have yet been solved, while the factual information remains limited. More is the pity, because the 16th to 18th century Flemish and Dutch paintings could doubtlessly provide a great many data of a chronological nature as well as very interesting indications as to the uses and the possible contemporaneity of different pottery groups and object types.

This more or less was the general situation when the present author was asked to present a survey of Belgian post-medieval pottery on the occasion of the 1979 joint conference of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology and the American Society for Historical Archaeology, which took place in Bristol (Great-Britain), the general theme of the meeting being post-medieval pottery in Western Europe and along the eastern seaboard of the U.S. and of Canada : the Belgian work and situation was characterized by a lingering emphasis on the luxury products, a certain amount of research on the documentary evidence (which tells us much about the potters, their organisation and even their financial situation, but far less about their products), and an unfortunately limited analysis of the iconographical sources. The worst problems, however, were the lack of interest in post-medieval archaeology in general and the lack of well-contexted finds from excavations. Now, only a few years later, notable changes are detectable : the subject has become more or less respectable (even though it is sometimes still regarded as marginal, of very minor importance

and/or slightly odd), while the number of usable post-medieval pottery finds is steadily and rapidly growing. In this respect, the general evolution cannot but be described as very hopeful and tribute must be paid here to the urban archaeology units of Antwerpen (17), Brugge (18) and Gent (19), not to forget a number of individual workers such as S. Vandenberghe and the Mechelen and Antwerpen groups (20). In eastern Brabant and in Leuven, things have also picked up (21), while Brussels now equally starts to yield important material (22). Simultaneously, the study of the historical evidence concerning the potters and the production of the common pottery is steadily progressing, as demonstrated by the already mentioned contributions concerning Gent and Poperinge (23) and other places (24). Finally, one should not forget to mention the work on comparable material from the adjoining areas in the Netherlands and particularly the contributions on finds of Bergen op Zoom and comparable products (25). Similarly, the work is also progressing in Wallonia, as shown by several publications on finds in the Meuse area (26). Such work of course is important for a better understanding of the Flemish scene, where imports from the Netherlands (and presumably from Bergen op Zoom) and from the Meuse valley occur regularly.

Some of the general research problems.

Obviously, a certain degree of optimism concercerning post-medieval pottery studies in Flanders is permissible. This should not, however, obscure the simple fact that we still have very long way to go and that many pitfalls still have to be avoided.

Indeed, the blessings are mixed. The (usable) finds may grow rapidly in numbers, but the pressures of rescue archaeology - particularly in urban archaeology - often prevent the archaeologists from keeping a reasonable balance between fieldwork, analysis and publication. Post-medieval finds thus often are threathened with unavoidable post-excavational oblivion. It may of course be argued that at any rate the finds are now available and adequately documented, and that they can be studied in detail at a later date. Experience shows, however, that this optimism may not be wholly realistic : there are sufficient examples of archaeological contexts, the history of which is one of enthusiastic recovery in the field, followed by peaceful re-burial in collections. Post-medieval pottery finds are still fairly prone to this kind of misadventure, particucularly when older and/or more sensational material requires more immediate attention. It is true that the excavators - both professionals and amateurs - cannot always be blamed for this situation : the circumstances often are such that they lack the necessary time to tackle the material in a suitable

way. More means in terms of trained staff could provide at least part of the solution and the present author for one may be permitted here to advocate this very strongly.

In the smaller towns and in the rural areas, the problems are slightly different. First of all, usable and contexted finds are far less numerous, mainly because of the fact that far less fieldwork has been carried out in these areas. This can of course lead to a serious lack of balance in our understanding of post-medieval pottery, of its evolution and its distribution and of the distribution mechanisms to which it was subjected. This becomes even more obvious when one takes into account that some of these smaller towns at one time constituted fairly important production centers in the 16th to 18th centuries (and even later). Poperinge in West-Flanders is a good example of this and while we are fairly well informed about the Poperinge potters (27), we still know relatively little about their products. In fact, Poperinge may even been a relatively important center, judging from the high number of potters and from the apparent stability of the industry, but at present, there is no tangible archaeological evidence for that, simply because of the lack of excavations, both within the town itself and in its neighbourhood.

Another problem is the fact that many of the rural contexts lack precise external dating criteria. This means that one generally has to rely on the comparison with other - particularly urban - finds. As has been pointed out, however, the latter have not yet always been studied systematically and published which means that the dating of the rural finds often remains difficult if not hazardous. Furthermore, the urban contexts may not always be of the same nature as the rural ones and in the case of the common wares, it is not always a good research policy to compare finds from geographically widely scattered contexts (cf. infra). As a result, adequate interpretation of the rural finds often has to be deferred.

Finally, one should mention few more insidious general problems. The first one of these is the fact that many of the relevant published contexts are cesspits or comparable stratigraphic units such as the infill of ditches and the like. This is not without its dangers. All too often, the problem of residual and/or redeposited material is (sometimes deliberately) ignored and there are a few examples of studies where the final date of the context is simply extended to all the finds it yielded. In other words, the problem of the still existing lack of long and reliable stratigraphic sequences is sometimes compounded by a somewhat overconfident approach to the available material. The dangers of this should not be underestimated, particularly as regards the broader interpretation of the

finds. As will be suggested (cf. infra), the difficulties can to some extent be overcome through the application of the principles of "horizontal" stratigraphy, but to achieve any results, we need a more systematic quantitative approach.

Alas, this need is still not fully understood in Flemish medieval and post-medieval archaeology. Quite a number of final publications neatly identify, describe and illustrate the complete or near-complete vessels and the more striking or remarkable sherds, but they do not provide any clues as to the complete contents of the contexts, the percentages constituted by each of the different types and production groups represented, and/or the relative importance of residual material. There are a few exceptions (28), but by and large one has to do without this kind of information : a large number of publications simply consist of a more or less limited general comment, followed by a catalogue. Needless to say, this causes many difficulties : the mutual comparability of the different contexts is greatly hampered and the answer to questions such as chronotypological distribution patterns, distribution mechanisms, functional interpretation of the pottery and even some important aspects of material culture (as defined by the historians) largely remain out of reach. In those conditions, it even is difficult to apply the principles of "horizontal" stratigraphy. Furthermore, it remains impossible to try and identify the (often minor but nevertheless recognizable) regional differences which could provide information about possible production centers and/or areas, and therefore also about distribution patterns and their meaning. Granted, one should of course be grateful for the increasing amount of well-illustrated and often usable comparison material, which can also provide some useful chronological points of reference. But at the same time, one should also keep in mind that this medieval and post-medieval pottery is more than a purely chronological guideline or an item of antiquarian interest : it is a historical source in its own right and in the full sense of the word, potentially informing us not only about the technical aspects of a fairly marginal area of the past economy, but also about different less well documented subjects such as local and regional trade and trade mechanisms, as well as other facets of daily life (29).

Summing up, it is clear that over the past decade the study of Flemish post-medieval pottery has progressed, but it is equally obvious that many questions remain unanswered, while some of the pitfalls which medieval pottery studies have not been able to avoid also exist here. This largely explains why it is still far too early to try and write a comprehensive history of Flemish post-medieval pottery, particularly one which would take the subject a bit further than the traditional

catalogue-type presentation of a series of groups and types. Simultaneously, these remarks also indicate that some thinking about the aims of such a study and therefore also about the means to achieve some results is urgently required. Nevertheless, a few general considerations are already possible.

The pottery.

Taking into account what has been said earlier, it seems best to limit the discussion of the different production groups and object-types to a few tentative general indications. Looking at the Flemish post-medieval pottery scene as a whole, three major groups can be distinguished : the locally produced luxury wares (including what can be called the low level luxury products), the common pottery and the imports (stonewares and others).

a. The locally produced luxury wares.

This major group includes the majolicas and - at a later date - some types of faïence or delftwares and porcelain ; particular groups of decorative pottery such as the so-called Torhout pottery (which is, however, somewhat later in date) (30) could also be included here. Each of these groups deserves a detailed discussion, but this is hardly possible here. A survey of the literature, however, quickly shows that the larger part of the available information consists of historical references and stylistic analyses, while the directly archaeological information often remains very limited.

1. Majolica.

The Flemish and particularly the Antwerpen majolicas of course constitute the first important group to be considered. Mediterranean majolicas reached Flanders and the Low Countries as soon as the 14th century, but in the 15th century there was a relatively important influx of Spanish majolicas, notably by way of Sluis and other ports of the Brugge area. These Spanish (mainly Andulusian and particularly Valencian Manises) products reached a fair number of (richer) Flemish sites (31) and may have been instrumental in the development of a local majolica production in the 15th century (32). The latter presumably consisted mainly of the so-called altar-vases or flower-vases, relatively small vessels with an almost globular body, a straight-sided neck with two little circular handles and a decoration which often represents an IHS- monogram (33). Unfortunately, no production sites have yet been found or identified. It may be noted, however, that a production of tin-glazed tiles already existed in Gent by the 14th century (34) and this does not contradict the notion that tilers and

presumably also potters, knowing the majolica-techniques, were already present in Flanders (including Antwerpen) during the 14th and early 15th centuries (35). As yet, we do not, however, have any detailed archaeological information about their products.

At any rate, the demand for majolica products grew and eventually Italian potters were attracted by the interesting economic environment which the Flemish cities represented. Antwerpen, which was taking over from Brugge as a major international market, constituted a major pole of attraction. We know these immigrant potters mainly through the documentary evidence : Guido di Savino (later known as Guido Andries) (from Castel Durante and already in Antwerpen before 1510), Janne Maria de Capua (before 1512), Johannes Franciscus de Brescia (before 1512), Petrus Frans van Venedigen (before 1531) and others ; they generally belonged to the guild of Saint-Lucas, being considered artists rather than artisans. Their enterprises were not always totally successful and some of them already left Antwerpen after a few years. Towards the mid-16th century, however, the industry was well-established in Antwerpen and included potters such as Hendrich van Greevenbroeck, Anthonis Bernaerts, Franchoy Frans, Jan Bogaert, Hans Floris and others, producing - among other things - pots with a multicolored decoration consisting of brushstrokes, spots, etc. Antwerpen would remain one of the capitals of Low Countries majolica, but the religious troubles on the third quarter of the 16th century and particularly the sacking of the town in 1585 would cause many potters to emigrate. They mainly went to the North, where they would contribute significantly to the development of the delftwares. The Antwerpen majolica production would not, however, completely die out, even though it no longer was of major importance. Meanwhile, majolica potters also worked in other Flemish towns : Joos Weyts in Gent (1534-1538) and later in Brugge (1539-1557), Carstiaen van den Abeele in Brugge (1567-1578 but by 1581 already in Amsterdam), Lucas Raymondsz in Bergen op Zoom (before 1517 and until ca. 1540), Hans Guldens in Brugge (after 1573), etc. In Brugge the production of majolica seems to have been very short-lived, while for Gent no other indications than those concerning Weyts are yet available. The numerous finds of majolica vessels in Gent and in Brugge remain, however, to be explained : it is hard to believe that each and everyone of these finds is an import and - taking into account that the so-called typically Dutch decoration types also very frequently occur in Flanders (e.g. in Antwerpen, cf. infra) - we should perhaps not simply dismiss the possibility that the majolica industries in those towns were more important than the documentary evidence sug- gests. Time will tell (36).

The main question here of course concerns the typical characteristics of the Antwerpen products. This discussion often focusses on some of the major achievements of these potters and workshops, and particularly on their stylistic features. Very important in this respect are the floor- and wall-tiles - such as those from the "The Vyne" castle (Hampshire), the floor from the Rameyen castle in Gestel (The Netherlands), Frans Franchoy's 1532 floor in the chapel of the Herckenrode abbey, and Hans Floris' and Jan Bogaert's famous wall-tile scene, depicting Paulus' conversion (1547) - together with a few other objects, such as Jan Bogaert's well-known jug with ferronerie-style decoration (dated 1562). To this list should be added a number of albarelli, a few dishes and the well-known series of 63 bowls, made around 1560 and bought between 1553 and 1587) by the Antwerpen girls' orphanage known as the Maagdenhuis (37).

Using these items as a basis, the literature suggests that four phases occurred : a first one (early to mid-16th century), dominated by Italian or Italianising influences; a second one (middle and third quarter of the 16th century), with the development of the typically Flemish (through perhaps Spanish influenced), so-called ferronerie-style (also known as the Floris-style), which reminds one of the wrought-iron-type decoration ; the second half of the 16th century saw a third phase, with a revival of Italian and naturalistic decoration patterns ; finally, a fourth phase (mainly early 17th century) with lingering elements of the previous phases and with a strong influence of the Chinese Wan-Li decorated import porcelain (38).

Apart from the richer objects, however, the production also included a large number of more common utensils such as dishes, jars and different types of apothecary pots and we have for a long time lacked any form of usable archaeological information concerning these products. Things are now slowly taking a turn for the better, thanks to the numerous finds brought to light by the Antwerpen urban archaeology unit under the direction of T. Oost and also thanks to several very useful studies of this material by L. Geyskens (39). The latter has demonstrated that the fine, yellowish white fabric is characteristic of the Antwerp products, that the monochrome cobalt-blue decorations appear to be very frequjnt, and that the already mentioned typical yellow occurs throughout the 16th century and may indeed be identified as another genuine Antwerpen feature. Furthermore, he showed that many of the decoration patterns which were hitherto often identified as typically Dutch, in fact occur very often on the 16th and early 17th century majolica finds discovered in Antwerpen. These

decorations include different types of floral motives, line-patterns, representations of animals and also the - slightly later - checquered fields (particularly on shallow dishes and bowls). Some of the albarelli generally identified as Antwerpen products have a fairly characteristic a foglie decoration and may show a slanting inscription (generally the name of a pharmaceutical product) (40). Many of the apothecary pots found in Antwerpen and studied by L. Geyskens (41), however, have a far simpler decoration consisting of horizontal lines, leaf-patterns and/or simple geometric patterns ; furthermore, they generally date from the second half of the 16th and early 17th century, pre-1550 examples being absent from the series. This allowed L. Geyskens to suggest that before that date the majolica products may have been rather scarce and were perhaps limited to the higher classes. This hypothesis will, however, have to be verified by new finds and information, even though it is not contradicted by the apparently high status of the early immigrant potters.

The new data which are slowly being gathered seem to bear out that much of the earlier more purely stylistic work has to be used circumspectly and that the distinction between the Antwerpen products and the early Dutch ones may not always be that easy (42). Indeed, L. Geyskens indirectly suggests that it may still be somewhat too early to talk of typically Southern Low Countries vessel-types, at least as far as the more common products are concerned. Obviously, the progressing study of genuine Antwerpen finds will be of major importance in this respect and one cannot but conclude - together with L. Geyskens (43) - that planned excavation work, particularly on the site of known majolica kilns but also on other Antwerpen sites, should be strongly advocated if we are eventually to understand this majolica production and its evolution. Furthermore, there are strong indications that the majolicas were gradually popularized (growing less sophisticated at the same time), a process which may have started as early as the middle or second half of the 16th century. This process should be studied in some detail in order to gain a clearer insight into the mechanisms which influence the history of pottery as an economic product (44).

2. Delftwares

At a later date, the majolicas would be replaced by the delftwares. Here again, most of the available information has so far been gleaned from the historical sources and from the stylistic analysis of collection items, while the archaeological data remain very limited indeed. In Flanders, delftwares were produced in Gent, where Pieter Stockhollem worked between 1654 an 1674. Apparently, he had learned the trade in Delft, with Pieter Oosterlaen. Wasters of dishes with

a blue decoration, consisting mainly of small bunches of flowers and concentric circles were supposedly (45) discovered near the Geraard de Duivelsteen in Gent and can be ascribed to Stockhollem's factory, which was located in this building (46). These wasters have not yet, however, been studied in any detail. From 1667 onwards, Stockhollem was offered a serious competition by Gillis Vande Vijvere, equally a pupil of Oosterlaen's. This Gillis Vande Vijvere obtained permission to work in Gent and to produce alle sorten van fijn hollants pourseleyn ende gheleyerswerck (all kinds of fine Dutch porcelain and delftware or majolica) (47). After Vande Vijvere, the Gent records regularly mention delftware manufacturers : Judocus-Ignatius Vande Vijvere, Pieter Maes and his son Jan (all early 18th century) and others. By 1825, however, most of these factories had disappeared (48). The main problem here again is that the information about the products of these factories remains extremely limited and it would be presumptuous even to try and describe their main characteristics.

The situation is hardly any better in the case of Kortrijk. Delftwares (and probably also creamwares) were produced here from 1783 until 1792 by Robert van Beveren. Only a few examples survived, together with a few wasterfragments found on the site of the old factory. The production consisted of dishes, tureens, flowerstands and the like, characterized both by a buff to reddish buff fabric (which sometimes gives a reddish sheen to the glazes and by a decoration which is strongly influenced by that of the Tournai and northern French products. The objects are often signed and may bear a C, or the word Courtrai or Courtraij. The multicolored decoration (including blue, manganese purple, dull green and yellow tinges) often consists of flowers. The small bunch of flowers which decorates the centre of the dishes and is sometimes repeated on the flange appears to be fairly characteristic, together with the repeated curved lines forming a sinuous pattern along the rim (49).

The Brugge production is slightly better known. The main figure here is that of Hendrik Pulinx the Elder (1698-1781), artist, architect and manufacturer of delftwares. In 1750, he founded a delftware factory near the Minnewater in Brugge, but different mishaps (including four fires) soon forced him to look for associates ; in 1760, his initial success incited him to enlarge the factory, but financial difficulties arose and he had to sell out to Pieter de Brauwere, who switched to the production of English-type creamwares in 1771. In 1781, however, the factory went bankrupt. The Brugge Gruuthuse Museum houses a fair number of Pulinx' products, and in 1978, a series of wasterfragments was discovered in the Arsenaalstraat, near the Minnewater. This material includes unfinished tile-

fragments, which suggest that the production probably included decorated wall-tiles. The 1750-1763 factory also produced delftware mantlepieces in a Louis XVI style and with a decoration imitating marble. Apart from that, however, there is a whole range of delftware vessels, including not only vases, but also complete dinner- and coffee-sets, figurines, consoles, clockholders, etc. The products reflect the transition from baroque to rococo and the decoration is either monochrome blue or purple or polychrome. The delftwares often reflect the influence of Oriental, French and Dutch products (50). So far, there is no valid information about possible other - particularly earlier - Brugge delftware productions.

Brussels also numbered important delftware factories. The 17th century ones are known only through the written evidence and although it is thought that the products were probably comparable to the Dutch delftwares (and even imitated them), there is no hard archaeological evidence for this (51). With the early 18th century, the situation changes. Major names in the history of the Brussels delftware production are those of different members of the Mombaers family and those of the Artoisenet family (52). Four main factories are to be mentioned here (53) :

1. The factory in the Lakensestraat (rue de Laeken), founded in 1705 by Cornelis Mombaers and reorganized in 1724 by his son Philippe, who had learned the trade in Nevers, Rouen and Delft. The factory would exist until 1839, after having been directed by different members of the Mombaers, Van den Driessche and Artoisenet families. Until 1754, it had a factual monopoly of the production of delftwares in Brussels.

2. "De Moriaen" in the Bergstraat (rue de la Montagne), founded in 1751 by Jacques Artoisenet, later directed by François Ghobert de Saint-Martin and still later by the Bartholeyns brothers who worked until 1824. The chacacteristics of the products are a somewhat reddish fabric (which occasionally shows through the slightly creamy glaze which is not of a very high quality and often shows defects). During the later 18th century, the products included black earthenwares and whitish pipe-clay products.

3. The factory in the Nieuwbrugstraat (rue du Pont-Neuf) was founded in 1764 by Jean-François Verplancke and Jean van Gierdegom. Already in 1791, it ceased its activities.

4. The factory immediately outside the Laken Gate (porte de Laken-Lakensepoort), founded by Jean-Baptiste Artoisenet in 1791. It worked until 1866, but was already sold to the Van Bellinghen brothers in 1802 ; the latter eventually sold it to the Stevens family.

The list of Brussels factories includes a few other late 18th and 19th century creations, but some of these never really got off the ground, while for others, we lack the necessary historical and/or archaeological data (54).

Obviously, the Brussels production was fairly important but at the same time also very complex. A number of collection items - scattered throughout many museums and private collections - and a very few finds (without usable archaeological context) could be identified as Brussels products, mainly on the basis of the typical decoration features (55). The main problems, however, appear to be that the products of the different factories cannot always be easily distinguished from one another, that marks are more frequently used only from the 19th century onwards, and that the information seems limited to the more costly products. These include a whole range of object-types, among them not only dishes and different types of jugs and mugs, but also numerous decorative tablewares, such as large plates, tureens, butterpots, saucepans and a whole series of figurative tablepieces (56) and figurative vessels ; the latter include the well-known cabbage-shapped vessels, basket-like objects, etc. Again, however, it is not so much the objects themselves as the decorative types and features which constitute the bulk of our knowledge of the Brussels deftwares. Cobalt blue and manganese purple (and their numerous variants) were the dominant colours during the (late) 18th and early 19th centuries, but multi-coloured objects occur as well. Generally, the following decoration types are considered typical (57) :

a) The monochrome background with polychrome inserts, the latter often depicting flowers or animals or small human figures : quite typical is the "between-two-trees" motive, the figures being flanked on both sides by two trees or bushes.

b) The vert-de-cuivre (coppergreen) decoration, depicting grass and plants with butterflies (later joined by larvae, caterpillars and even snails) (58).

c) The "decor à la haie fleurie" (decoration with flowering hedge), derived from the Japanese Kakiemon-type decoration.

d) The Rouen decoration with its typical rocaille motives and with shells.

e) The "Sinceny" decoration, characterized by pairs of Chinese children with insects and flowered hills, and presumably derived from the decoration used by the Sinceny factory (France).

Apart from these, other - sometimes simpler - decorations also occur, but they appear to be of minor importance.

It is obvious that the Brussels delftware production was relatively important and we are better informed about these products than we are about the delftwares from Gent, Kortrijk or even Brugge. The reason for this may very well be that the Brussels industry - taken as a whole - apparently was more successful than that of the other Flemish towns, a fact no doubt linked with the growing importance of the city from the 18th century onwards.

Still other delftware factories existed in Flanders, notably in Leuven (59) and in Oudenaarde, but the data concerning the products are limited to the point of being almost totally useless, at least in the present state of the question.

Finally, if one is to complete the picture of the delftwares present in Flanders in the 17th-(early) 19th centuries, it should emphasized that such items were also imported from the Netherlands (particularly from Delft), from very important Walloon centers such as Tournai (60) or others such as Andenne and Liège, and also from the fairly numerous northern French factories. The latter appear to have strongly influenced the Flemish production, though in some cases they also imitated the Flemish products. Thus, for instance, the Brussels vert-de-cuivre decoration was occasionally copied in some other centers abroad (61).

Looking at the Flemish delftwares as a whole, it is obvious that this type of industry had not the same local or wider success it enjoyed in the neighbouring countries, notably in the Netherlands. Judging from the historical evidence, the general picture is that of a rapid development in the 16th century, with Antwerpen as a major Low Countries (or even north-west-European) production center of majolicas, which also influenced the development of comparable productions in the Netherlands (particularly after the sack of Antwerpen in 1585). In other Flemish towns, however, the situation was different and the trade does not seem to have gotten really off the ground. In the 17th century, foreign centers - particularly those belonging to the Delft group - took over and they would strongly influence the production of delftwares in Flanders ; this is demonstrated by the fact that quite a number of factory founders appear to have learned at least part of their trade in these foreign centers. But even so, the 17th century can hardly be described as a period of success : the Flemish factories were few and far between and some of them were rather short-short-lived. As far as we can see, only very few of them were successful

(either financially or otherwise). Things only changed during the 18th century and mainly from ca. 1750 onwards. But although these new factories - which again were not always very successful - developped their own style and sometimes even succeeded in influencing other centers (as illustrated by the case of the Brussels vert-de-cuivre), they largely conformed to the general style of the northwest European Continental delftwares of the period and particularly to those of northern France, Holland and Wallonia. Doubtlessly, the none too brilliant economic situation of 17th century Flanders and the competition offered by the important delftwares helps to explain this situation, even when things started to look up a little during the 18th century.

From a more directly archaeological point of view, our knowledge and understanding of the Flemish delftwares can only be described as limited and unsatisfactory. This of course can largely be explained by the general present-day limitations of Flemish post- medieval archaeology and pottery studies mentioned earlier. In the case of the Flemish delftwares, these defects are particularly obvious : we are not very well informed about the relative importance of delftwares in the average household ; we hardly have any reliable clue as to the real relative position of the autochthonous delftwares as compared to that of the imported ones ; there is but very scant information about the more common, run-of-the-mill products of the Flemish factories ; we have little information as to how these reached the wider public ; about a number of these factories - particularly those which are only scantily documented by the historical evidence (e.g. Leuven, Oudenaarde and even others such as some of the Brussels factories) - we do not even have very reliable information as to their products, whether common or of a high standard. This real life situation is fairly well reflected by a few studies of archaeological contexts where delftwares (including more common products such as barber's dishes and the like) are present : through no fault of theirs, the authors often have to leave aside the problem of the origins of some of these objects (62).

3. Creamwares and porcelain.

The two remaining main groups of locally produced luxury wares are the creamwares and the porcelain. It would lead us too far afield to discuss these products in detail. It may be noted, however, that some of the above-mentioned delftware factories apparently also started producing creamwares towards the later 18th century : the van Beveren factory in Kortrijk and the Brussels Lakensestraat factory (under the direction of Ghobert de Saint-Martin, in 1784-1806) provide us with examples of this (63)), but the creamware products are not

very well known. At any rate, this new venture does not appear to have been either very successful or long-lived. The Flemish creamwares could hardly compete with the very good quality items produced abroad and in Wallonia (particularly in the Meuse area). In the latter region, a whole range of factories made these wares : Arlon, Attert, Andenne, Huy, Liège, Jemappes, La Louvière, Namur (Saint-Servais-lez-Namur), Nimy-lez-Mons and of course also Tournai ; Maastricht (with the well-known Petrus Regout factory) also played an important part (64).

In the case of the porcelain production, the overall situation appears to be similar. There are but very few Flemish production centers, most of them in Brussels or in the Brussels area, and all of them dating from the later 18th and 19th centuries. Among them, we should mention the almost experimental factory of Charles of Lorraine, governor of the Austrian Low Countries, in his castle at Tervuren (directed by Lindemann) (1768- 1776), the factory in the Montplaisir castle (1787-1803), still another one in the present-day Ernest Allardstraat (then the rue de l'Etoile) (1800-1813), the Windisch and Faber factory on the Waversteenweg (chaussée de Wavre) in Elsene (Ixelles) (1824-1870), etc. (66). On the whole, however, the Flemish market appears to have been provided mainly by Walloon and foreign factories, Tournai of course being of major importance in this respect (67). Chinese porcelain also reached Flanders and this from the 17th century onwards ; but apparently, it would take until the 18th century before these imports became slightly more common, judging from a few Brugge and Gent contexts.

The main point, however, is that the influence of porcelain on the Flemish post-medieval pottery market remains to be analyzed and that the different types of imports and their relative importance still require to studied. The basic questions and problems (including the research problems) simply are the same as in the case of the delftwares, at least when the subject is to be taken a bit further and to be considered from an archaeological point of view.

b. The common pottery.

1. The general picture.

The above-mentioned luxury wares - particularly the majolicas and the delftwares - gradually became more widespread (68), but for the 16th to 18th (and even the 19th) centuries, the bulk of the finds of course consists of far more common products. In Flanders, the latter mainly include a number of imported stoneware vessels (cf. infra), a limited number of whitish or buff wares (69) and of course the numerous

and ubiquitous Flemish red wares. The latter are characterized by the brownish red to reddish, relatively fine and slightly sandy fabric and by the slightly brownish, good quality lead glaze, which covers either part of the vessel or all of it. Particularly from the second half of the 16th century onwards, the higher manganase content gives the glaze a somewhat darker tinge than its earlier, medieval predecessor.

Both typologically and technically, as well as economically, these red wares and their evolution in fact appear to represent the logical continuation of trends set in the 13th to 15th century Flemish (and generally Low Countries) pottery production (70) :

a. The gradual ousting of the earlier, reduced grey wares (71), with the result that the red wares completely dominated the market of the common pottery from the (late) 15th century or - depending on the region - from ca. 1500 onwards ; during the 16th-19th century, these red wares would constitute the only typically Flemish (and Dutch) common pottery until they too would gradually be replaced by other - e.g. metal - objects.

b. The gradual popularisation and vulgarisation of originally more artistic and more expensive products, which would eventually tend to replace a number of red ware products (72).

c. The relatively great stability of a number of basic vessel-types, developped during the previous period, when processes of functional specialisation and diversification of the utensil types had led to the creation of objects which were very well adapted to a specific use. In those cases, the basic shape would not change during the following period though some non-essential details (e.g. rim profile, some types of decoration, the additional features of the base, etc.) would still continue to develop. The tripod cooking-pots or pipkins (generally known as Grapen ; cf. infra), many frying-pans or skillets, the numerous milk-bowls (73), a fair number of chamber-pots and some other objects like a few of the pitchers (74) illustrate this situation rather well.

d. The development of specific groups of decorated red wares such as the slipdecorated bowls and dishes can be interpreted as a means through which the Flemish potters tried to keep a foothold on the market of the (low level) luxury wares such as the delftwares. In this respect, the situation may be directly comparable to the one illustrated by the late 14th and 15th century slipdecorated dishes. Similarly, they, they also tried to imitate some of the imported slipdecorated dishes and plates of German (Lower Rhine, Wanfried, Werra and Weser areas) origin.

e. The de facto subdivision of the market into privileged commercial sectors reserved for the different types of imports or luxury wares (particularly the majolicas and later the delftwares), the stonewares and the local common wares - a situation which developped in the 14th and 15th centuries - largely continues throughout the 16th to 18th centuries.

f. There also appears to be a gradual shift from one class of utensils to another. Thus, some of the stonewares seem to be slowly replaced with the glass objects on the one hand and with the delftwares on the other, a process which becomes more obvious during the 18th century. Further investigation will, however, be needed to check the validity of this statement.

2. The production.

Through the study of the documentary evidence, we now have some information about some aspects of the potters' trade, their social and professional organisation and situation, and - at least in some cases - even about their position on the pottery market and about the problems caused by the competition offered by others. Thus, the Bergen op Zoom potters and pottery industry (75), the Poperinge ones (76) and the Gent ones (77) are fairly well documented and in the case of Gent, the evidence allows us to follow in some detail the attempts of the local potters to counter the competition offered by the imports coming from abroad or from other Flemish or Walloon centers. In a few cases, the documentary evidence points to the existence of 18th and 19th century production centers, but it still has to be studied in detail ; the Tienen 18th and 19th century kilns are an example of this (70). Similarly, 16th and 17th century productions are also mentioned in Kortrijk, but neither the historical information nor the possible archaeological evidence has yet been studied systematically and/or any in detail (79). Torhout can be considered another example of this (80) and the same probably applies to Tielt and to other smaller towns, where the artisanal production of lead-glazed red ware items is confirmed for at least the 19th century ; some of these productions easily may have had local predecessors before this period (81). In still other cases, a few wasters and other indications for kilns could be recovered, but such examples are few and far between and interesting though the finds are, they do not replace systematic excavation (82).

This evidence also suggests that a fair number of towns had their own potters, producing most of the common wares. A number of these kilnsites and/or factories have been fairly precisely located and identified through the documentary sources, notably in Poperinge, in Gent and in Antwerpen. In the latter case, the information shows that many if not most of the

potters (including some who can probably be identified as majolica potters) mainly worked in the area immediately south of the old medieval town center (83). Unfortunately, none of these sites has yet been the subject of thorough archaeological excavation, the practical circumstances (more particularly the fact that the sites are sealed up by more recent buildings) preventing any direct intervention. In Antwerpen, the older finds and collections are now systematically being looked over for any indication of wasters, linked with any of the relevant sites, while in Gent, there is good hope that at least one of the sites will become available for excavation in the near future (84). In the meantime, we have to make do with the historical evidence.

The data do, however, suggest that the production of common wares was linked mainly with the urban centers, which of course provided suitable local and regional markets. In some cases, e.g. that of Poperinge, this type of activity may even have a fairly important aspect of the town's general economy. The situation is far less clear when it comes to the rural areas, the documentary evidence relating to these not yet having been analyzed systematically. It is not impossible nor even improbable that at least some rural kilns were in operation during the 16th to 18th centuries, but they remain to be identified and located. Some of these may even have been relatively important and fairly well-known, as is suggested by the presence of common pottery produced in the village of Meerbeke near Aalst on the early 17th century Gent market (85). Nevertheless, it would seem that the production of common wares mainly is an urban phenomenon rather than a rural one. This makes the situation again comparable to the late medieval one, when more or less parallel productions existed in many of the towns, while rural productions were far less important (86). The case of Meerbeke and perhaps also that of Poperinge do, however, suggest that the more rural areas may gradually have become more prominent in this field and further research will have to assess the importance of this possible evolution.

3. The pottery : the red wares.

Unfortunately, the information is far more limited and even unreliable when it comes to the different vessel types, their evolution, their position and relative importance when compared to the imported stonewares and to the luxury products, etc., even if it is already possible to detect some major lines such as those indicated above. Needless to say, the main reasons for this are the same as in the case of the luxury wares (cf. supra). S. Vandenberghe's very useful work on the finds from Mechelen and on some finds from Geraardsbergen (87), the study of some post-medieval contexts from the Gent Saint

Peter's abbey (90), and several other contributions (91) of course can be a great help here, but they do not as yet allow us to write a complete history of the Flemish red wares. This of course is not a reflection on the merit of these contributions, as they consist mainly of descriptive catalogues (sometimes with a general discussion of particular groups) and do not have the intention of encompassing the whole of the Flemish post-medieval pottery production.

When it comes to the different pottery types and their general evolution, we therefore still have to be happy with a few very general indications. The study of the material found in the Waasland, on the other hand, can provide us with some more tangible evidence, but this work is still in progress and will be discussed separately (cf. infra).

The main types of red ware products appear to be the logical continuation of those developped during the Late Middle Ages and include a number of tablewares (pitchers, a few cups, some dishes and different kinds of bowls), cooking-utensils (mainly the so-called Grapen (92), dripping-pans and frying-pans or skillets) and a whole range of other commonly used objects such as hearth-covers, lamps, chafing-dishes, milk-bowls, cream-pots (93), flowerpots, the relatively common chamber-pots (94), lids, small albarelli, ash-cups (95), a few ovoid "carrying-bags" with a handle bridging the mouth (96) and the like. To the list may even be added some peculiar objects such as the starlingpots, a fair number of which have already been discovered in older collections and in archaeological contexts (97)

From this general list, it is obvious that the red wares are mainly restricted to the realm of the more common utensils, as opposed to the delftwares and - at least until the 18th century - to the imported stonewares. It is only in the case of the general category of the tablewares that some kind of low level competition exists between these red wares and the other classes of pottery. This is perhaps best illustrated by the different kinds of decorated red ware objects.

Indeed, the local potters continue to use some of the decoration techniques first developed in the 13th century for the production of the so-called highly decorated pottery. The 14th century saw the degradation of these techniques - particularly of the use of applied sliplines - but from ca.1400 onwards, the use of trailed slip would again flourish, with the development of slipdecorated dishes (with animal - mainly bird - and sometimes also geometric or flower-like designs) and later also of sgraffito-decorated dishes (sometimes with heraldic designs). This complex decoration would temporarily

go out of fashion in the (early) 16th century. Patterns of linked arcs and scroll-like sliplines would also be used on pitchers, chafing-dishes and-though in a more modest form - Grapen and even chamber-pots (98). The 16th and even the early 17th century would see the logical continuation of this trend, as demonstrated by several finds from the Waasland (cf. infra) and from other sites (99). It would appear, though, that the use of sliplines - and particularly of linked arc and of simple scroll designs - to decorate more common objects such as ordinary pitchers and chamber-pots was more common during the 16th century than later. The above mentioned "carrying-bags" on the other hand, very often are decorated by means of trailed sliplines (usually in the from of relatively simple scroll-like lines) and sometimes even by means of sgraffito techniques (as with some of the 17th and 18th century Brugge finds) (100).

The main types of decorated red wares, however, are the different types of dishes and particularly the bowls with an upright rim, two small horizontal handles and an either wheelturned flat base or a wheelturned or slightly pinched footring with a slightly sagging base (101). The inside generally is decorated with trailed slip (on which the sgraffito techniques are sometimes used), while the outside and the inside of the rim often show a regular pattern of small upright or somewhat inclined lines. The decoration patterns used on the inside of the Flemish examples have not yet been studied systematically, as opposed to the North Holland ones (102), but it would appear that there is a certain degree of similarity. Thus, for instance, the patterns of concentric lines around the central part of the decoration occurs regularly, while the representation of a bird or of a flower equally seems to be a normal feature (103). Such decorated bowls and dishes were discovered on different sites in Flanders and similar examples are also known from northern France (e.g. from a 17th century context in Arras) (104). In the latter area a number of comparable decorated bowls made in a whitish fabric are known and it has been suggested that these may originate from coastal production centers (105) ; indeed, the flat base, the handles and the rim are slightly different, while the decoration patterns regularly show the concentric lines but are for the rest more geometric in nature. Still, these bowls clearly belong in the same general category of tablewares and, so far, no white fabric examples are known from Flemish sites.

At first sight, the overall distribution pattern suggests that the Flemish and Holland red ware examples may belong to the same general family, which gradually fades out somewhere in northern France. Whether this hypothesis is correct or not will, however, have to be substantiated by new northern French contexts. The close link between the Dutch (Holland) and the Flemish productions, on the other hand, is

not very surprising and may even be identified as the continuation of another medieval trend, when - at least the western - Dutch pottery and the Flemish and Brabant ceramics were equally closely related (notwithstanding some minor regional or even subregional differences).

These particular Dutch and Flemish slipwares may have a common origin and function. They appear towards the late 16th century and continue throughout the 17th century. As to general shape, they may be compared with the somewhat finer and more sophisticated majolica bowls of the mid-16th to early 17th century. The present author feels that this connection should perhaps not totally be neglected : as these decorated red ware bowls and the majolica ones may have had a similar - if not the same - use, it is not unthinkable that the first group to some extent constitutes the common potter's countermove against the majolicas produced by others. This becomes even more probable when one considers that it is from the mid-16th century onwards that the majolicas gradually grow more common. The decoration patterns, however, are very different and this may constitute a counter-indication, even though it must be kept in mind that the trailed slip-technique does not necessarily have the same finesse and versatility as the painting techniques used for the majolicas. At any rate, the latter apparently did not constitute the only threat : it has been alleged that the Wanfried and Weser slipdecorated wares equally played a part in this evolution. The North Holland and Wanfried production centers seem to become very important at about the same time in the late 16th century. But while it was hitherto often thought that the Wanfried vessels - which were imported into the Low Countries (106) - caused the potters of the latter regions to imitate these popular products and to compete with them, the new chronological indications make such an interpretation less easily acceptable : both products appear to reach the Low Countries market at the same time. Therefore, it is quite conceivable that the Dutch slipwares, for instance, owe much more to the older medieval traditions than was thought previously, as has correctly been suggested by J.G. Hurst and others. The fact that a few decoration designs and elements - notably some of the birds and a few of the geometric patterns - have late 14th and 15th century predecessors seems to bear this out (107).

In Flanders, the situation is even more complex than in Holland. The same traditions existed and a parallel evolution may have occurred. It is not, however, clear whether such slipdecorated bowls - or even slipwares in general - were relatively common. Nor are we well informed about the different decoration designs, let alone about their relative frequency. Nevertheless, slipdecorated and even a few sgraffito

dishes were produced in the south, notably at Aardenburg (ca. 1400) (108) and perhaps also in Mechelen (15th century) (109), and again, birds seem a much beloved design. Similarly, it would appear that rather simple linked arcs and some scrolls were still in use in the late 15th and early 16th century (judging from the Waasland finds, cf. infra), though they may often have been somewhat cruder than their Dutch counterparts. In the mid-16th century, however, the situation is not at all clear. It may be that (simple) slipwares were still produced, but it obviously would take until the late 16th century before they again became more popular. So far, a certain parellelism with the Netherlands is evident, but unfortunately, it remains unknown whether this revival takes place before slipwares again became more popular. A certain parellelism with the Netherlands is evident, but unfortunately, it remains unknown whether this revival takes place before the development of the Holland and Wanfried slipwares or after. In other words, not only may the local traditions have had some influence, but the new impulse may also have been given by either the Wanfried imports or by the Holland ones or even by both. In 1612, for instance, the Gent potters complained bitterly about the competition offered by the imported earthenwares and more specifically about those coming from the Netherlands (110) ; some of these imports may very well have been slipdecorated ones and the complaint may easily relate to a problem which had been endemic for one or more decades. Some of the slipdecorated bowls found in Flanders - e.g. in Damme, which was still engaged in trade (111) - can indeed easily be identified as Dutch imports. The Bergen op Zoom potters, whose production generally seems comparable to that of the Flemish potters, also produced a few slipware bowls as well as other slipdecorated products (including highly decorated hearth-covers)(112), but is not clear whether this kind of product constituted a fairly important or only a marginal activity.

Apart from the slipware bowls, which seem to occur throughout the 17th century, Flanders also knew slipware dishes, but only a few complete or identifiable examples are known and we are not very well informed about the main decoration patterns. In some cases, this decoration again includes a number of concentric lines, a design which would continue well into the 18th century. In a number of cases, the decoration may even be limited to a simple layer of white slip, as demonstrated by some finds from the 17th-18th century contexts in the Gent Saint Peter's abbey (113). Some finds from Brugge illustrate another type of decorated dish, to wit those with a flat base, a simple rim and a marble-like or spotted glaze-and-slip decoration. They belong in 18th century (114) and this type of decorated dish may well be typical of that period, being partly influenced by the Dutch and German Hafnerwares. In fact slip-

ware dishes of German origin turn up regularly in some of the post-medieval contexts, particularly in eastern Brabant but also elsewhere (115) and it is quite obvious that in some areas such as Brabant, they either influenced the local production very strongly or were even imitated without much further ado. Although some of these objects occasionally occur west of the Scheldt (116), they seem more common in Brabant and particularly in the Meuse area, in Wallonia and in Limburg (117). By and large, however, the detailed typological evolution of both the dishes themselves and the decoration patterns unfortunately remains obscure, to say the very least.

Turning from what can basically be identified as tablewares to the far more numerous kitchenwares, the situation hardly becomes any better. The already mentioned ubiquitous Grapen and milk-bowls apparently undergo no major changes, apart from some details such as the general shape of the rim and the features of the base. In the case of the milk-bowls, for instance, the rim changes continually and gradually grows heavier : this may eventually become a fairly useful chronological guideline. Similarly, the basically medieval sagging base with three, four or five pinched or flanged feet is gradually replaced by the slightly sagging base with a wheelturned footring, a changeover which occurs around the middle of the 16th century. Still, even after that period some objects, such as very large and shallow milk-bowls as well as some strainers (which in fact have the same basic shape as the milk-bowls, though the inside often is covered with slip and with a green instead of a colourless glaze) retain the pinched of flanged feet until the second quarter of the 17th century, at least in some areas such as the Waasland (cf. infra). Equally during the 17th century - the period cannot yet be identified with precision - the flat, wheelturned base gradually becomes more common, though it would never completely replace the footring.

The cooking-pots - whether straightforward Grapen with globular body, two curved handles and three little round or pinched feet which support the sagging or even round base, or Grapen with a more shallow and open body (118) - appear to have had a fairly complex history and - judging from the Brugge and Gent evidence - they would be joined in the 17th century by tripod cooking-bowls. These have either a shallow body or even an open bowl-like shape (119) and may have a massive skillet-like handle (120) or a round, hollow one (121). Such cooking-bowls often have three massive and round little feet which support the sagging base, as well as a small pinched-out beak. To some extent, these objects seem the result of a kind of amalgamation of the classic earlier bowls, skillets and Grapen (cf. infra) and the present author has the impression that this type of cooking-utensil eventually replaced the

more classic Grape. Unfortunately, the data for the late 17th and 18th century are still too scant to be sure about this.

The 16th and 17th century large pitchers and the slightly smaller jugs generally remind one of their late medieval predecessors : they often even have the typical rim with moulded outside, which was first developped around the middle of the 14th century and which prooved to be very efficient. Nice examples of this are known from different sites, among them those from Geraardsbergen (122), a few from the Gent Saint Peter's abbey (123), and a few Bergen of Zoom products (124). The presently available finds and literature give the general impression that such pitchers and jugs still regularly occurred during the 16th and (early) 17th centuries, but during the 17th century, they seem to fade out gradually and in the few 18th century contexts studied so far, they are absent. The reasons for this are not yet clear. Presumably, other types of objects took over their part, but the evidence does not yet allow us to say which ones, let alone to study how or why this change did occur. The gradual popularisation of the stonewares and particularly of the stoneware drinking-mugs quite probably played some part in this during the late 16th and early 17th century but this remains to be checked.

The small handled bowls, many of which were obviously used as tablewares, also had their place in the kitchen, where they could be used for a score of purposes (125).

The skillets constitute a particular headache. Until the mid-16th century and even afterwards, their general characteristics are very much the same as those of their 15th century predecessors, but the 17th and 18th century situation is far more complex. During that period, there appears to be a slow amalgamation of different types of objects, leading to what in fact amounts to hybrid shapes, such as flat-based bowls with a skillet-like handle (126) and the above-mentioned cooking-pans with three feet. The Bergen of Zoom evidence suggests that the classic skillet had not completely disappeared by the mid-17th century (127) and while this may also be valid for Flanders, it is to be noted that the relevant Brugge and Gent contexts of the 17th and 18th century did not yield such skillets. It therefore is not impossible that the gradual disappearance of the classic earlier skillet and that of the classic Grape are in fact linked, both of them being replaced by the new cooking-bowls and deeper cooking-pans (cf. supra). This will of course have to be confirmed by new finds.

As has already been indicated, the kitchen and even the courtyard also number a whole series of other objects such as strainers (128), lamps, lids, flower-pots (cf. fig. 23), small beakers, small and sometimes slipdecorated jug-like

objects, small albarelli-shaped objects generally thought to be used for unguents, "carrying-bags" and heaters (see fig. 16), chafing-dishes (among them a few deep, straight-sided ones with slipdecoration, three little feet, a handle and upright knobs on the rim, as with the late 17th or 18th century, brownblack glazed example from Brugge, see fig. 18), cream-pots (see fig. 17), ash-cups, a whole score of different cups, small dishes, bowls, etc. It would lead us too far to discuss these in detail, particularly as - to the mind of the present author - the available evidence does not yet allow us to try and describe their evolution, let alone analyze it.

One particular category of objects, however, should be mentioned specifically here, to wit that of the chamber-pots. They are of course less common than the main kitchen utensils, but they nevertheless occur fairly regularly. Furthermore, they seem subject to a distinct pattern of change from the late 15th to the 17th century. Originally, they are rather jug-shaped, with a somewhat globular body, a generally slightly upwards curving base (129), a rather high neck with a fairly small mouth and with a horizontal rim, and a handle. Such late 15th and early to mid-16th century chamber-pots are fairly well-known from different sites in the Waasland (cf. infra), as well as from other contexts, such as Bergen op Zoom (130), Geraardsbergen (131) and others. For understandable reasons, the inside - particularly the bottom - often is partially glazed ; the outside may be partially or completely glazed and some examples show the already mentioned simple linked arc decoration in trailed sliplines (sometimes with appended dots or flower-like designs) (see figs 7-10). Already before the middle of 16th century, a new type of chamber-pot would be developed : it has a more globular, sometimes almost biconic shape but the widening rim and the either slightly upwards curving base or the sagging base with footring are retained (see fig. 10) (132). As far as can be seen at present, this globular, somewhat biconic type with footring and sagging base would live on in the 17th and even in the 18th century ; examples regularly occur on most sites throughout Flanders, e.g. in Gent (133), Leuven (134), and elsewhere ; it is, however, too early to try and discern a more detailed chro- notypological evolution during this later period. It may also be emphasized here that - from the 15th and particularly from the 16th century onwards - the tin or pewter chamber-pot would gradually start competing with the red earthenware one ; from the 17th and particularly from the 18th century onwards, the delftware, stoneware (particularly Westerwald) and even the porcelain chamber-pots would equally become more prominent, even though the red ware examples would not completely disappear (even in the 19th century, a few examples still occur). This evolution is very well illustrated by the early 17th and early 18th

century contexts of the Hof van Watervliet in Brugge, where the early 18th century finds include no less than 19 delftware chamber-pots without decoration ; they represent three main types, depending on the details of the body shape and of the rim, but they all have the slightly upwards curving base supported by a small, wheelturned footring (135). There also are a few examples of late 17th and 18th century chamber-pots in a whitish or buff fabric and with green glaze on the outside and yellowish glaze on the inside (136).

This brief survey gives but a very general idea of the main types and characteristics of the omnipresent red ware products. It also illustrates the very numerous gaps in our knowledge and understanding of this important class of pottery. Nevertheless, the amount of available information is gradually increasing and it does already allow us to detect traces of some of the major trends which dominated its general evolution (cf. supra). It also is clear that these Flemish and Brabant red wares are generally closely comparable to those produced in the southern part of the Netherlands, particularly in Bergen op Zoom, which also exported its products to Flanders and to England. The Flemish red wares - both medieval and post-medieval - indeed belong to a fairly large ceramic province, which extends from the Dutch river area to somewhere in northern France. But this complex area consists of a multitude of smaller regions and sub-regions which each have their own peculiarities and these still have to be studied systematically. More important and more urgent, however, is the lack of detailed chronological information, particularly for the late 17th and 18th centuries.

Both problems can be resolved only by the analysis of a sufficient number of reliable and closely datable contexts, to be studied on the basis of a regional approach (cf. infra).

4. The pottery : the whitish or buff wares (cf. fig.13,15 and 20-22)

Apart from the red wares, there is another group of common products. Although quantitatively far less important than the red wares, these products occur very regularly in the Flemish and Brabant contexts, which generally number at least one or two examples. The fine fabric is whitish to slightly buff in colour and fired fairly hard. Just as with the red wares, the items generally are glazed and very frequently the inside is covered with a yellow glaze while the outside shows a green (sometimes mottled) glaze. Some strainers, a few chafing-dishes and a number of chamber-pots are glazed in this fashion. There also are a number of milk-bowls which belong to this group of 16th to 18th century pottery.

On the whole, we do not yet know very much about these wares, but it would seem that the main types are very much the same as those of the red wares, up to and including some finer typological details. This is true of the already mentioned strainers and some of the chafing-dishes and chamber-pots, as well as of some lids (137), some small albarelli-like pots for unguents (138) and some handled bowls (139). It was long thought that these whitish wares could only be imports, as the suitable clays were not available in Flanders or in Brabant. The most likely region of origin then became the Meuse area, where whitish fabrics had a very long tradition and still were the main type of fabric during the post-medieval period.

In fact, it is now becoming clear that quite a number of these objects were produced locally, by potters using imported clay. A nice example of an object belonging to this group is a small green-glazed pot with a lid, kept in the Curtius Museum in Liège (inv. nr. I 388). It is decorated with four vertical ribs and with four applied, white busts (with yellow glaze), representing bearded men. The base shows an inscription : GHENDT A° 1531. There are indications for other vessels of the same type and origin, which are now unfortunately lost, but the example shows that white firing clay was occasionally used by Flemish potters (140). This object can hardly be described as an ordinary one, but the other items are far more common. This, together with fact that their shape characteristics are the same as those of their locally produced Flemish red ware counterparts, suggests that at least some of them may have been made locally. There even are some indications that these whitish items were produced by those same local potters who made the ubiquitous red wares. Thus, for instance, the post-medieval Gent Saint Peter's abbey finds even include a number of red ware pots on which scars of attached whitish items are visible (141) ; this suggests that the objects were fired in the same kilns and perhaps even together. Technically, this is quite feasable, but it still presupposes that white-firing clay was imported from elsewhere, presumably from the Meuse valley. In Antwerpen, the situation may have been comparable and the 16th and 17th century finds include dishes, albarelli and even some money-boxes and cooking-pots (142). Similarly, Tienen also yielded a number of whitish objects, to wit a plain bowl and a handled one with footring, but these may very well have been directly imported from the Meuse valley (143).

The fact that some local potters may have used imported clay is not altogether surprising : it may in fact have been the same clay as the one used for the decoration of the slipwares. It would, however, be interesting to study this

particular trade in some detail, for instance through the documentary evidence.

In general, the whitish or buff common wars found in Flanders and in Brabant present the same overall research problem as the red wares, both as far as their chronology and their typological evolution are concerned. On top of that, there is the problem of their relative quantitative importance, as well as the additional one of the economic importance of this production. These are questions which again can only be tackled through systematic quantitative analysis of reliable contexts. Until that moment arrives, one can only enumerate the different finds and types, but this would lead us too far here.

5. Conclusion.

Summing up, the common wares still confront us with many questions, quite a number of which concern such basic topics as a (fairly detailed) main chronology, usable typological classifications and functional data. Generally speaking, this pottery clearly is less well known and understood than its late medieval predecessor. The latter is already far more useful as a chronological guideline, even though the 16th to 18th century common wares doubtlessly also are subject to gradual and perhaps small but nevertheless indicative typological changes. Some of these are more obvious and may well reflect more general changes in cooking habits, foodstuffs and therefore also in daily life and material culture ; the gradual changeover from the classic Grape to the more developped cooking-pan may be an example of this.

Doubtlessly, the growing number of excavations and finds will eventually - if slowly - provide us with the required information and indeed, it is already possible to detext a number of general trends. It will be one of the tasks of future research to determine to what extent these trends are real and how they interact. Similarly, their chronological position and importance will have to be assessed.

Apart from the chronological problems, there also remain those linked with the production centers and the distribution patterns and mechanisms. A few indications suggest a fair degree of uniformity of the red and buff wares throughout Flanders and even throughout the Low Countries (144). Such an apparently general uniformity does not, however, preclude the existence of regional and even sub-regional differences which are linked with the local and regional production centers. Such differences may be rather minor, but others are perhaps more important. For the moment being, we are not well informed about

these differences and we tend to neglect them. A general look at the available contributions immediately shows a tendency to use comparison material from widely different geographical areas. In those cases, the regional and possible subregional differences are deliberately neglected, while the chronological information is taken too much for granted. As a result, possible chronological differences go unnoticed, while the questions relating to distribution systems and patterns (linked with those relating to the production centers) are obscured. Again, the problem is not unlike the one which still exists in Flemish medieval pottery research. It is for these reasons that a regional and very detailed approach of the relevant pottery finds should be strongly advocated and this is particularly true in the case of the common wares : it is the only way in which the products of these local and regional centers can eventually be identified and therefore, it also is the only way in which the historical problem of the distribution systems can be tackled.

c. The imported stonewares.

The post-medieval contexts generally include a number of stoneware products. Some of these belong to the group of the richer, highly decorated tablewares, such as some of the late 16th or early 17th century Raeren jugs decorated with a frieze representing a peasants' dance (145) or the highly decorated Westerwald-type jugs and other items (146). Others are far more common objects and include a range of jugs and drinking vessels, among them the typical Raeren ones, represented in great numbers on Breughel's paintings of the peasants' wedding. Later - particularly from the 18th century onwards and during the 19th and 20th centuries - the gradual vulgarisation of the stonewares would lead to the increasing numbers of kitchen wares (including butterpots, large vessels for the salting of meat, etc.) and of other types of objects (including a few chamber-pots) (147) which could be produced in a more industrial fashion. During the (late) 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the characteristic bellarmine (Bartmann) jugs also are fairly common. The 18th and 19th centuries would add the relatively tall, straightsided bottles for mineral water, many of which arrived on the Flemish markets as containers rather than as objects of trade (148).

As no stonewares were produced in Flanders (the suitable clays not being readily available), it is hardly necessary to try and bring here a survey of the different types and their evolution. This is a matter to be discussed within the framework of a systematic study of the production centers from which these objects were imported into Flanders. Nevertheless, many interesting questions are raised by the presence and

evolution of the stonewares occuring in post-medieval Flanders :

a) Which production centers imported stonewares and how did this pattern develop through time ?
b) What was the relative importance of the market share belonging to each center and how did it develop ?
c) Did the different stoneware centers compete with each other on the Flemish market and how did this influence the evolution of this market and of the finds ?
d) What were the main products (types) which each center imported ?
e) How were the stonewares distributed throughout Flanders and did particular stoneware centers dominate certain areas or subregions ?
f) Which section(s) of the (Flemish) market did the stonewares dominate as far as general types of objects are concerned ?
g) Did the imported stonewares influence the local production and particularly the types and development of the common wares ?
h) What kind of competition existed between the stonewares and the local products ?

The list is not exhaustive, but simply illustrates the kind of problems which present and future research should keep in mind. Answering these questions is not going to be easy : to achieve this, one needs detailed chronological, typological and technical information, series of usable quantitative data, adequate geographical and functional patterning and - when and where possible - also relevant historical information. Throughout this paper, it has, however, already been repeatedly emphasized that the present state of research does not yet provide us with this kind of information. As a result, a survey of the finds can at present hardly be more than illustrative of some kinds of stoneware finds which occur more or less regularly : it cannot answer most of the above-mentioned questions.

Still, some clues are available and a few general lines can be detected. Thus, for instance, it seems clear that some of the trends set in the 14th and 15th centuries strongly influence the 16th century situation and the major changes occur only towards the middle and second half of the 16th century and somewhat later. During the 15th century, the Siegburg center - with its typical slender jugs, its beakers and its characteristic shallow drinking bowls - gradually lost its prevailing position to the advantage of the Langerwehe products and - slightly later - to those from the Raeren kilns. The latter would become very important from the late 15th or early 16th century onwards and their fairly characteristic products

with the somewhat mottled and often even patchy brown and grey glaze occur very frequently in the Flemish contexts of that period. They include both the more expensive, decorated items and the more common ones and from the late 16th century onwards, a number of them also have the cobalt blue patched glaze (149). The Cologne and Frechen 16th century products also are present in Flanders, though they seem less common than the Raeren ones; their relative importance remains an open question. The same is also true in the case of the Aachen stonewares (150).

The 17th century and the following periods are far more of a headache. Apart from the continuing influx of Raeren products - the relative importance of which seems to diminish gradually - there are now also the Westerwald products, which again reflect the strong influence of the Rhenish production centers. In the 16th century and probably also somewhat later, however, another center would also enjoy a certain degree of success : the Bouffioulx, Châtelet and Pont-de-Loup kilns along the Sambre, near Charleroi (151). The Sambre and Meuse rivers of course played an important part in the trade of this center and the historical evidence informs us about its history : already in the 13th and 14th centuries, kilns worked in this area, but it would take until the 16th century until the first master potters are mentioned ; towards the end of this century, the trade appears to decline but would nevertheless continue and in the 17th century, different series of measures were taken to try and redress the situation which was probably caused by the competition offered by the Rhenish and Westerwald centers. During the first half of the 17th century, several master potters from Bouffioulx-Châtelet would move to other areas to ply their trade (Namur, Marpent (near Maubeuge in northern France), Verviers, etc.), while the original center would continue its production. In 1680, the potters arrived at an agreement as to their privileged trading zones and from this we learn that the Bouffioulx potters mainly traded towards the west : Kortrijk, Oudenaarde, the area of Hainaut and even the northern part of France (including such ports as Dunkerque) (152). This suggests that even at that late date, at least some Bouffioulx products reached Flanders. It is, however, not known how important this trade was, nor how long it lasted. In the Bouffioulx-Châtelet area, some kilns would continue their production well into the 19th century, but there is no direct information as to the general technical and typological characteristics of these products.

In many cases, it is not altogether very easy to distinguish Bouffioulx stoneware sherds or even vessels from those produced in other centers (153). Still, the 16th and 17th century Flemish finds include a number of jugs and also a few of the costrels, the latter apparently being a fairly typical Bouffioulx import.

Apart from the products of these major Rhenish, Westerwald and Meuse centers, which seem to have dominated the Flemish market, some other stonewares occasionally also reached Flanders. Thus, for instance, the Beauvais stonewares. So far, only a few examples of such products have been identified. They include a number of inkbottles, which can probably be dated to the (late) 18th or 19th century (154). The main problem with the Beauvais products of course is that the technical features of the fabric very closely resemble those of the Siegburg wares and in some cases, such as a few of the conical cups and the shallow drinking bowls, even the typological characteristics are very close ; this is particularly true for the 15th and 16th centuries (155) and the fact that some Beauvais products already reached Flanders by that time is demonstrated by the presence of some Beauvais chafing-dishes and sgraffito decorated plates in Mechelen (156), by a decorated stoneware plate in the Duinen abbey in Koksijde (157), by the find of a small 15th or 16th century jug in Ophasselt (province of East-Flanders) (158) and by the discovery of several Beauvais items in Veurne and in Herzele (159). All this allows us to assume that the Beauvais stoneware imports may have been somewhat more common than was generally thought hitherto, even though they probably did not present any great danger to the Siegburg products and most certainly did not threathen the other stoneware imports. These finds do, however, suggest that a thorough reconsideration of at least some of the stoneware discoveries may not be wholly unnecessary.

Lastly, one should also mention the occasional presence of English stonewares, more particularly of some products from the 18th century Staffordshire kilns. A few examples of these have turned up in Brugge (160 and in Gent (161), but it is a fair guess that such imports were few and far between.

Throughout the period under consideration, there is as yet no clear evidence of a direct influence of the stonewares on the locally produced common wares. There are no red ware products which clearly imitate the stoneware vessels, though a very few such grey ware examples were known during the previous period (162). One does, however, get the general impression that the market was more or less subdivided into privileged sections, the local common wares dominating the section of the kitchenwares and cooking utensils, while the stonewares had the control of those tablewares and (to a smaller extent) kitchenwares which had something to do with keeping, transporting and drinking liquids. The fairly limited number of red ware jugs and beakers, for instance, appears to demonstrate the de facto supremacy of the stonewares in this field. The typical tehnical features of these stonewares and the ceramological

specialisation they represent of course have something to do with this. By and large, this is a trend which was already firmly set by the end of the Middle Ages (cf. supra). Therefore, the main competition which the stonewares had to cope with did not come from the local common wares, but rather from the luxury wares (both locally produced and imported) ; the latter would firmly establish themselves in the field of the tablewares, thus effectively forcing the stonewares to the kitchen and the courtyard. This general hypothesis will of course have to be verified by future research, but the few general data already available clearly suggest that it should not be disregarded beforehand.

Summing up, the stonewares constitute an important part of the Flemish post-medieval pottery scene and - compared to the local products - they appear to dominate the field of some of the tablewares, at least during the 16th and part of the 17th century. The main stoneware centers are the Rhenish ones and the Flemish finds probably largely reflect their history and evolution (as is suggested by the evolution of the Siegburg, Cologne, Frechen and Raeren imports). The Meuse-Sambre centers of the Bouffioulx-Châtelet area also exported stonewares to Flanders, but although such finds seem to occur regularly, it is very hard to assess the relative importance of these products. Later, the Westerwald stonewares would also reach Flanders, but other important centers - such as the Beauvaisis ones - appear to have had far less success, even though they may have been somewhat better represented than is generally accepted. The Flemish market may have influenced the rise and fall of some of these centers, but as these depended on far greater and even international markets, it is a fair guess that this influence was rather limited. Sometime during the late 17th and/or 18th century, however, the stonewares guadually lost their appeal, presumably because they were not able to counter adequately the competition offered by the luxury wares. The stonewares would not disappear, but their nature would change slowly and, as far as can be seen at present, the Flemish finds illustrate this general evolution fairly well.

As with the other types and groups of post-medieval pottery, the study of the relevant Flemish finds still presents many problems. As a result, any general interpretation cannot but be tentative. The same general methodological remarks, suggestions and criticisms which apply to the study of the luxury wares and of the common products can also be formulated here.

d. Other imports.

Finally, one should mention the presence of some other imports, such as the Wanfried, Weser and Lower Rhine (generally decorated) products, as well as the Dutch delftwares, different types of porcelain (both European and Asian), etc. In the present state of research and for the reasons which have already been emphasized repeatedly, it is hardly possible to say more than that all of these turn up occasionally. Unfortunately, there is no reliable or detailed information as to their relative importance - except for the fact that they quite obviously do not dominate the scene - nor do we know much about their general evolution or about their possible influence on the local production. Therefore, it seems too early to say much about them, even though Dutch majolicas and delftwares, as well as imported porcelain (including Asian products) do turn up every now and then.

It may be noted, however, that the Wanfried and Weser products occur far more regularly than has generally been assumed. Some of the earlier published distribution maps list only very few finds from Flanders (163) and this contrasts strongly with the maps for the Netherlands (164). In the latter case, the importance of comparable productions, such as those from Enkhuizen, of course has to be taken into account and it may very well be that some of the relevant Flemish finds come from the Netherlands rather than from northern Germany. Nevertheless, the important point is that such products occur regularly in Flanders, as demontrated by a number of Mechelen finds (165) and by the fact that sherds of this kind are found fairly frequently during fieldwalking operations in many parts of Flanders.

Similar questions can be asked with regard to the (northern) French imports (mainly as far as delftwares, some slipdecorated bowls and dishes, and porcelain are concerned). A number of such (mainly 18th and 19th century) finds have already been recorded during fieldwalking operations, while a few 16th century earthenwares from Beauvais were found in Mechelen (166) and elswhere, but on the whole, the information is still too limited to assess the importance of these products correctly.

Needless to say, the same research problems as those mentioned earlier also exist here and there remains a lot of detailed work to be done on these finds. The same remark, however, also applies to post-medieval pottery research in northern France : notwithstanding a few interesting finds and publications (167), we are not very well informed about the local products (both common and luwery ones) from this area and this of course does not help us very much with the Flemish finds.

Post-medieval pottery research in the Waasland

(R. VAN HOVE et F. VERHAEGHE)

a. Introduction (cf. figs. 23-36)

Post-medieval pottery research in Flanders still suffers from many deficiences, some of them being the lingering effects of an old-fashioned antiquarian's and/or art historian's approach, others being the result of practical circumstances and external pressures. They have already sufficiently been emphasized. Other approaches, however, are possible and necessary. Indeed, experience has shown that far more reliable and useful information can be obtained through the sequential and systematic analysis of fairly short-lived and well-sealed contexts from a well-defined area. The (sub-)regional approach of course offers several major advantages : the typical regional or even local features stand out more easily, the influence and importance of the imports can be more adequately assessed, distribution patterns can more readily be analyzed, etc. Furthermore, the regional approach provides better opportunities to apply the principles of horizontal stratigraphy combined with inter-site comparisons, while it also allows the detection, identification and explanation of possible pattern anomalies. Equally important is the fact that the chronological information from one context can more easily be used for the dating of others ; put otherwise, the dangers of using comparison material from widely scattered sites, where the chronology, economic context and evolution pattern may be different, can be minimized. Particularly in the case of the common wares (but also in that of some of the imports), it is indeed not a good research policy to transfer without any further checking the chronological information from one region to another. Experiences with medieval pottery have already sufficiently demonstrated the errors and difficulties which may then arise.

Such an approach of course requires a careful selection and study of those contexts which are to be the main elements and backbone of the basic regional framework. These contexts should preferably be dated by means of external criteria, although this may of course not always be possible. Another element to be studied is the broader context of each of these units ; sealed contexts from a poorer farmhouse should not indiscriminately be compared with those from a rich urban residence as this may result in the presence, absence or different relative importance of the pottery groups and types.

Nevertheless, such comparisons remain interesting both from an interpretational and from a purely chronological point of view. Needless to say, a thorough and systematic quantitative approach - preferably on the basis of both a sherd count and a minimum number of vessels count - is very important here.

The present authors readily conceed that such an approach is not very easy : it requires a large input of time and energy, as well as a certain amount of luck (to succeed in bringing together a series of contexts which fulfill the above-mentioned conditions to a reasonable degree). Furthermore, the short term results may not always be sensational. In the long run, however, the rewards are bound to be very satisfactory and it stands to reason that the next steps - such as inter-regional comparisons, patterning and historical interpretation of the pottery distribution and evolution - become possible.

All these principles and the long term goal guide the work which is presently being carried out on late and post-medieval pottery finds from the Waasland. This region lies immediately to the west of Antwerpen and to the north-east of Gent. It is bounded by the Lower Scheldt to the east, by the Durme river and by part of the Scheldt (between Tielrode and Rupelmonde) to the south, roughly by the upper course of the Durme to the west and by the Belgian-Dutch border to the north. Culturally, it more or less constitutes a unit.

In this area, medieval and post-medieval archaeology have become more important over the past decade and R. Van Hove has started a systematic program of research concerning the late and post-medieval pottery in Waasland. This program is a long-term project and the work still being in progress, only some preliminary results are available at present. Nevertheless they already illustrate fairly well the advantages of the proposed method and provide some indications which may equally be of use to comparable work in other regions.

b. The contexts.

So far, five contexts have been selected as suitable for this kind of approach. They generally can be identified as midden-layers which came into being in a fairly short time-span and which were sealed up by readily identifiable debris-layers. The latter can be dated more or less accurately and on the whole, the finds and the date at which they were deposited can with a great degree of certainty be placed within a few decades. The dating criteria used consist of both external (dates provided by the building-history, historically identifiable floods, etc.) and internal (coins, etc.) chronological indications (168).

1. Context A : the Our Lady's abbey of Boudelo in Klein-Sinaai - a cistercian abbey founded in the early 13th century and destroyed in 1578 (169) - yielded the first and earliest usable context. It is a sealed up debris layer in the infilling of a ditch. The ditch was dug after 1452 and other indications clearly show that the finds were deposited after 1506. Historical evidence suggests that the context was sealed up sometime between 1520 and 1530, the latter date being a terminus ante quem (170).

2. Context B : In the early eighties, excavations were carried out in the church of Verrebroek and this site yielded another usable context, to wit a rubbish-pit which the building history allows us to date between 1583 and 1620. The finds can be associated with houses built in the immediate neighbourhood of the church or perhaps even with the vicarage.

3. Context C : This context was discovered during the excavations on a fairly important moated manor site, called the Bordburehof, in Bazel. It is a sandstone well, built into the wall enclosing the moated annex of the main site. The well fell into disuse at the start of the 17th century and was sealed up around 1630. The associated finds (glass, etc.) indicate that this context belongs in a fairly wealthy environment and the history of the site confirms this (171).

4. Context D : the Castrohof is a maison de plaisance in the town of Sint-Niklaas. It yielded the fourth context which is a rubbish-pit sealed up by a layer of roofing-tiles. The building history allows us to date the context between 1626 and 1660 and there is no evidence of residual material. Here too, the associated finds (glass, etc.) and the history and nature of the site indicate a wealthy environment.

5. Context E : during surveying operations and rescue excavations in the Kallo-polder, the fifth context came to light. Again, it is a rubbish-pit, but in this case, flood layers deposited by the flood of 1700 seal up the whole and provide the required external dating element. Other indications show that the material was not deposited before 1683.

This series of contexts thus roughly covers the periods from 1506 to 1530, 1583 to 1620, ca. 1600 to 1630, 1626 to 1660 and 1683 to 1700. The two major gaps are the middle of the 16th century and the 18th century, but future research and finds are bound to fill these. It may also be noted that practically all the contexts can be linked with a recognizable social unit : a fairly wealthy abbey, two fairly important and rich manor sites and a rural context (linked with the centre of a village). The Kallo-polder find is somewhat less easy to

interpret, but it can probably be identified as a relatively simple rural context.

c. The pottery.

The following main pottery groups are represented in all five contexts : the typical red wares (including a number of slipdecorated objects), the majolicas, the whitish or buff wares, the stonewares and one delftware plate Remarkably enough, there are no examples of other imported products. On a minimum number of vessel count basis, the following (provisional) (172) general picture emerges :

CONTEXT	A	B	C	D	E
Red wares	86%	94%	94%	93%	94%
Buff wares	1%	-	-	-	-
Stonewares	13%	5%	6%	5%	5%
Majolica	-	(*)	-	2%	(*)
Delftwares	-	-	-	-	(*)

(*) = less than 1 %

The list clearly illustrates the overall predominance of the red wares, followed far behind by the stonewares. This is a general pattern which remains constant throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. In fact, both groups together never constitute less than 98 % of the pottery finds and furthermore, there appears to be a strong relation between both in the sense that the growing number of red wares is directly linked with the decreasing number of stonewares. This tends to suggest that a - probably limited - competition of some kind existed between both groups, even if the stonewares seem to hold their own when it comes to drinking-vessels and jugs. In the early 16th century, the stonewares seem more prominent than in the late 16th to late 17th century contexts, when their numbers have dwindled to a fairly constant 5-6 %. The explanation for this may be either chronological or social, but as context D certainly has a social and economic importance which is comparable to that of context A, the chronological factor seems to offer the best explanation. It would also confirm the general impression that the stonewares start losing their attraction towards 1600 (cf. supra) ; during the 17th century, however, their appeal seems to remain fairly constant and the different nature of the contexts even suggests that the importance and/or richness of the site influenced this particular aspect of the picture only to a

a very limited degree. In itself, this could also confirm the notion that the stonewares - with the exception of the richly decorated items - had by then become thoroughly popularized and had grown to be a sufficiently cheap and functionally adequate group of objects, used commonly across a broad section of the population.

The whitish or buff wares, on the other hand, never were a great success, while the luxury wares are never very well represented. In fact, the varying richness of the different contexts hardly seems to affect the percentages in any major way, which again suggests that the impact of the social context should perhaps not be overrated. Interestingly enough, the majolicas are absent from context A, but a few sherds occur in the Verrebroek context (B) ; they also seem somewhat more common in the middle to late 17th century, but in view of the limited information, it is hard to interpret these percentages correctly : one would expect the rich context D to yield a few items of this kind, but the fragments may either reflect the gradual popularization of these wares or be residual. Being the only item of its kind, the delftware plate from context E does not allow any conclusions.

Looking in detail at the stonewares and the red wares, other patterns emerge. Thus, for instance, the stonewares almost exclusively consist of tablewares, the majority being jugs of different types. Context A illustrates this : 54 % are jugs while 34 % are drinking bowls (173), but the latter gradually disappear and in the 17th century contexts, the jugs dominate the scene. Equally interesting is the fact that the Westerwald-type decorated stonewares appear for the first time only in context E, i.e. towards the end of the 17th century. This is hard to explain : it may be a regional feature, particularly when one considers that the other late 16th and 17th century contexts did not yield any fragment of this type. On the other hand, however, such objects may have been somewhat scarcer than we generally think and this may explain their absence from the earlier contexts. So in fact, this apparently late appearance of Westerwald-type decorated items in the Waasland should not (yet ?) be taken at face value.

As expected, the red wares mainly consist of cooking-vessels and other common utensils, such as chamber-pots and the like. The group does, however, also include a number of slipdecorated objects :

Context A mainly includes cooking-pots (of the general Grapen type) (37 %) about half of which have the fairly simple trailed slipdecoration in the form of linked arcs ; there are a number of the typical milk-bowls (18 %), a series of other bowls

of different types (17 %) and an exceptionally large number of unglazed flowerpots (13 %), the remainder consisting of odd objects and/or not readily identifiable items. Dishes seem to be fairly scarce.

Context B yielded mainly cooking-pots, but also a fair number of dishes as well as other types of objects. No less than 10% of the items - all of them dishes - are decorated with trailed slip. It may be noted that no milk-bowls occurred in this context, which is not altogether surprising as it can reasonably be defined as a non-agrarian context.

Context C yielded a fairly wide range of red ware objects, but again, the cooking-pots constitute a clear majority. On the whole, the complex is directly comparable to that yielded by context B, which is - in view of the chronological information - not altogether surprising.

Context D to some extent reflects the nature of this maison de plaisance site : there are but very few cooking-utensils and the complex mainly consists of shallow dishes, a fair number of slipdecorated bowls, a series of simpler, handled bowls and a few very large dishes. On the whole, some 15 % of the red wares are slipdecorated.

Context E included a fairly wide variety of red ware objects, but the dishes and bowls clearly predominate, followed far behind by a few cooking-bowls ; cooking-pots of the Grape type are absent from the picture. Again, some 10 % of these finds are slipdecorated.

From this brief and provisional survey, it is clear that at first sight at least some of the contexts seem to reflect different origins. The absence of milk-bowls in context B and the predominance of the tablewares in context D illustrate this fairly well. Nevertheless, the differences are not always that obvious or that easy to interpret and one should also take into account the possible differences between the constituent parts of each site. Thus, for instance, another part of the Castrohof could very well have yielded complex which is more closely comparable in nature to the others : if eating was an important passtime in this maison de plaisance, cooking obviously must have been part of the activities.

The finds demonstrate that a fair part - never less than 10 % - of the objects is decorated with (trailed) slip. The nature of this decoration changes with time, as shown by the linked arcs in the early 16th century context A and by the slipdecorated dishes and bowls from the later contexts. It may be noted here that the late 16th to late 17th

century decorated items mainly are bowls comparable with the slipware ones from North Holland (174) ; their technical and fabric characteristics are exactly the same as those of the red ware cooking-pots (cf. infra), which suggests them to be of a local or regional origin. Furthermore, they always show typical small groups of applied slip cross-hatchings which run over the main decoration pattern. This feature has not yet been identified on the Dutch, northern French or some of the known Flemish slipware bowls and it may therefore even be indicative of a Waasland production. Similarly, no dated examples have yet been discovered in the Waasland, although such objects occur regularly elsewhere. All this will, however, have to be verified.

Looking at the technical features of these wares, it quickly becomes clear that no notable changes took place between the early 16th and the late 17th century. The objects are all made on a rather slow wheel and often - as with their late medieval predecessors - they are knife-trimmed at the base. The wall is fairly thick and the shape sometimes is a little irregular, denoting a rather quick production. In fact, this is a feature which appears in the 15th century and which contrasts with the finer quality and finish of the 14th century grey and red wares. When the post-medieval red wares are of a somewhat better quality -examples of which occur in all the above-mentioned contexts - both the fabric and the glaze are slightly different. For these reasons, one cannot exclude the possibility either of imports from other regions (e.g. the important Bergen op Zoom products) or of two different coexisting productions within the Waasland and perhaps even within the same (regional) production centers. It may be noted here that the natural conditions favour local pottery production : suitable clays (mainly the well-known Rupelian clays which were already used during the Roman period) are readily available and the historical evidence shows that a flourishing pottery and brick industry existed in the 16th century and later.

Typologically, there is a recognizable evolution. Some types of objects clearly lend themselves better to this type of analysis than others, mainly because of their high frequency throughout the period under consideration. Thus, the cooking-pots (Grapen), the milk-bowls, some types of small handled bowls and the dishes. A detailed discussion of these objects and of their constituent parts would of course lead us too far here, but a few points may be illustrated. First of all, however, it should be noted that the basic general shape of most of these items does not change substantially with time, having probably attained a reasonable balance between functional requirements and technical possibilities. The only exception to this seems to be the appearance of the cooking-bowl

which replaces the traditional Grape in the Waasland; this is clearly illustrated by context E (late 17th century, i.e. at about the same time when a similar phenomenon occurs elsewhere in Flanders). Some components, such as rim, handle and base, do, however, go through consistent and continual change and they provide the necessary clues.

Thus for instance, the rim of the milk-bowls : the general shape does not undergo any changes, but with time, the rim becomes heavier and acquires a more heavily moulded section. This pattern is very consistent indeed and in fact consitutes a fairly reliable chronological guideline. Similar patterns can be detected with the cooking-pots : those found in context A have the same general shape as those from context B, but again, the rim is different, being generally more heavily moulded.

The evolution of the base equally seems to follow a clear pattern. In the early 16th century (context A) the objects nearly all have three or five pinched or flanged feet, while pinched footrings occur occasionally. By the late 16th to early 17th century (contexts B and C), however, the flanged feet are being replaced with small and massive little feet with a round section. By the second quarter of the 17th century (context D), the dishes and the few jugs normally have a wheel-turned footring, while only the very large milk-bowls and the strainers retain the flanged feet. Afterwards, only the cooking-pots and cooking-bowls still have the massive round feet.

The use of the leadglaze equally undergoes changes, though its physical characteristics and appearance remain the same. Thus, in the early 16th century, only the bottom part of the inside of the closed vessels is glazed, together with the outside of the shoulder. By the late 16th and early 17th century, however, the inside is completely glazed, while the outside is either partly (as with the cooking-utensils) or completely (as with the few jugs) covered with glaze. This picture remains the same throughout the 17th century, though there is a noticeable increase in the number of completely (both inside and outside) glazed objects. There seems to be only one exception to this rule : the milk-bowls and dishes always have a completely glazed inside, while the outside remains unglazed ; this feature - which is largely explained by functional considerations - does not change in the 16th or 17th century.

Other features such as the handles equally seem subject to patterned change, but this requires further investigation.

d. Conclusion.

The Waasland experience not only allows us to get a better idea of some of the changes and chronological evolutions to which the local post-medieval pottery is subjected, but it also demonstrates some of the major advantages which this kind of approach has to offer. The work is far from finished and some of the major gaps will only be filled through further discoveries and analysis work. Nevertheless, the presently available results - even though they are only provisional - show that this kind of pottery can and should be studied in the same fashion as its medieval predecessor.

General conclusion

The study of Flemish post-medieval pottery has long been limited to the more artistic objects, while the common pottery was neglected. Over the past decade, however, the overall situation clearly has taken a turn for the better : more and more finds are coming to light, the subject is not longer neglected and the archaeological information is now analyzed with care. The number of publications equally is growing and the historical evidence is more and more being analyzed systematically.

Nevertheless, the progress achieved - and for which the author is very grateful - should not obscure the facts that there is considerable room for improvement, that our knowledge and understanding of the subject still shows many unacceptable gaps and that the study of post-medieval pottery finds all too often remains limited to simple - if useful - cataloguing and describing the finds.

There is indeed a dire need of a more systematic and even inductive research on the subject through the active detection and study of usable sequences of finds, of the historical evidence and of the iconographical sources. The basic aims of such work should of course include the detailed chronology of the 16th-18th/19th century pottery and its typology (both formal and technical) as these elements constitute the bricks needed to build the house. Simultaneously, however, it should be kept in mind that pottery - whether prehistoric, Roman, medieval or post-medieval - is not only a chronological guideline, invented for the benefit of archaeologists who may not always have other means to date their contexts. It is a historical source in the full sense of the word and as such it can provide information about many aspects of the past : production and production mechanisms, distribution and distribution patterns, some aspects of both international and regional/ local trade, different elements of past daily life and material culture, etc.

For these reasons, it seems appropriate to try and define a few urgent priorities for the next decade as well as to propose a few elements of a general research strategy. Among the main priorities, it appears to the present author that the following should be kept in mind :

1. The continuous building up of detailed chronologies and typologies, based on increasing numbers of usable and well-contexted finds, preferably on a regional basis (cf. infra).

2. The detection, identification and systematic study of kiln sites and production centers (where possible through excavation, but without losing sight of the historical evidence).

3. The continuing study of the historical sources and also of the iconographical evidence. Together with some types of historical evidence such as testaments, inventories, etc., the latter can provide us not only with some chronological information, but also with very useful data concerning the function(s) of the different types of objects.

On a more practical and very direct level, care should be taken to try and bridge a number of chronological "dark areas", such as parts of the 17th and the 18th centuries.

In order to avoid some of the pitfalls which medieval pottery studies unfortunately have not always able to elude, the present author also feels that the regional approach should be strongly advocated, together with a systematic quantitative analysis. Even though it is far from being completed and has so far only yielded a few preliminary results, the Waasland experience indicates the rewards which can be expected from such an approach. These concern the chronological and typological evolution of the pottery, as well as its production, its distribution and - in the long run - its historical interpretation. The present author readily conceeds that such an approach does not constitute an easy task and that a great mesure of patience (and a certain amount of luck) is needed to get hold of and adequately study the usable and well-dated contexts which such a strategy requires. On the other hand, it definitely constitutes the best way to tackle some of basic questions and to allow inter-site and inter-regional comparisons and interpretations which have a firmer scientific base. At the same time, it presents the advantage of not having to neglect the above-mentioned research priorities, particularly the more immediate ones in the field of chronology and typology.

The past decade has seen considerable progress in the field of post-medieval pottery research in Flanders, but should the proposed strategy by adopted - even if only in part - the next decade could be very promising indeed.

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Introduction

On the occasion of the Liège meeting, questions were raised concerning the bibliography of post-medieval pottery studies in Flanders. In the absence of specialized Flemish or Belgian periodicals dealing with medieval and post-medieval archaeology, such a bibliography does not yet exist. Nor is it an easy task to compile a comprehensive tool of this kind, as many of the relevant contributions are scattered over numerous local and regional periodicals. A fair number of these are not even easily accessible. It is not the intention of the present author to bring here such a comprehensive bibliography (1), as this would lead us too far.

Nevertheless, an effort has been made to include in the present bibliography the main and most important contributions, particularly those published during the past decade. These references will provide the necessary clues to the older publications, many of which, however, are not of a standard one has come to expect in modern archaeology. A number of older publications nevertheless have been included because of their importance and/or of their historical and illustrative interest. Similarly, a number of foreign contributions have also been included, because they are of direct interest to this kind of work on Flemish finds. The present author thus hopes to be of some help to those students who are becoming interested in the subject and who often experience great difficulties in getting started.

To this may be added a few general remarks. Some information will be found in the bibliography on medieval archaeology, published by A. MATTHYS (L'archéologie médiévale en Belgique. Etat des recherches et Bibliographie 1945-1972, Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, 3, 1975, 261-303). From 1989 onwards, many if not most of the relevant references will be included in the current archaeological bibliography published annually in the periodical Helinium. The interested reader can also consult the chronicles Archeologie-Archéologie (published every six months) and Archaeologia Mediaevalis (published annually, on the occasion of the annual meeting of Belgian medieval archaeologists) : both publications mainly consist of shorter notes, which briefly present new

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(1) It may be noted, however, that an indexed bibliography of the publications concerning Belgian medieval and post-medieval archaeology in 1945-1985 is currently being prepared in a computerized format. It will, however, take several more years to complete.

present new finds, new studies and new excavations. Finally, one should also mention a few periodicals which very regularly include a number of contributions concerning post-medieval excavations and finds : Stadsarcheologie (published by the Gentse Vereniging voor Stadsarcheologie), the Tijdschrift van de Mechelse Vereniging voor Archeologie, and the Bulletin van de Antwerpse Vereniging voor Bodem- en Grotonderzoek. The annual Conspectus published by the National Service for Excavations in its series Archaeologia Belgica occasionally also includes contributions concerning post-medieval archaeology and pottery.

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NOTES

1. Research Associate, National Fund for Scientific Research, Belgium.

2. See the relevant references in the bibliography at the end of the present paper.

3. As was shown on the occasion of the 1979 Bristol conference (cf. infra).

4. Illustrated by the work of B. Roosens (National Service of Excavations), A. Matthys (National Service of Excavations), Ph. Bragard (Namur), P. Hoffsummer (University of Liège), and others. It should be noted, however, that this development is more clearly recognisable in Wallonia than in Flanders. See also the other contributions in the present volume.

5. In Flanders, some very interesting work has been achieved by specialists in the field of folklore and folklife (e.g. C.V. TREFOIS, Ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis van onze landelijke architectuur. Antwerpen, 1950 (anastatic reprint, Sint-Niklaas, 1978) and J. WEYNS, Het Kempisch boerenhuis. Beknopt overzicht. (Bokrijk), 1960 (= Bokrijkse Berichten, 6 = Kultuurhistorische verkenningen, 1, 1960, 51-112). Later, others developed more interesting approaches and achieved a considerable amount of work, among them the curator of the important Bokrijk Museum, M. LAENEN ; another good example of new and detailed work in this field is provided by C. DE ZEGHER & L.DEVLIEGHER, Een vakwerkhuis te Sint-Anna, Kortrijk. Brugge, 1984 (= Provinciaal Museum van het Bulskampveld te Beernem. Katalogen en Bijdragen, 3), while some other surveys come in very handy (e.g. Ph. DESPRIET, Twintig Zuidwestvlaamse hoeven. 2 vols., Kortrijk, 1978 and 1980). By and large, however, Flemish archaeologists have neglected this field, mainly on the principle that the subject does not really belong to the realm of archaeological studies. The fallacy of this opinion need hardly be discussed here, but it may be noted that in some cases worthwhile research projects have been nipped in the bud on the strength of this reasoning.

6. In fact, it is also connected with the problem of the unsatisfactory relationship between history and archaeology in general, as was demonstrated on the occasion of the XVIth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Stuttgart, 25.VIII.-1.IX.1985). See S.J. DE LAET, Archéologie et histoire, pp. 149-179 in : (A. NITSCHKE, ed.), Comité international des Sciences historiques. XVIe congrès international des Sciences historiques. Rapports. I. Grands thèmes, méthodologie, sections chronologiques. Stuttgart, 1985. See also F. VERHAEGHE, Archaeology and History : An Unsatisfactory Relationship. (Communication presented at the Stuttgart Congress, publication in preparation with H.L. Janssen) and F. VERHAEGHE & H.L. JANSSEN, Stadsgeschiedenis en stadsarcheologie in de Nederlanden. Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België - Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 53, 1982, 1-51 (passim).

7. A general survey of the bibliography quickly shows that the contributions published before the (late) sixties almost exclusively concern the historical information concerning these wares and the examples kept in different museum collections. There are very few publications - approximately less than 10 % - concerning the more common pottery, and almost all of these were written by folklore specialists. Later, the study of the luxury wares would of course continue, with very interesting publications such as MARIEN-DUGARDIN, 1972 and id., 1975 (both volumes including a worthwhile general bibliography concerning the (Belgian) faïences fines and the porcelain from Tournai). The origins of the Flemish majolica industry - and particularly the development of this industry in Antwerpen - also claimed the attention of many art historians ; for a general survey, see a.o. GEYSKENS, 1982 and KORF, 1981, passim (including an interesting bibliography of earlier publications on the subject).

8. E.g. WEYNS, 1974, passim. In this monumental work, which concerns a whole range of post-medieval object types, the late dr. J. Weyns also studied a number of written sources, particularly testaments. By and large, however, the work is based mainly on museum and collection items. In the Netherlands, J. De Kleyn had already published a general study of the common pottery (including many aspects of the technology involved) (DE KLEYN, 1965), but a comparable work is still lacking in Belgium.

9. With the de facto creation of official units in Gent (1975), Brugge (1977) and Antwerpen (1975, officialized in 1982). Later, less permanent units - often taking the form of project-oriented research - followed in others towns. See F. VERHAEGHE & H.L. JANSSEN, op. cit. in note (6).

10. A very good example of this are the excavations which took place in the outer courtyard of the Saint Peter's abbey in Gent, which yielded - amongst many other important data concerning the early history of the abbey and of Gent - several important post-medieval contexts, a few of which have recently been published (cf. LALEMAN, RAVESCHOT & VAN DE WALLE (eds.), 1985). Similarly, the excavations in the old center of Antwerpen yielded interesting post-medieval material, particularly pottery finds (see for instance (OOST) (ed.), 1982, passim and particularly the contributions by D. De Mets, T. Oost, S. Denissen and L. Geyskens).

11. Particularly in the archaeological chronicles published in the Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen. For the main references, see the general bibliography at the end of the present paper.

12. SLOOTMANS, 1970 ; WEIJS, VAN DE WATERING & SLOOTMANS, 1970.

13. BAILLEUL, 1980 ; LIEVOIS, 1984 ; id., 1985. For Poperinge, see TILLIE, 1983. See also notes (23) and (24).

14. See for instance SLOOTMANS, 1970, pl. 5-11 and MERTENS, 1965, passim.

15. This work eventually led to their (unpublished) thesis presented at the Gent University in 1975 : PEREMANS, 1975 and JACOBS, 1975. The basic methodological problems encountered were discussed in a paper published in 1976 (JACOBS & PEREMANS, 1976).

16. A new tentative start has recently been made under impulse of J.-P. Sosson (Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve), but so far only preliminary results have been achieved ; see VECHE, 1985. It may be noted that the Louvain-La-Neuve section of the Belgian Center for Rural History has built up an impressive collection of indexed illustrations of late and post-medieval iconographical sources, which can be of very great help with this kind of work.

17. For a general survey of some of the finds and data, see in particular (OOST) (ed.), 1982 (and mainly the contributions by T. Oost, S. Denissen, D. Demets, K. Van Vlierberghe and L. Geyskens on the different classes of pottery and on the glass).

18. As shown by the excavations on the site Van der Ghote (SWIMBERGHE, 1983) and those in the Zilverstraat (SWIMBERGHE, 1985). An interesting example of the results of a rescue operation in Brugge (Hof van Watervliet) is provided by VANDENBERGHE, 1983. Other useful and interesting post-medieval finds have come to light through the work of H. De Witte, town archeologist of Brugge ; they are presently being studied and short, preliminary notes are published annually in Stad Brugge, Stedelijke Musea. Jaarboek.

19. See for instance LALEMAN, RAVESCHOT & VAN DE WALLE (eds.) 1985. It may be noted that the Gent Service for Monuments Care and Town Archaeology (Dienst Monumentenzorg en Stadsarcheologie) works in close cooperation with the Gentse Vereniging voor Stadsarheologie (the Gent Society for Town Archaeology), which publishes the periodical Stadsarcheologie ; the latter regularly includes contributions on post-medieval finds and buildings, as well as some studies concerning the post-medieval Gent potters (see mainly LIEVOIS, 1984 ; id., 1985).

20. Thus, the Mechelse Vereniging voor Archeologie publishes the Tijdschrift van de Mechelse Vereniging voor Archeologie, a periodical which regularly includes contributions on post-medieval sites and finds, including pottery. In 1985, this society also organized an interesting exhibition under the title De keuken ten tijde van Rembert Dodoens, 1517-1585 and published a small but useful catalogue of some of the 16th century Mechelen finds (under the same title, s.l., s.d. (1985), 20 pp., ill.). Other interesting work is carried out in Mechelen by the archaeological society Oud Mechelen, which publishes the periodical Maalinas Antiqua. As far as Antwerpen is concerned, one should mention the Antwerpse Vereniging voor Bodem- en Grotonderzoek, which publishes the Bulletin ; this periodical often includes contributions concerning post-medieval finds from Antwerpen, among them those concerning the Antwerpen majolicas (by L. Geyskens, cf. infra).

21. As appears from the catalogues concerning two exhibitions organized in 1980 (on urban archaeology in Leuven) (PROVOOST & VAES (eds.), 1980) and in 1981 (on the archaeological finds in the eastern part of the province of Brabant) (PROVOOST (ed.), 1981) ; both catalogues cover all periods and also include a fair number of post-medieval pottery finds. To the list may be added the contribution by D. Cramers (CRAMERS, 1978), as well as some earlier publications such as MATTHYS, 1965-1966 and CRAB & VAN BUYTEN, 1967, passim. More recently, the excavations on the site of the castle of Roost in Haacht, near Leuven, also yielded some interesting material (VERBEECK, 1984).

22. Mainly through the excavations carried out by Mrs. F. de Waha-Jurion.

23. In the case of Gent, D. Lievois is continuing his study which - amongst other things - led to the identification of several sites of medieval and post-medieval kilns or factories, some of which will probably be (partly) excavated or will at least be the subject of archaeological rescue investigation in the (near) future. With thanks to Mrs. M.-C. Laleman (D.M.S.A., Gent) for this information.

24. In the case of Antwerpen, the town archaeologist T. Oost has organized a research project concerning the systematic study of the Antwerpen kilns and potters through the analysis of the documentary evidence. The work is diligently carried out by W. Pottier, who has already succeeded in achieving some very interesting results, particularly for the late 14th to early 17th centuries. A remarkable concentration of production centers is to be noted in the area between the ca. 1200 townwalls and the 16th century Spanish fortifications, particularly to the south of the old town. See POTTIER, 1986.

25. See mainly GROENEWEG, 1982 ; id., 1985 ; GROENEWEG, VANDENBULCKE & WEIJS, 1985 ; WEIJS, 1976. It may also be noted here that the Corpus van middeleeuws aardewerk uit gesloten vondstcomplexen in Nederland en Vlaanderen (Corpus of medieval pottery from closed contexts in the Netherlands and in Flanders), known as the C.M.A. and published (at irregular intervals) under the direction of D.P. Hallewas, T.J. Hoekstra, H.L. Janssen, F. Verhaeghe and K. Vlierman, is not strictly limited to medieval finds but will also include post-medieval contexts.

26. E.g. DANDOY, 1981-82 ; BIT & LIGOT, 1983-84 ; DANDOY, 1975- 76 ; LIGOT, 1975-76 ; WILLEMS & THIRION, 1975-76.

27. See TILLIE, 1983.

28. Thus, for instance, in the case of two post-medieval rubbish-pits from the Gent Saint Peter's abbey. LALEMAN & RAVESCHOT, 1985, p. 12, provide a simple table listing the main production groups, the number of individual vessels for each group and the percentage which each group represents. This table does not, however, list the different object types and their relative importance (although the comments in the text provide a number of clues), nor does it include any chronological indications. The long chronological sequence represented by the finds (16th century to ca. 1760-1780) of course makes it difficult to assess the relevancy of a detailed quantitative approach in this case and at any rate, the main and first aim of the authors is to give a idea of the number of vessels found and not to provide a thorough statistical analysis. Nevertheless, the data provided remain useful and the authors are to be commended for including them. Other studies - e.g. DESMET, 1983, 1984 and 1985 - have started to make a more thorough use of quantitative work, but such contributions still remain isolated.

29. Including such topics as the processes of gradual vulgarisation and popularisation of the different types of luxury wares, the effect of technical innovation, and even the differential social diffusion of the individual groups and types. Some mechanisms influencing the general evolution of pottery and pottery production in medieval Flanders have already tentatively been discussed elsewhere and it would appear that at least some of these are still operative during the post-medieval period ; cf. F. VERHAEGHE, 1987 ; cf. infra.

30. 19th and 20th century. The literature ascribes many decorative items - particularly those whith a multi-coloured applied decoration - to the Torhout potters of the 18th and 19th centuries, but while the documentary evidence and a few finds indicate the existence of medieval and later pottery production in this West-Flemish town, the historical sources become more explicit only from the 17th century onwards and it is only from the (early) 19th

century onwards that definite proof is available for a decorated production. Quite a number of items ascribed to Torhout in fact come from elsewhere and may even be imports. A major study of the Torhout production is presently being prepared by L. CUVELIER, but has not yet been published. Concerning the period 1885-1936, see CUVELIER, 1978 ; see also the comments by VANDENBERGHE, 1985a, 347.

31. Cf. VIAENE, 1970, who identified the "ghaleyerswerc" mentioned in customs documents of 1441 as Hispano-moresque majolicas, brought in by galleys (whence the word "work from galleys", which would later be changed into the Flemish "gleiswerk", used for majolicas and delftwares). Finds of Spanish majolicas are now known from many Belgian and Dutch sites, among them Brugge, Gent, Antwerpen, Dendermonde, Damme, Oostkerke, Koksijde (Duinen abbey), Mechelen, etc. Several surveys have already been published ; see in particular MARIEN-DUGARDIN, 1974 ; HURST & NEAL, 1982 ; see also VANDENBERGHE, 1973a ; VERHAEGHE & SEYS, 1982 ; HILLEWAERT & VERHAEGHE, 1983.

32. Cf. VERHAEGHE, 1987.

33. A nice example of such an altar-vase is depicted in Engelbrecht van Nassau's Book of Hours (ca. 1477-90) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce, 219-220, fol. 145 v°) (together with a few Hispano-moresque products). Apparently, altar-vases or flowervases of this type occur fairly frequently in England, where they are generally identified as Low Countries products (with thanks to Mr. J.G. Hurst for this information).

34. LALEMAN, M.C., Gentse tegels uit de 14de eeuw. Stadsarcheologie, 10, 1986, 2-15. Unfortunately, the dating evidence is very limited. Still, the presence of such tiles is not altogether surprising, considering that late 13th and early 14th century wasters of tin-glazed tiles have also been discovered in Utrecht, together with a number of tin-glazed tiles in the early 14th century floor of the Domkerk ; see (T.J. HOEKSTRA), Kaatstraat (particularly pp. 55-57 and fig. 56), pp. 53-57 in : (T.J. HOEKSTRA et al.) (eds.), Archeologische Kroniek van de gemeente Utrecht over 1978-1979-1980, Maandblad Oud-Utrecht, 1981, 3, 27-81 ; T.J. HOEKSTRA, Domplein, Domkerk, pp. 105-108 in : (T.J. HOEKSTRA et al.) (eds.)

Archeologische en Bouwhistorische Kroniek van de gemeente Utrecht over 1983, Maandblad Oud-Utrecht, 1984 8/9, 83-154 ; H.L. DE GROOT & T. POT, Oudenoord, pp. 154-162 in : (T.J. HOEKSTRA et al.) (eds.) Archeologische en Bouwhistorische kroniek van de gemeente Utrecht over 1984, Maandblad Oud-Utrecht, 1985, 4, 41-191.

35. The documentary evidence mentions Jehan de Moustiers from Ieper and Jehan le Voleur from Hesdin, who in 1391 were commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, to make tin-glazed tiles. In 1442, the guild of Saint-Lucas (Antwerpen) obtained a number of privileges and the guild numbers a few "gleyers", who can very probably be identified as majolica potters (cf. note 31). See KORF, 1981, 58-59 and the bibliography mentioned there.

36. On the early and 16th century history of the Flemish majolica industry, see mainly KORF, 1981, 58 ss ; GEYSKENS, 1982 ; VANDENBERGHE, 1985a, 341-343 ; Antwerps plateel, passim.

37. According to the documentary evidence. These bowls have two three- or five-lobed, performated flanges, decorated with a fine-meshed network of blue-on-white lines. The inside is decorated with a circular medaillion-like portrait, depicting either a madonna with child or a man or a woman in fairly rich dress. The background of the portrait often has the fairly typical yellowish tinge, which also occurs on the Bogaert jug and which is readily associated with the Antwerpen products. The bowls are still in the Maagdenhuis (Lange Gasthuisstraat, Antwerpen). See VANDENBERGHE, 1985a, 341-2. On the Maagdenhuis bowls, see also PHILIPPEN, 1932, passim. For a good general survey, see also Antwerps plateel. The Bogaert jug is illustrated in many publications on the early Low Countries majolica, but see mainly VANDENBERGHE, l.c., which provides a good colour photograph.

38. For the references concerning the different items mentioned here as well as for the phasing, see note (36).

39. See in particular GEYSKENS, 1982 ; id., 1983 ; id., 1984 ; id., 1980 (the latter publication concerns a so-called Anjum tile and it is demonstrated that an Antwerpen origin of this particular type of tile cannot be totally excluded).

40. Interesting examples of these were included in the 1971-1972 exhibition of Antwerpen majolica in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden (The Netherlands) ; see Antwerps plateel, nos 20 and 37. Some of these albarelli also show human figures.

41. GEYSKENS, 1984.

42. As was suggested by the present author on the occasion of the 1979 Bristol conference.

43. GEYSKENS, 1984, 18.

44. Cf. VERHAEGHE, 1987.

45. According to VANDENBERGHE, 1985a, 343, these discoveries were made in 1900 and in 1959/60. According to VAN DE WALLE, 1985, 35, however, the early 20th century finds did not include wasterfragments, while no mention is made of later finds. The present author has not seen the sherds in question.

46. VAN WERVEKE, s.d., 138-139 ; VANDENHOUTE, 1975, 180 ; VAN DE WALLE, 1985, 35.

47. VANDENHOUTE, 1975, 180. It may be noted that the documentary evidence often mentions porcelain or porcelain-like products when delftwares are concerned ; this "porcelain" is often identified as "porcelain in the Dutch fashion". Similar indications of a somewhat inaccurate use of the technical notions are also available for other factories in other Flemish towns.

48. VAN WERVEKE, s.d., VANDENHOUTE, 1975 ; VANDENBERGHE, 1985a, 343 ; VAN DE WALLE, 1985, 35.

49. On this Kortrijk production, see mainly VAN HOONACKER, 1968 ; PAUWELS & VAN HOONACKER, 1981, 112-118 ; VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 477. Still later, in the 19th and 20th centuries, Kortrijk continued to produce common and decorated pottery of different types ; see VAN HOONACKER, 1974.

50. About this factory and its products, see VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 478-479 and Hendrik Pulinx, 1981. A detailed study of Pulinx's production is currently being prepared by S. Vandenberghe (with thanks to Mr. S. Vandenberghe for this information).

51. In 1641, a certain Guillaume De Decker received a charter to produce delftwares (in the "Delft" fashion) and stonewares ("in the Raeren fashion"). In 1653, two other potters - Jacques Vanden Haute and Jean Symonet, both probably coming from Antwerpen - each received a charter. The Brussels subsoil yielded a number of fragments of dishes with a monochrome blue, Chinese-style decoration, which are ascribed to Jean Symonet, but there is no hard evidence that this interpretation is correct. At any rate, Jean Symonet does not appear to have been very successful : by 1661, he had already moved to Hanau and later to Heusenstramm to ply his trade, and by 1666, he was established in Frankfurt. Other finds and collection items (including a wall-tile picture, dated 1647 and marked CV) have been ascribed either to Guillaume De Decker or Jacques Vandenhaute, but again it is very difficult to take these stylistic identifications for granted, especially in view of the lack of archaeological evidence. About this early phase of the Brussels production, see mainly DANSAERT, 1922, 27-35 ; HELBIG, 1946, 5-7. See also VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 480-481.

52. In fact, the families had been linked through marriage. Jacques Artoisenet, founder of the "De Moriaen" factory (cf. infra) had married Philippe Mombaers' (a son of Cornelis Mombaers' who founded the Lakenstraat factory) only daughter, who died prematurely. "De Moriaen" actually broke Philippe Mombaers' factual monopoly in Brussels, suggesting that the old family relation may have turned stormy. At any rate, Jean-Baptiste Artoisenet, who founded the Lakensepoort factory, thus was Philippe Mombaers, great-grandson. On this family history, see DANSAERT, 1922, 32-105 ; HELBIG, 1946, 11-12 . VAN EECKHOUDT, 1978, 230 ss.

53. On the history of these factories, see DANSAERT, 1922, 35-110 ; HELBIG, 1946, 7-12 ; VAN EECKHOUDT, 1978, 230 ss. ; VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 480-481.

54. See DANSAERT, 1922, 108-110.

55. About these collection items in general, see VAN EECKHOUDT, 1978, 252-256. It may also be noted, however, that the Brussels delftwares and their decorations have regularly been copied, particularly during the 19th century. Thus, for instance, the factories of La Louvière, which produced cobalt-blue and manganese-couloured

"Brussels" jugs with the figure of a farmer set between two little trees ; such products are not always very easy to distinguish from the genuine Brussels delftwares. Some of the products of Ferrière-la-Petite present similar problems, having been decorated with a typically blue colour, generally ascribed to Artoisenet. On the difficulties of recognizing some of the Brussels delftwares, see also MARIEN-DUGARDIN, 1973.

56. Among them the well-known ornamental duck-shaped tureen, kept in the Broodhuismuseum in Brussels and produced by Artoisenet's "De Moriaen" factory in the mid-eighteenth century. See VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 481.

57. About these decorations and the typical motives, see mainly DANSAERT, 1922, 169-258 (arranged and discussed by factory) and VAN EECKHOUDT, 1978, 243-252.

58. According to some specialists, several phases occurred : a first one with large butterflies with strongly emphasized colours, a second one when the wings of the butterflies are strongly delineated and a third one when the caterpillars and the bronzed olive green tinges are first used. See the specialist note by G. Dansette in VAN EECKHOUDT, 1978, 249-251.

59. On the Leuven factory, founded by Joannes-Franciscus Verplancke in 1768 and bankrupt by 1771, see VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 477.

60. Which also produced creamwares and porcelain. See mainly MARIEN-DUGARDIN, 1972, and id., 1975, as well as the bibliography included in those works.

61. Cf. VANDENBERGHE, l.c. Examples of this copying can be seen on a few of the Saint-Omer products. This type of copying of course has something to do with the success of a fashion and it is not to be confused with the copying that went on in the 19th century. In the latter cases, the differences between copying and downright forgeries are sometimes very difficult to assess ; see note (55) & VAN EECKHOUDT, 1978, 252-256.

62. See for instance VAN DE WALLE, 1985 and SWIMBERGHE, 1983, passim.

63. Cf. PAUWELS & VAN HOONACKER, 1981, 112 ; DANSAERT, 1922, 238- 239.

64. On these creamwares or faïences fines and the different Belgian factories, see in particular MARIEN-DUGARDIN, 1975 (and the bibliography on pp. 20-22 of this very interesting catalogue). It may also be noted that some of these factories were fairly successful and lived on in the 20th century.

65. On the history of this production, see HELBIG, 1946a. See also DANSAERT, 1922, 106-107 and 256-258.

66. A detailed history of these factories remains to be written. In the meantime, see VANDENBERGHE, 1985b, 481.

67. On the Tournai porcelain, see mainly MARIEN-DUGARDIN, 172 and the literature quoted there.

68. Thus, the 15th century majolicas are fairly regularly depicted on the paintings of that period, which generally represent rich interiors, but by the second half of the 16th century, they are also shown by paintings which represent less wealthy scenes, e.g. market scenes. See also VERHAEGHE, 1987.

69. For a brief comment on these whitish wares, cf. infra.

70. Cf. VERHAEGHE, 1987.

71. A few examples of which - mainly storage vessels and a few odd objects of presumably low commercial value - were still around by 1500, notably in the old Duchy of Brabant.

72. To a large measure, they would be replaced by the industrially produced enamelled metal vessels in the case of cooking utensils, and by the finer but by the 19th century fairly common and equally industrially produced, low quality delftwares and creamwares ; the latter would gradually conquer the market of the tablewares.

73. Relatively low and fairly wide, almost dish-shaped vessels with a typical profiled rim, used mainly for the preparation of cheese. From the 14th to the 19th century, the shape does not change, though the sagging base now often has a footring instead of (three or five) pinched feet, while the rim becomes thicker and more heavily profiled as time progresses. A similar evolution has been identified for the milk-bowls in northern France, where the situation is directly comparable to the Flemish one ; see TIEGHEM & CARTIER, 1976. This pattern also is very well illustrated by the late and post-medieval finds from the Waasland (cf. infra).

74. Which are directly comparable to the mid-14th and 15th century examples. Cf. infra.

75. Cf. SLOOTMANS, 1970 ; WEIJS, VAN DE WATERING & SLOOTMANS, 1970. The international importance of this center, at the time part of the old Duchy of Brabant, may well have been thus that the situation of the Bergen op Zoom potters was somewhat different from that of the potters working in the Flemish towns, but on the other hand, there are sufficient indications that comparisons are possible, particularly as regards the attempts to protect the local industry.

76. Cf. TILLIE, 1983.

77. Cf. BAILLEUL, 1980 ; LIEVOIS, 1984 ; id., 1985.

78. Cf. MERTENS, 1966, 238. Late medieval kilns and wasters were also discovered in Tienen (Veldbornestraat, 1936) (cf. BORREMANS, 1963, 26-27) and it seems a fair guess that the production of local wares did not stop during the 16th and 17th centuries.

79. VAN HOONACKER, 1974, 3. In the 19th and 20th centuries, both common and decorated wares would still be produced in this town ; ibid., passim.

80. Cf. note (30).

81. According to VAN HOONACKER, 1974, 6, 19th century productions existed in Diksmuide, Haringe, Wervik, Warneton, Ieper, Izegem, Menen and Roeselare and in view of the general regional or subregional market importance of these agglomerations, the existence of post-medieval productions and kilns is indeed quite probable. Unfortunately, neither historical nor archaeological proof is yet available.

82. A nice and interesting example of such a find is that of the presumably late 18th or early 19th c. production center in Bree near Maaseik (province of Limburg), which also produced slipware dishes in a tradition clearly influenced by the German Hafnerpottery. VAN DE KONIJNENBURG, 1982. Cf. infra.

83. POTTIER, 1986 ; with thanks to T. Oost and W. Pottier for the information.

84. With thanks to T. Oost and M.-C. Laleman for this information.

85. In 1574, Marcus van Vaernewyck describes Meerbeke as the place where the "best and strongest earthen pots of Flanders and other earthenware" are made (Hier maeckt men die beste ende stercste eerden potten van Vlaenderen ende ander eerden werck). Furthermore, the Gent potters at some stage indicate that while they want to protect their trade against imported goods, they do not wish to have the sale of pottery from Meerbeke prohibited. Both indications suggest that the Meerbeke production may have been fairly important, but little is known about the products themselves. On this subject, see LIEVOIS, 1984, 43 and note (21).

86. Cf. VERHAEGHE, 1987.

87. BEECKMANS & LAURIJNS (eds.), 1978. For the Mechelen finds, see note (11).

88. See for instance VANDENBERGHE, 1973.

89. SWIMBERGHE, 1983 ; id., 1983a ; id., 1985.

90. LALEMAN, RAVESCHOT & VANDEWALLE (eds.), 1985.

91. See in particular the references concerning Leuven, the eastern part of the province of Brabant, Antwerpen, etc.

92. The word comes from the Lower German dialect and is commonly used in the Dutch and Flemish literature to designate the tripod cooking-pots or pipkins.

93. See fig. 17. Such objects were used to store the milk until a layer of cream had been formed on the level immediately above the spout ; the milk can then be poured out while the cream remains in the pot. The two handles and the widening mouth facilitate the operations. See DE KLEYN, 1965, 68-69 ; SWIMBERGHE, 1983a, 78 and fig. 24, nr. 8.

94. Chamber-pots in stoneware, in metal (pewter), or even in delftware are also known, particularly from the 17th century onwards. Several examples of the latter have already been discovered in archaeological contexts, for instance in Brugge (see VANDENBERGHE, 1983, 79, fig. 53) and they seem to exist side by side. Later, the red ware chamber-pots would also gradually be ousted by the more sophisticated products.

95. Probably used by pipe-smokers. Cf. SWIMBERGHE, 1983, 79-80, figs. 54 (bottom) and 56. They have a square mouth, fairly straight sides, a circular base and one small handle set on one of the angles of the mouth.

96. Their function is not very well defined and some of them - particularly those with a large perforated inner flange along the rim - were used to carry burning (char)coal, thus constituting a kind of portable heater. But not all of them have the characteristic sooting on the inside, which makes it plausible to identify at least some of them as "carrying- bags" comparable to those depicted on a few Dutch paintings. On these objects, see Verdraaid goed gedraaid, 125-126 ; GROENEWEG, 1982, 89 ; SWIMBERGHE, 1983a, 78-79.

97. Such objects were used to provide adequate nesting facilities for starlings (and other birds ?) and also to make it possible for the owner to steal the eggs. For the best present survey of these objects (including a very good bibliography), see VAN DE WALLE, 1983.

98. Cf. VERHAEGHE, 1982, passim ; id., 1986.

99. For instance Geraardsbergen (cf. VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 2, nr. 18 (broad-shouldered pitcher) and pl. 1, nrs. 1 and 2 (chamber-pots)) and Gent (Graven naar Gents verleden, frontispiece : jug decorated with two slip-trailed keys, discovered in the Saint Peter's abbey and dating from the 17th century).

100. Cf. note (96).

101. It has been indicated that the wheelturned flat base is more characteristic of the North Holland slipdecorated bowls than of the Flemish ones (HURST, NEAL & VAN BEUNINGEN, 1975, 49), but in view of the still very scanty information about the Flemish examples, this statement may be somewhat too strong. At any rate, a few examples of such decorated bowls with a sagging base and a footring have been recovered as surface finds on the occasion of fieldwalking operations in the are a south of Gent.

102. HURST, NEAL & VAN BEUNINGEN, 1975, passim.

103. See for instance SWIMBERGHE, 1983, 77, fig. 50, as well as a few examples from the Waasland, illustrated below.

104. HURTRELLE & JACQUES, 1983, pl. XXXIV and 31-32.

105. Ibid., pl. XXXI-XXXII and pp. 27-29 and 68-69.

106. Cf. DESEL, 1974 ; VAN BEUNINGEN, 1974 ; VAN BEUNINGEN, HURST & NEAL, 1981.

107. Cf. HURST, NEAL & VAN BEUNINGEN, 1975, 49-51.

108. Cf. TRIMPE BURGER, 1974, 5-7.

109. With sincere thanks to Mr. S. Vandenberghe for this information.

110. LIEVOIS, 1984, 42-43.

111. See the examples of such bowls in (DUPREZ) (ed.), fig. 76.

112. For a nice example such a firecover, see the front cover of RENAUD, 1973. For an example of a slipware bowl from Bergen of Zoom, see WEIJS, 1970, fig. 18.

113. Cf. VAN DOORNE, 1985, 20.

114. SWIMBERGHE, 1983, 174 and figs. 26, 27 and 54.

115. A number of them have been discovered in Leuven ; cf. PROVOOST & VAES (eds.), 1980, 84-86.

116. As demonstrated by a number of surface finds recovered during fieldwalking operations.

117. See also a very general survey by MATTHYS, 1966. A number of comparable slipware dishes with characteristic concentric or spiraling lines were discovered in Bree (near Maaseik, province of Limburg) in an area which belongs more to the Meuse valley region than to the Brabant-Flanders tradition, as far as pottery styles go. Some of these 18th century dishes in fact appear to be local products. Cf. VAN DE KONIJNENBURG, 1982 and id., 1983 (particularly fig. 3). For the Meuse valley, see for instance WILLEMS & THIRION, 1981-82, 27.

118. Examples of which are known both from Brugge (first half of the 17th century) (SWIMBERGHE, 1983a, 76 and fig. 26, nr. 21) and from Gent (VAN DOORNE, 1985, fig. A6, 17th century). Brussels yielded a certain number of globular Grapen with rounded handles ; they are dated in the 16th and 17th centuries, but the context (which was excavated in 1930-31) may not be wholly reliable ; cf. BORREMANS, 1963, 5-7.

119. An example of the first type is shown by SWIMBERGHE, 1983, fig. 25. nr. 17, while the second type is illustrated by some finds from the Gent Saint Peter's abbey (VAN DOORNE, 1985, figs. A17-A19).

120. To be compared with fig. 2-3 and 34-36.

121. Such as those from the Gent Saint-Peter's abbey, mentioned in note (119) cf. fig. 2-3 and 35.

122. cf. fig. 1.

123. VAN DOORNE, 1985, 19 and figs. A1-A4. The slipware jug, decorated with keys in trailed slip and found in the Saint Peter's abbey (cf. the front cover of Graven naar Gents verleden, 1976) equally belongs in this category.

124. See for instance WEIJS, 1970, figs. 13 and 14.

125. As has been suggested by DE KLEYN, 1965, 90-91 and by GROENEWEG, 1982, 89-90.

126. For some examples of these, see for instance SWIMBERGHE, 1983a, figs. 23, nr.2 ; 24, nr. 12 and 25, nrs. 14-15. Similar examples are also known from the Bergen op Zoom area (cf. WEIJS, 1970, figs. 33 and 16 ; GROENEWEG, VANDENBULCKE L. & WEIJS, 1985, fig. 2, h.) and from Gent (VAN DOORNE, 1985, fig. B1).

127. GROENEWEG, VANDENBULCKE & WEIJS, 1985, 13-14 and fig. 3, a-c.

128. As has already been indicated, the kitchen and even the courtyard also number a whole series of other objects such as strainers (128), lamps, lids, flower-pots (cf. fig. 23), small beakers, small and sometimes slipdecorated jug-like objects, small albarelli-shaped objects generally thought to be used for unguents, "carrying-bags" and heaters (see fig. 16), chafing-dishes (among them a few deep, straight-sided ones with slipdecoration, three little feet, a handle and upright knobs on the rim, as with the late 17th or 18th century, brownblack glazed example from Brugge, see fig. 18), cream-pots (see fig. 17), ash-cups, a whole score of different cups, small dishes, bowls, etc. It would lead us too far to discuss these in detail, particularly as - to the mind of the present author - the available evidence does not yet allow us to try and describe their evolution, let alone analyze it.

129. In some cases, as with the examples from Geraardsbergen (Grammont) (VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 1, nrs. 1,2 and 10), the base may be slightly sagging and have a frilled footring. Such objects then strongly resemble small jugs and are regognizable as chamber-pots only because of the rim and of the residue visible on the inside.

130. WEIJS, 1970, fig. 12 ; GROENEWEG, 1985, fig. 11, b.

131. Cf. VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 1, nrs. 1 and 2.

132. Such chamber-pots with footring were also produced in Bergen op Zoom during the first half of the 16th century. See for instance WEIJS, 1970, fig. 11.

133. See for instance VAN DOORNE, 1985, figs. A15 and B2.

134. PROVOOST & VAES (eds.), 1980, fig. 4.19.

135. VANDENBERGHE, 1983, 78 and 82 and fig. 29, nrs. 53-55. This context belonging to an obviously well-off household, the high frequency of delftware pisspots is not altogether surprising.

136. A number of fragments of such items have been discovered as surface finds during fieldwalking operations in the area south of Gent. On the possibility of a local production of such whitish or yellow wares, cf. infra.

137. See for instance VAN DOORNE, 1985, fig. B22.

138. Ibid., fig. A52.

139. Ibid., A51.

140. See VANDENHOUTE, 1975, 181 (and catalogue nr. 476).

141. See for instance VAN DOORNE, 1985, 20 and id., 1985a, 27.

142. With thanks to T.Oost and D. Demets for this information ; see also DE METS, 1982, 71-72.

143. Cf. MERTENS, 1966, 231.

144. With the probable exception of the eastern provinces of the Low Countries, where the influences of the German (Lower Rhine) products and of the Meuse traditions appear to have been stronger than elsewhere.

145. A nice example of such a jug was found in the Hof van Watervliet context in Brugge ; cf. VANDENBERGHE, 1983, 80-81 and fig. 57. On this particular type of jug, see also KOHNEMANN, 1982, 189-199 (giving simply a series of such friezes, found on Raeren jugs) and HELLEBRANDT, 1977, passim. Quite a number of these jugs bear a stamped date (the year 1598 being particularly common), but some of these quite probably are somewhat younger, the moulds perhaps having been used for a fairly long time.

146. Sherds of these occur fairly regularly, even during fieldwalking operations throughout Flanders. They occur in the 17th and 18th centuries, are characterized by the fine moulded decoration and the cobalt-blue and grey colour contrasts, and were imported from different centers in the Westerwald area, Raeren, Bouffioulx and elsewhere. A nice series of such jugs, Schnellen, mugs and vases was discovered in the Saint Peter's abbey in Gent : RAVESCHOT, 1985, 30 and figs. A63 ss.

147. See for instance VANDENBERGHE, 1981, 270 (Bouffioulx, late 18th century, with cobalt blue decoration with flowers).

148. So far, the Flemish finds have never been studied systematically. For some details concerning this kind of object, see WITTOP KONING, 1975-76 and id., 1978-79.

149. For a general survey of the Siegburg, Langerwehe and Raeren types, see BECKMANN, 1975, passim (for the 13th-15th century Siegburg types) ; REINEKING-VON BOCK, 1971, nrs. 125-246 and KLINGE, 1972, passim (for a selection of the 15th century and later Siegburg products, including some of the decorated items) ; HURST, 1977 (for the Langerwehe products and their relation to the other stonewares) ; HELLEBRANDT, 1977, passim and REINEKING-VON BOCK, 1971, nrs. 338-388 (for general information and examples of the Raeren products). Most of the published Flemish post-medieval contexts and collections which include 16th and (early) 17th century objects also include a number of Raeren products (see the bibliography at the end of the present paper).

150. On the general history of the Rhenish stonewares, see mainly the still very useful if somewhat old study by VON FALKE, 1908 ; REINEKING-VON BOCK, 1971 (slightly revised edition in 1977) (with a fairly extensive bibliography on pp. 79-88) ; very useful information concerning the Frechen production will of course be found in GÖBELS, 971 ; see also GÖBELS & SCHNITZLER, 1974. It may be noted here that - although presently lying within the Belgian borders - the kilns of the Raeren group basically are to be considered part of the Rhenish stoneware centers ; the major works on this group are HELLEBRANDT, 1977 ; MAYER, 1977 ; KOHNEMAN, 1982 (the latter unfortunately only gives drawings and does not really discuss either the finds or their significance and chronology) ; Hellebrandt's and Mayer's studies require updating, but they still can render important services. On the Aachen stonewares, see i.a. HUGOT, 1977. Equally of interest is MARIEN, 1985 (on the iconography of the Raeren decorations, a subject hitherto too long neglected).

151. On these kilns and on the stonewares from this center, see mainly VAN BASTELAER & KAISIN, 1880 ; id., 1881 ; VAN BASTELAER, 1885 ; MATTHYS, 1971. Strangely enough, there still is a major lack of usable and well-excavated material, while some aspects of the production still require further (archaeological) investigation ; it is for these reasons (amongst others) that the local Society, the Société du Vieux Châtelet, recently decided to create a Center for the study of the Bouffioulx-Châtelet stonewares.

152. Ibid. ; the links with northern France are particularly interesting and would bear further (archaeological) investigation.

153. See for instance RAVESCHOT, 1985, 30. The Bouffioulx-Châtelet stonewares are either brownish or greyish, depending on the surface treatment. The saltglaze often is mottled or even patchy, the body of the sherd sometimes being visible through it ; cf. MATTHYS, 1971, 11.

154. See for instance RAVESCHOT, 1978, Another example of such an inkbottle has recently turned up in Gent.

155. See for instance MORISSON, 1969 (mainly plates 10-11 and 6-7), to be compared with BECKMANN, 1975, Taf. 82, 4-10 and Taf 78-79.

156. I thank Mr. S. Vandenberghe for this information which he kindly provided me with. See also VANDENBERGHE, 1980, 166, nr. 36 and id., 1976a, 154, nr. 47 for an example.

157. VANDENBERGHE, 1983-84 ; id. 1985c.

158. BEEKMANS, 1985.

159. VANDENBERGHE, 1983-84, 89 and notes 5 and 6.

160. VANDENBERGHE, 1983, 80 and fig. 28, nr. 40.

161. RAVESCHOT, 1985, 30 and fig. B23.

162. Cf. VERHAEGHE, 1986.

163. See for instance DESEL, 1974, 17-19, who only lists Brugge and Antwerpen (with Lille and Saint-Omer in northern France and with Aardenburg near Brugge).

164. See for instance VAN BEUNINGEN, 1974, 21 and VAN BEUNINGEN, HURST & NEAL, 1981.

165. See for instance VANDENBERGHE, 1980, 165-166, nrs. 30-31 and 33-35. I am grateful to Mr. S. Vandenberghe for supplementary information on this subject.

166. Cf. supra and note (156).

167. E. G. TIEGHEM & CARTIER, 1976 ; HURTRELLE & JACQUES, 1983 : KNOBLOCH, 1978.

168. A comprehensive study of these contexts and of the finds is presently being prepared by R. Van Hove and will be published in the Bijdragen van de Archeologische Dienst Waasland, Vol. III. The drawings of the Waasland finds included in the present paper have been prepared by R. Van Hove and by the Archeologishe Dienst Waasland.

169. On the history of this abbey, see G. ASAERT, L'abbaye de Baudeloo à Sinaai-Waes, puis à Gand. Monasticon belge, t. VII. Province de Flandre orientale, 3ème volume, Liège, 1980, 239-269. Since 1970, annual excavation campaigns have been carried out on this site by the V.O.B.O.V. and by the National Service of Excavations. The campaigns were directed by A. De Belie and a number of interim reports have been published in the annual Conspectus in the series Archaeologia Belgica. See also De abdij van Boudelo (1982).

170. This context was studied in 1976-78 by R. VAN HOVE, 1977-78. It yielded ca. 10.000 sherds including ca. 100 almost complete vessels.

171. On the archaeology of this site, see R. VAN HOVE. Het Bordburehof te Bazel : een middeleeuwse site met walgracht en pre-middeleeuwse nederzetingssporen. Een overzicht van de onderzoeksresultaten (1979-81). Bijdragen van de Archeologische Dienst Waasland, I, 1986, 129-183.

172. The study still being in progress, the percentages may still shift a little; everything indicates, however, that such changes will not really affect the main conclusions as they are bound to be very limited.

173. The remainder consists of non-identifiable fragments.

174. Cf. HURST, NEAL & VAN BEUNINGEN, 1975.

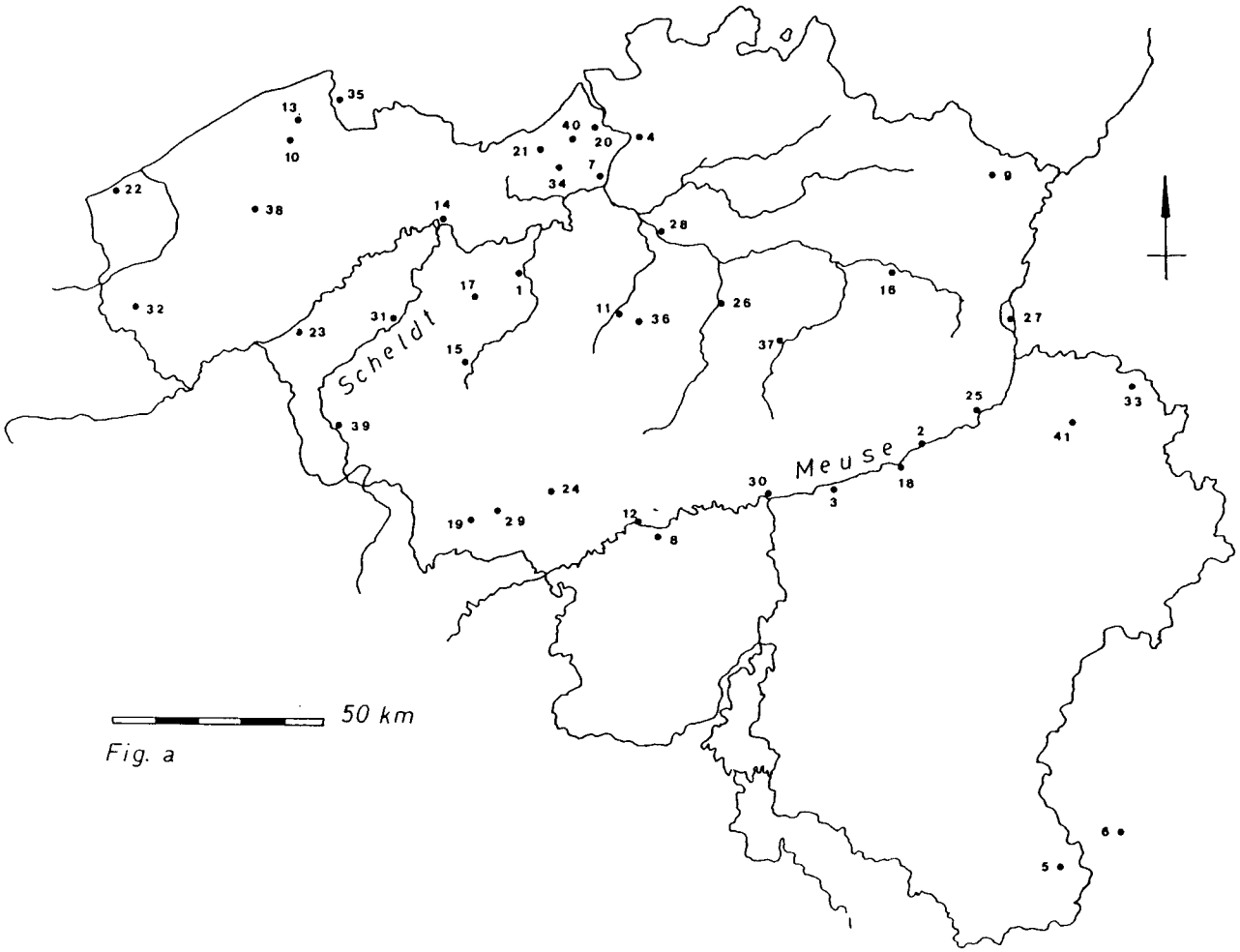
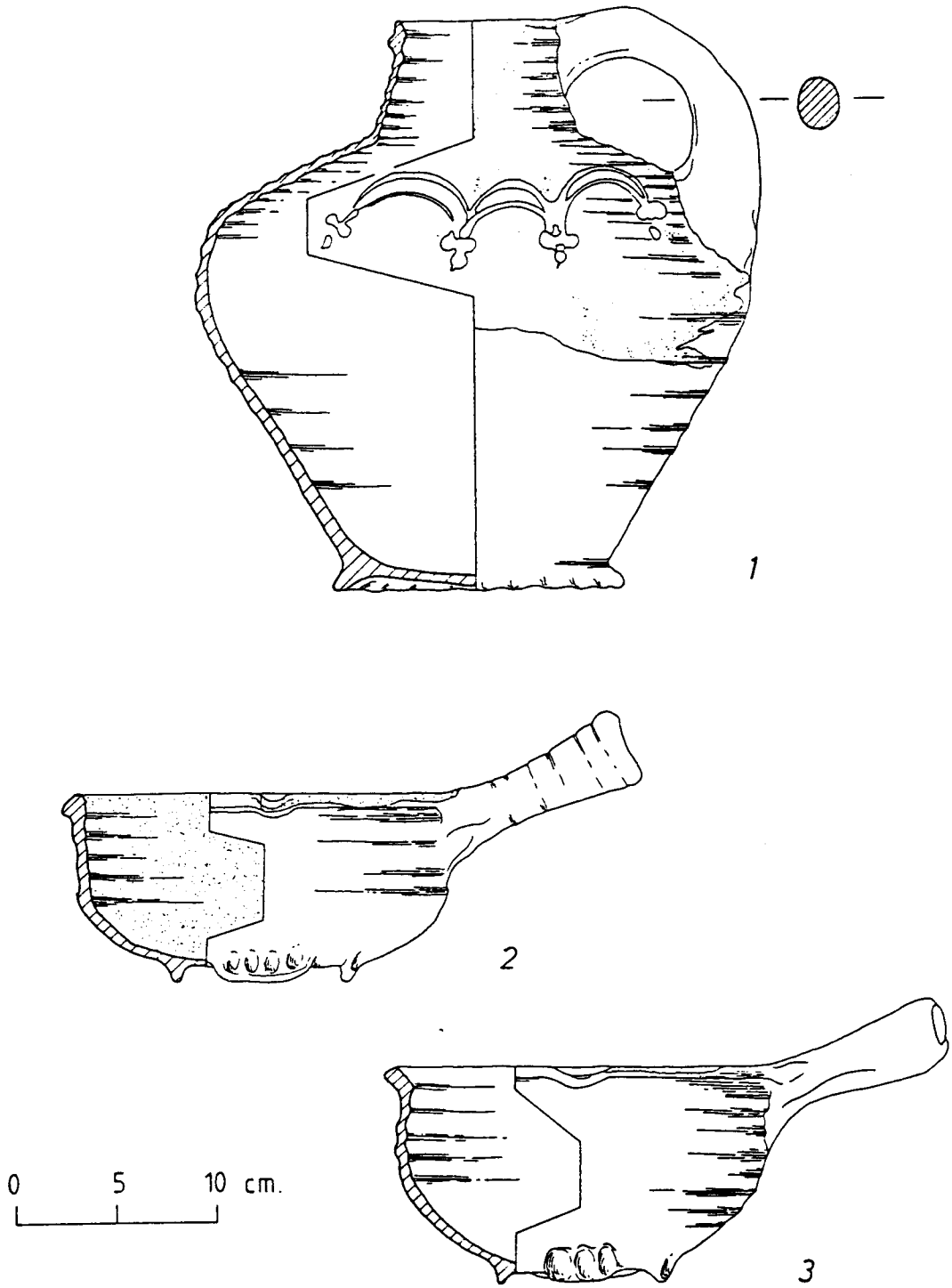


Fig. a

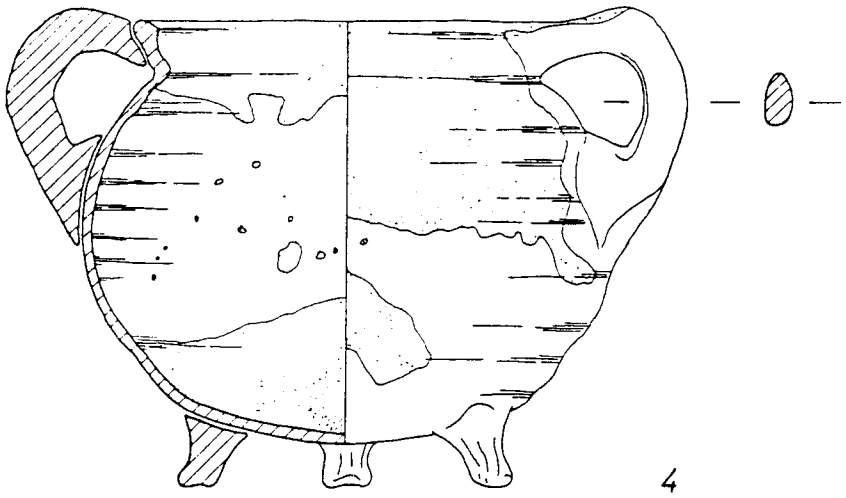
FIGURE a

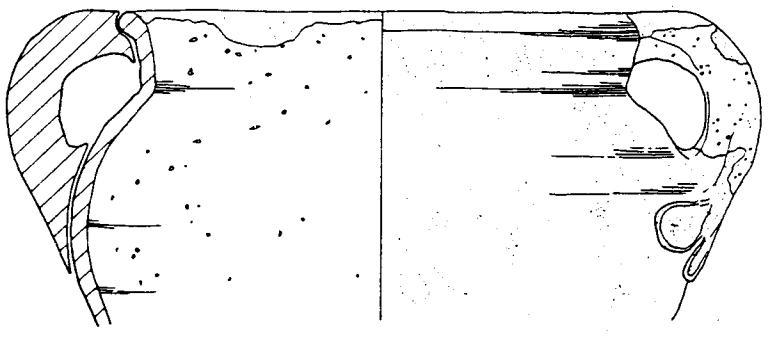
Sites mentioned in the text / Sites mentionnés dans le texte:
1) Aalst. 2) Amay. 3) Andenne. 4) Antwerpen. 5) Arlon. 6) Attert (L). 7) Bazel. 8) Bouffioulx-Pont-à-Loups. 9) Bree. 10) Brugge. 11) Brussels. 12) Charleroi. 13) Damme. 14) Gent. 15) Geraardsbergen (Grammont). 16) Herckenrode abbey. 17) Herzele. 18) Huy. 19) Jemappes. 20) Kallo-polder. 21) Klein-Sinaai (Stekene). 22) Koksijde. 23) Kortrijk. 24) La Louvière. 25) Liège. 26) Leuven. 27) Maastricht (NL). 28) Mechelen. 29) Mons. 30) Namur. 31) Oudenaarde. 32) Raeren. 33) Poperinge. 34) Sint-Niklaas. 35) Sluis (NL). 36) Tervuren. 37) Tienen. 38) Torhout. 39) Tournai. 40) Verrebroek. 41) Verviers.
Contexts from the Waasland / Contextes au Pays de Waes:
21) Boudelo abbey (Klein-Sinaai) (Context / Contexte *A). 40) Verrebroek (Church* / Eglise*) (Context* / Contexte *B). 7) Bordburehof (Bazel) (Context* / Contexte *C). 34) Castrohof (Sint-Niklaas) (Context* / Contexte *D). 20) Kallo-polder (Context* / Contexte *E)*

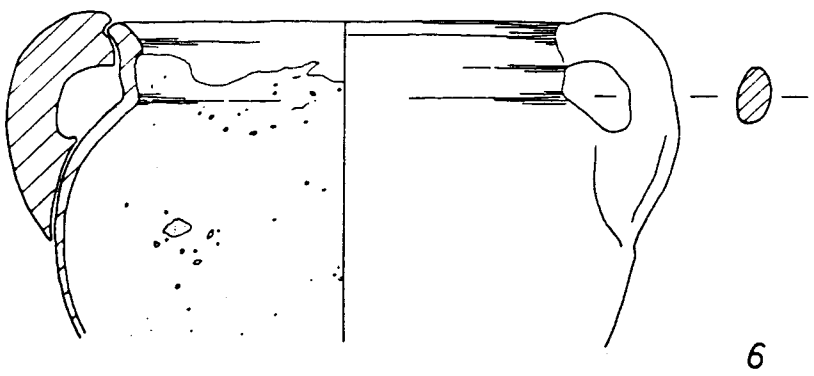


FIGURES 1 - 3

Red earthenware, pitcher and handled cookingbowls, early 16th c., Geraardsbergen (after VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 2, nr. 18, pl. 1, nr. 11 and pl. 2, nr. 19) (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, cruche et pots à cuisson à anses, début du 16e siècle, Grammont (d'après VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 2, n° 18, pl. 1, n° 11 et pl. 2, n° 19) (Echelle: 1/3)

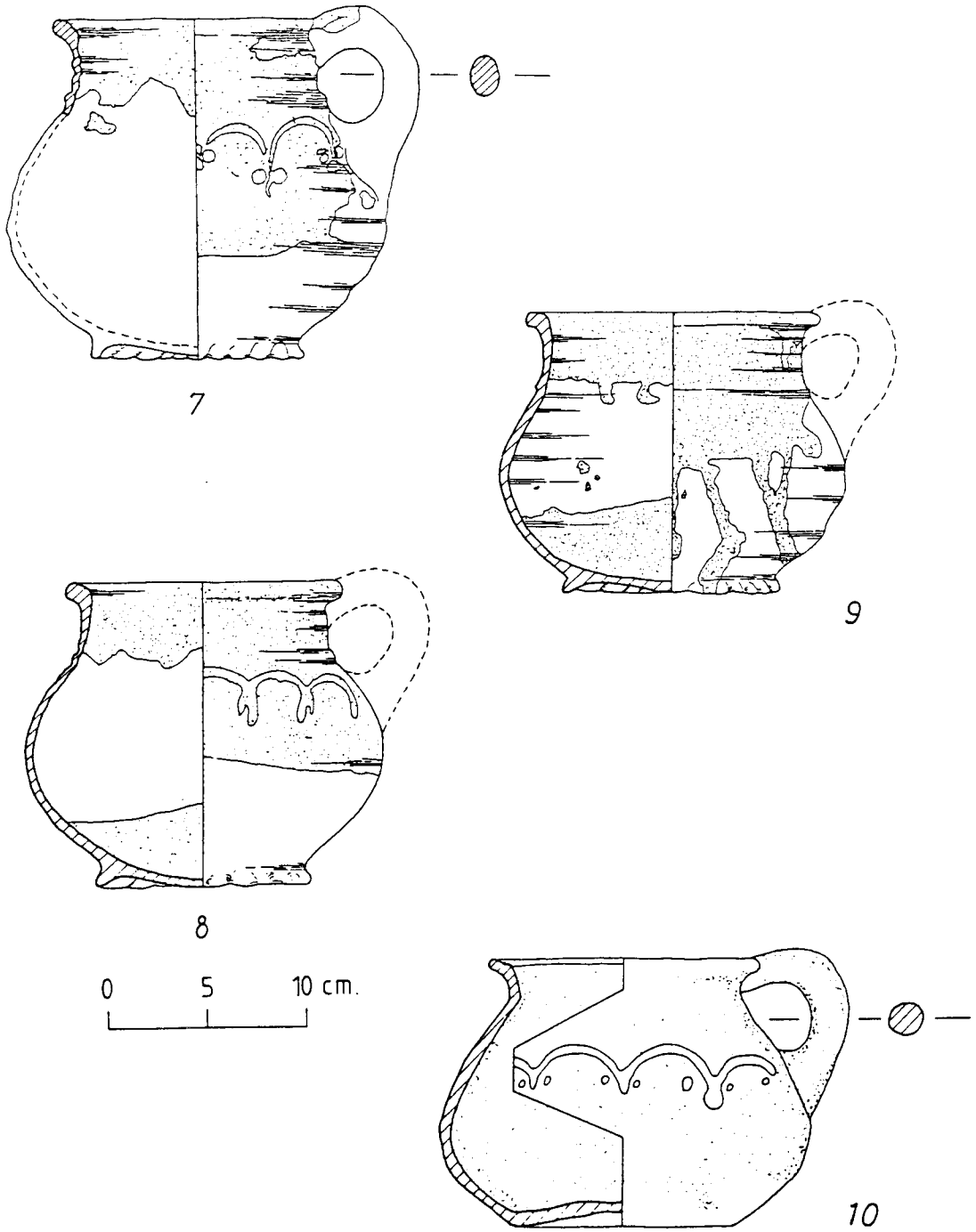






FIGURES 4 - 6

Red earthenware, Grapen, *early 16th c., Geraardsbergen (after VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 3, nrs. 22, 24 and 26). (Scale: 1/3)*
Céramique rouge, *Grapen*, début du 16e siècle, Grammont (d'après VANDENBERGHE, 1978), pl. 3, n° 22, 24 et 16). (Echelle: 1/3)

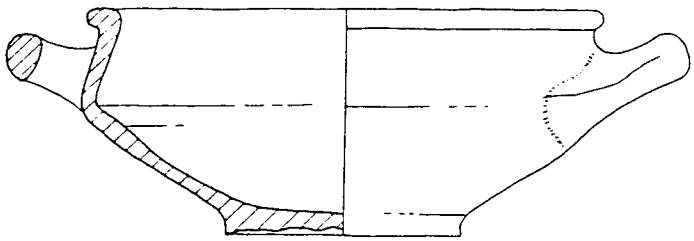


FIGURES 7 - 9

Red earthenware, chamber-pots, early 16th c., Geraardsbergen (after VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 1, nrs. 1, 2 and 10). (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, pots-de-chambre, début ou milieu du 16e siècle, Grammont (d'après VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 1, n° 1, 2 et 10). (Echelle: 1/3)

FIGURE 10

Red earthenware, chamber-pot, early to mid 16th c., Antwerpen (after DEMETS, 1982a, fig. 18, nr. 268). (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, pot-de-chambre, début ou milieu du 16e siècle, Anvers (d'après DEMETS, 1982a, fig. 18, n° 268). (Echelle: 1/3)



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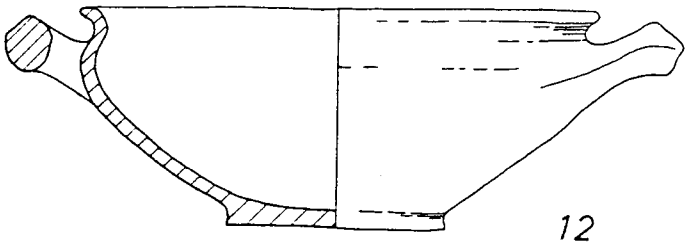

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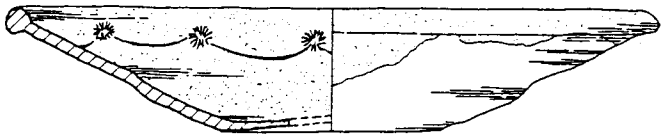

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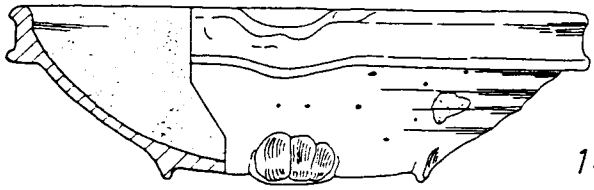

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FIGURES 11 - 12

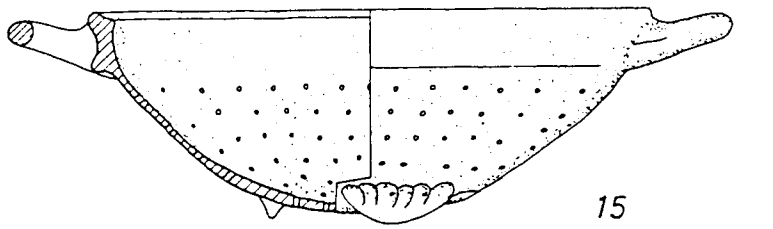
Red earthenware, handled bowls, 17th-18th c., Brugge, site van der Ghote, rubbish-pit A (after SWIMBERGHE, 1983, figs. 4 and 6). (Scale: 1/2.5)
Céramique rouge, écuelles ansées, 17e et 18e siècles, Brugge site van der Ghote, fosse A (d'après SWIMBERGHE, 1983, fig. 4 et 6). (Echelle: 1/2.5)

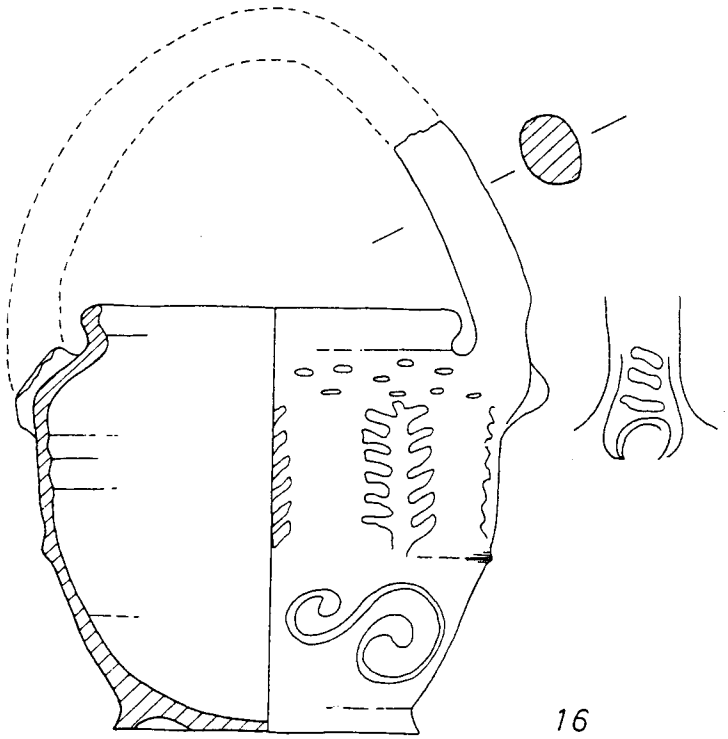
FIGURE 13

Whitish earthenware, slipdecorated dish, early 16th c., Geraardsbergen (after VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 1, nr. 4). (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique blanchâtre, assiette décorée à botine, début du 16e siècle, Grammont (d'après VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 1, n° 4). (Echelle: 1/3)

FIGURE 14

Red earthenware, milk-bowl, early 16th c., Geraardsbergen (after VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 3, nr. 28). (Scale: 193)
Céramique rouge, tèle-à-lait, début du 16e siècle, Grammont (d'après VANDENBERGHE, 1978, pl. 3, n° 28). (Echelle: 1/3)





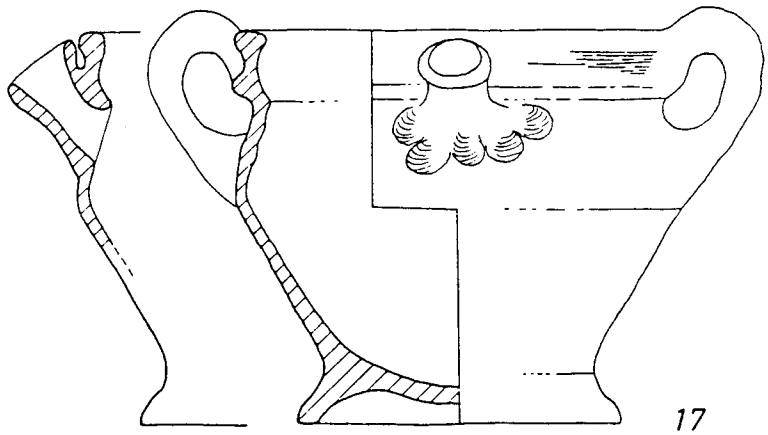
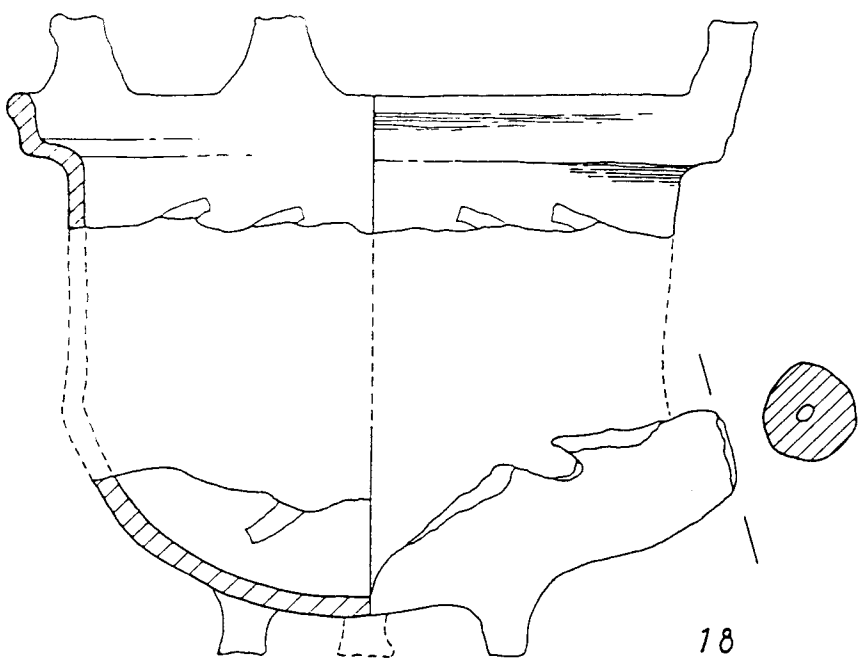


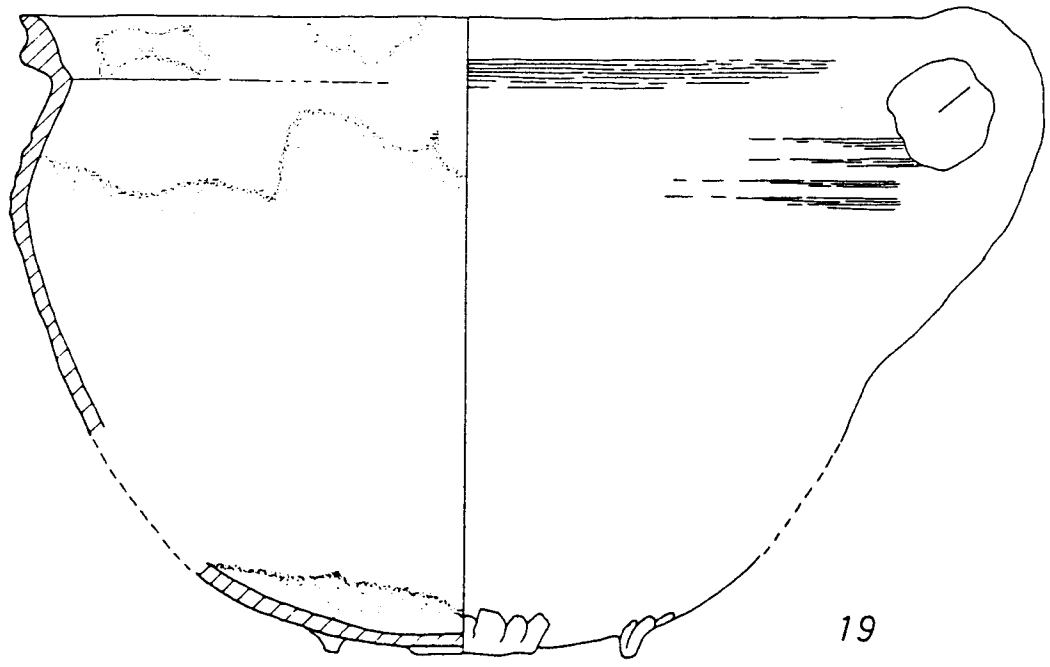
FIGURE 15

Whitish earthenware, strainer, 16th c., Antwerpen (after DEMETS, 1982, fig. 19, nr. 291). (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique blanchâtre, passoire, 16e siècle), Anvers (d'après DEMETS, 1982, fig. 19, n° 291). (Echelle: 1/3)

FIGURES 16 - 17

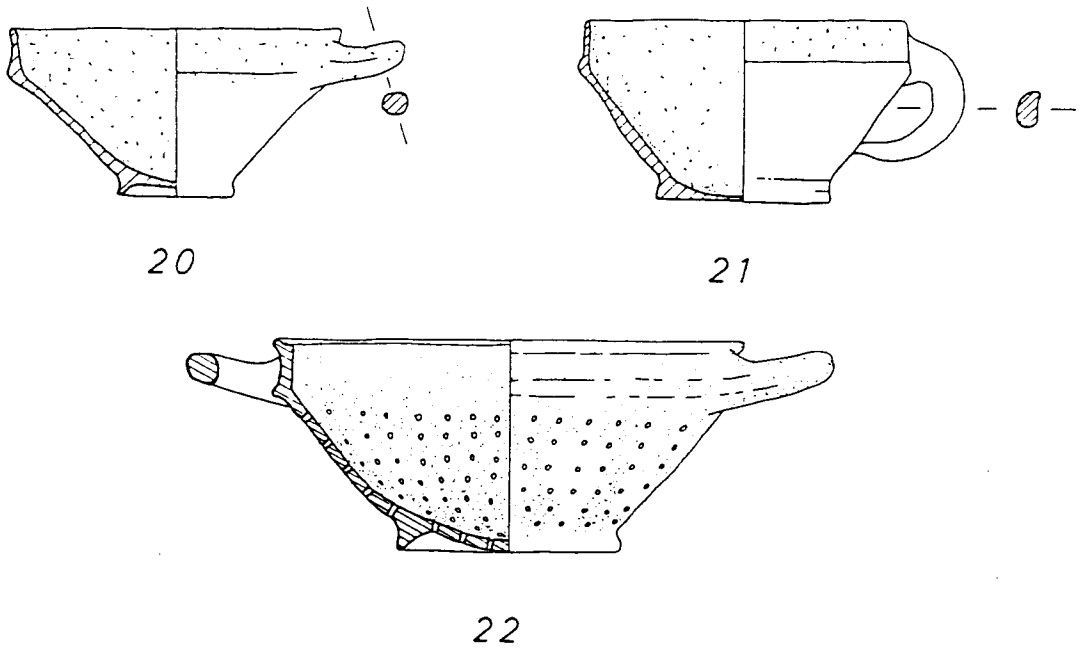
Red earthenware, heater in the form of a "carrying-bag" and cream-pot, 17th-18th c., Brugge, site van der Ghote (after SWIMBERGHE, 1983, figs. 32 and 7). (Scale: 1:2.5)
Céramique rouge, rechauffoir en forme de "pot-transporteur" et pot-à-écrémer, 17e et 18e siècles, Brugge, site van der Ghote (d'après SWIMBERGHE, 1983, fig. 32 et 7). (Echelle: 1:2.5)





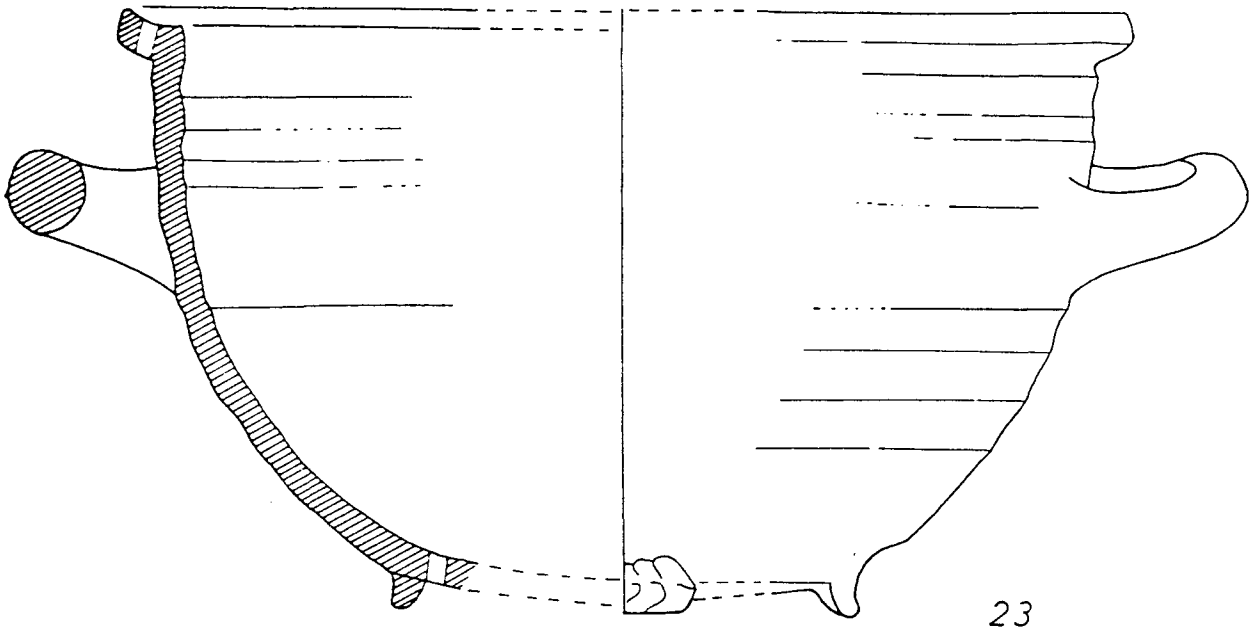
FIGURES 18 - 19

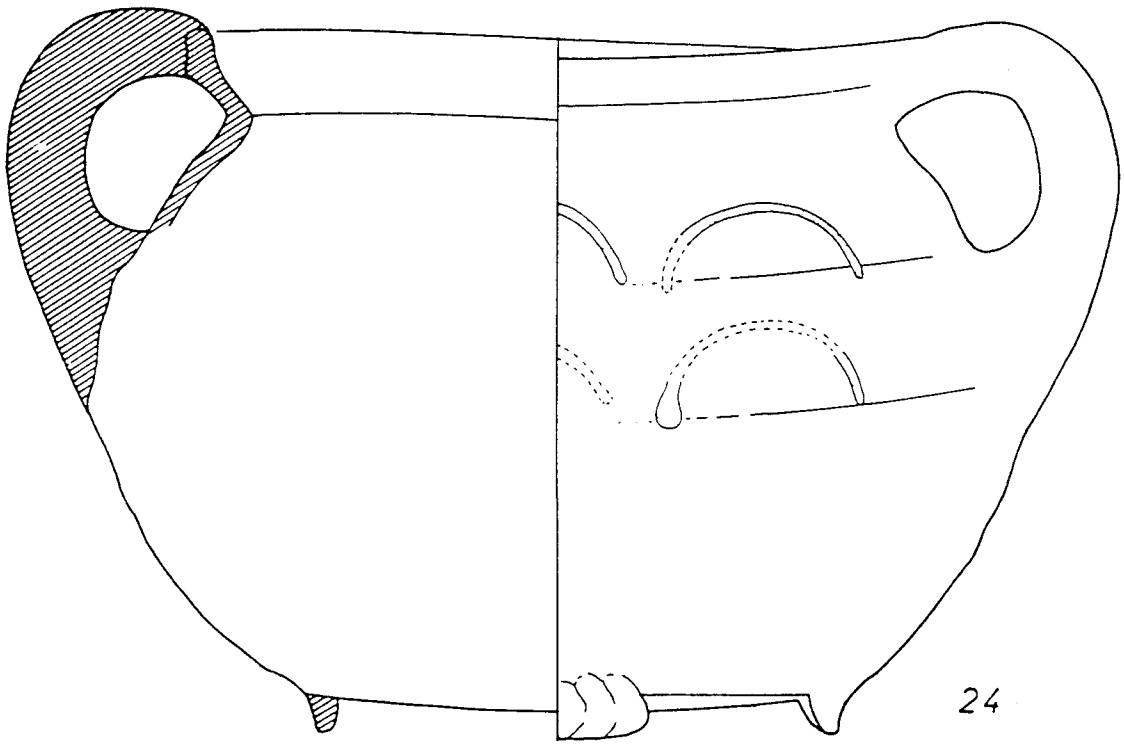
Red earthenware, heater and cooking-pot, 17th-18th c., Brugge, site van der Ghote (after SWIMBERGHE, 1983, figs. 8 and 3). (Scale: 1/2.5)
Céramique rouge, rechauffoir et pot à cuisson, 17e et 18e siècles, Brugge, site van der Ghote (d'après SWIMBERGHE, 1983, fig. 8 et 3). (Echelle: 1/2.5)



FIGURES 20 - 22

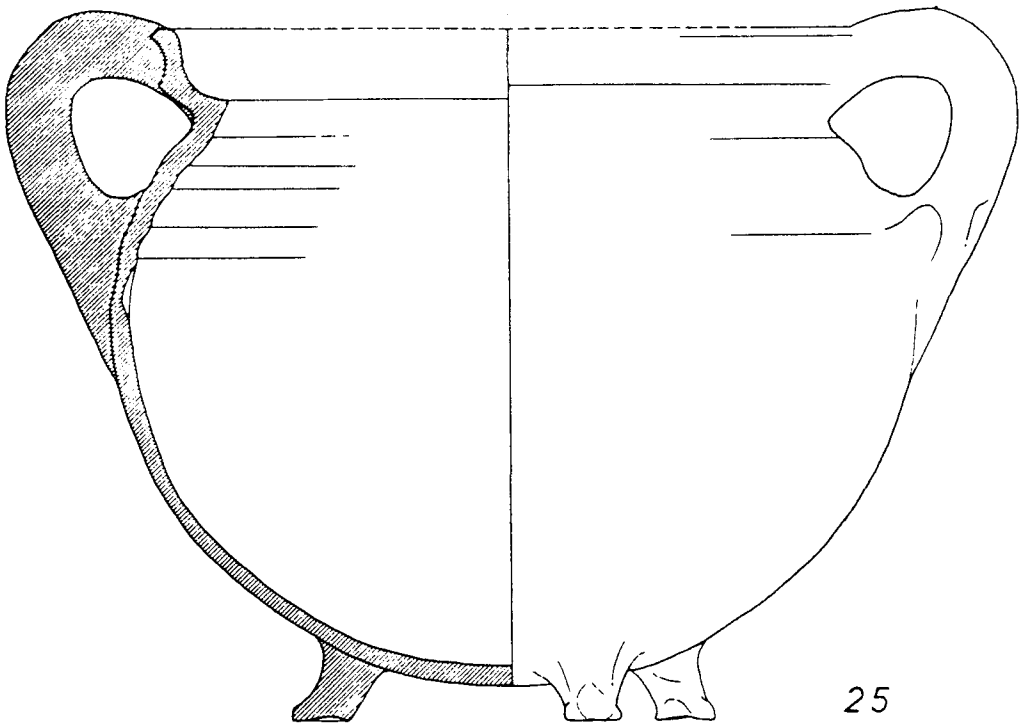
Red (fig. 20) and whitish earthenware, handled cups and strainer, 16th c., Antwerpen (after DEMETS, 1982 and 1982a, figs. 17, nrs. 227, 20, nr. 284 and 21, nr. 296). (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge (fig. 20) et blanchâtre, tasses ansées et passoire, 16e siècle, Anvers (d'après DEMETS, 1982 et 1982a, fig. 17, n° 227, 20 et 284 et 21, n° 296). (Echelle: 1/3)

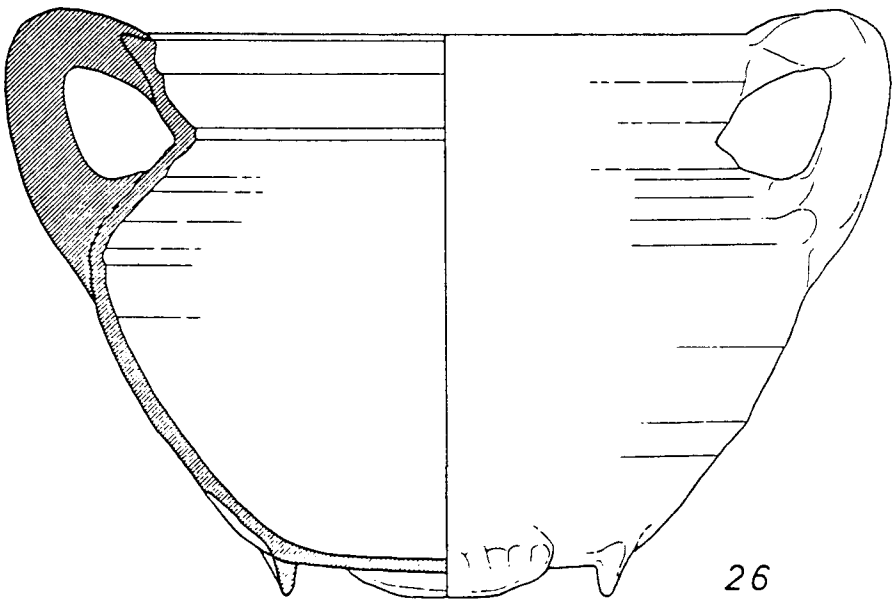




FIGURES 23 - 24

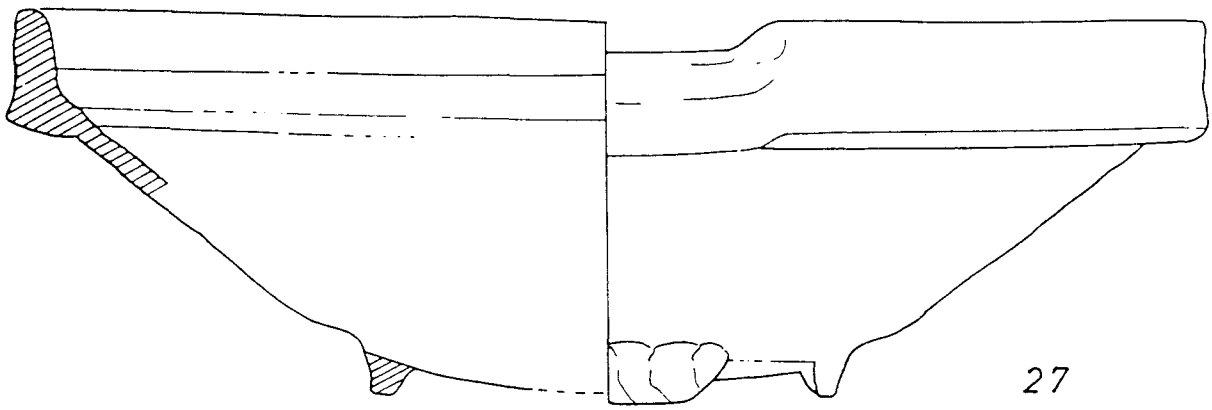
Red earthenware, flower-pot from Boudelo, early 16th c. and Grape *from Verrebroek, late 16th-early 17th c. (Scale: 1/3)*
Céramique rouge, pot à fleurs de Boudelo, début 16e siècle, et *Grape* de Verrebroek, fin 16e siècle - début 17e siècle. (Echelle: 1/3)

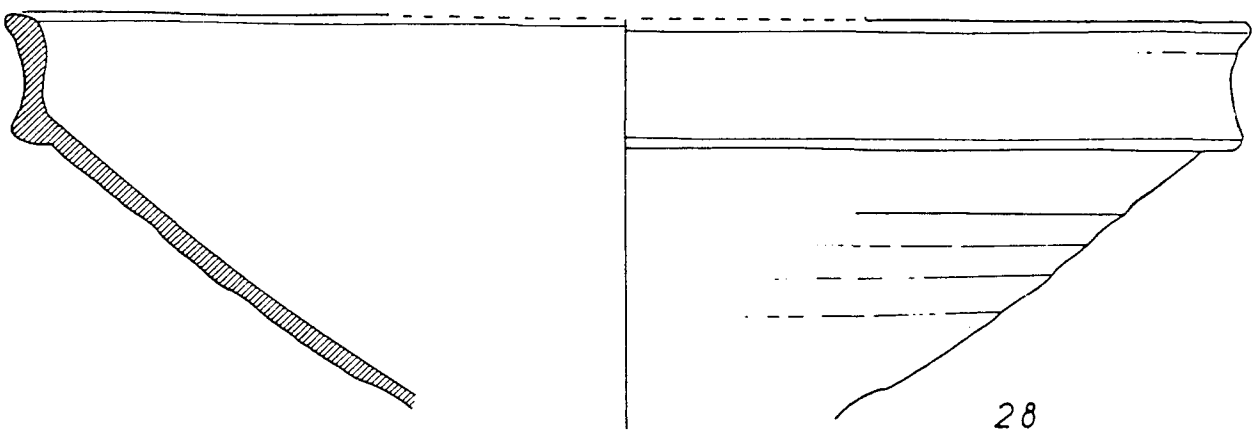


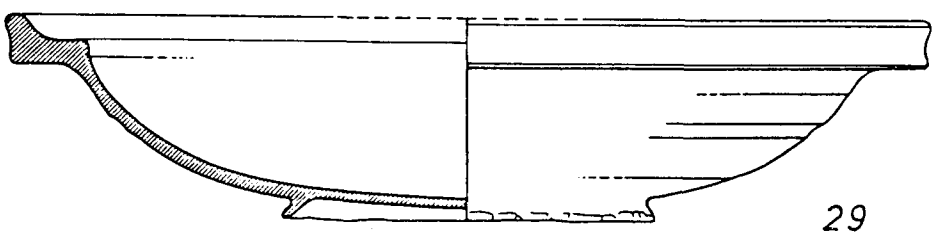


FIGURES 25 - 26

Red earthenware, Grapen *from Verrebroek, late 16th-early 17th c., and from Boudelo, early 16th c. (Scale: 1/3)*
Céramique rouge, *Grapen* de Verrebroek, fin 16e s. début 17e s., et de Boudelo, début du 16e s. (Echelle: 1/3)

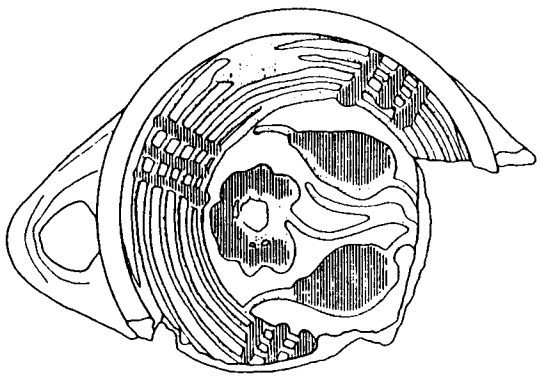




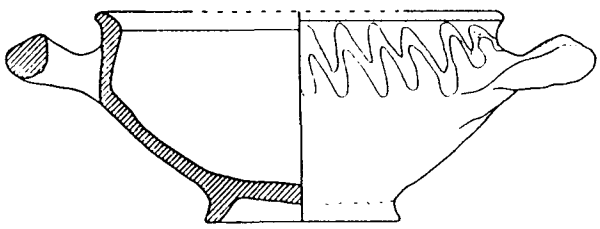


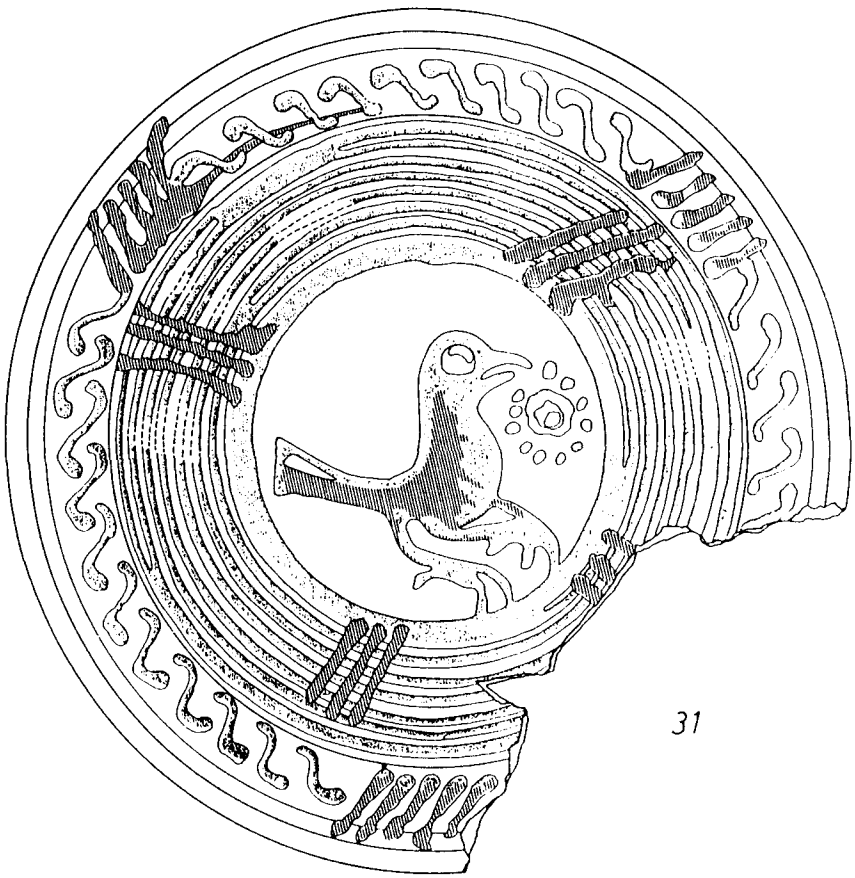
FIGURES 27 - 29

Red earthenware, milk-bowls and bowl from Verrebroek and Bazel (Bordburehof), late 16th and early 17th c. (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, tèle-à-lait et écuelle de Verrebroek et Bazel (Bordburehof), fin 16e s. et début 17e s. (Echelle: 1/3)



30





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FIGURES 30 - 31

Red earthenware, slipdecorated bowl and dish, Sint-Niklaas (Castrohof), mid-17th c. (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, écuelle décorée à la barbotine et assiette, Sint-Niklaas (Castrohof) milieu du 17e s. (Echelle: 1/3)

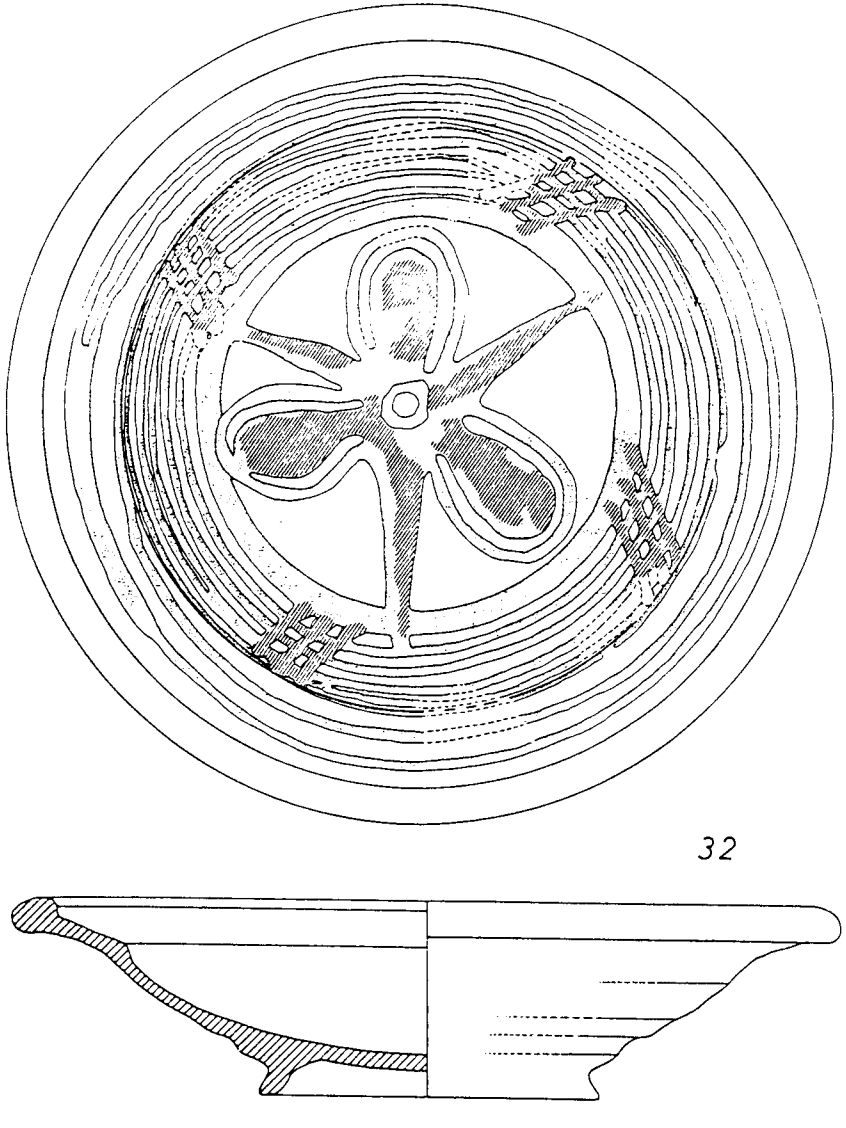


FIGURE 32

Red earthenware, slipdecorated bowl, Sint-Kiklaas (Castrohof), mid-17th c. (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, écuelle décorée à la barbotine, Sint-Niklaas (Castrohof), milieu du 17e c. (Echelle: 1/3)

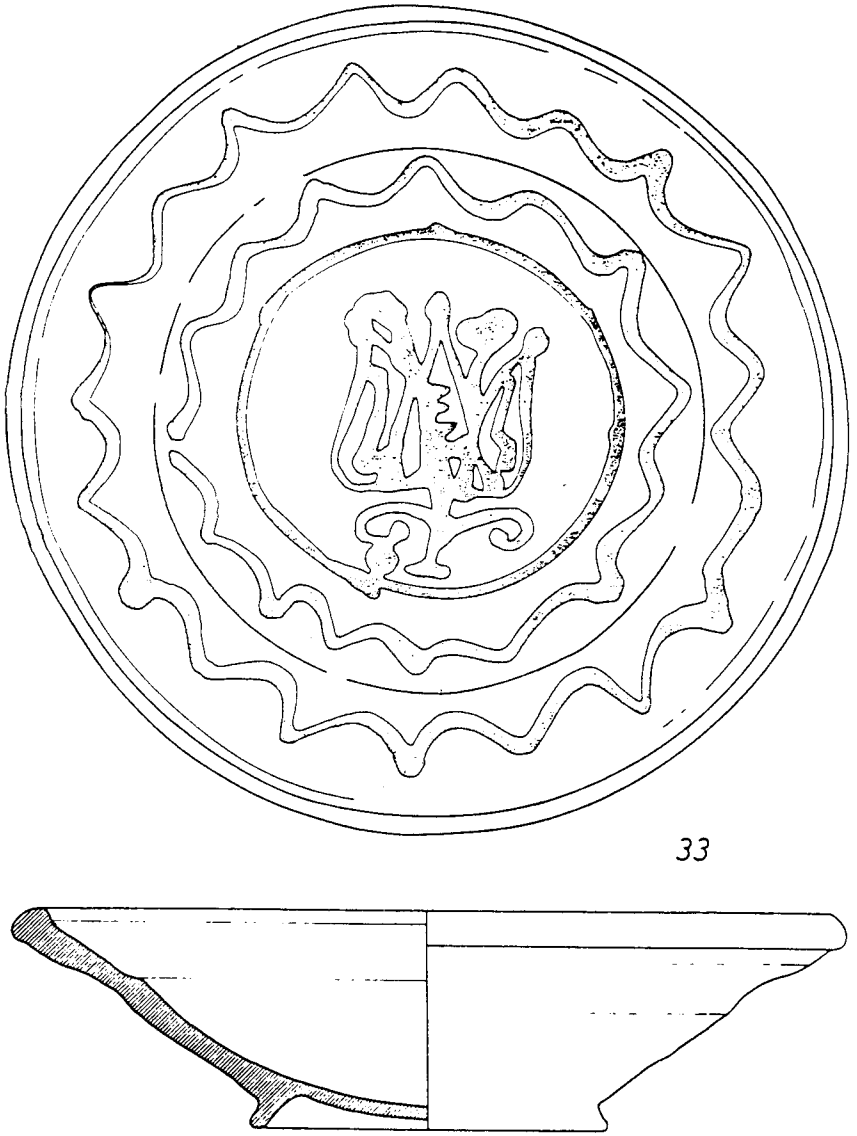
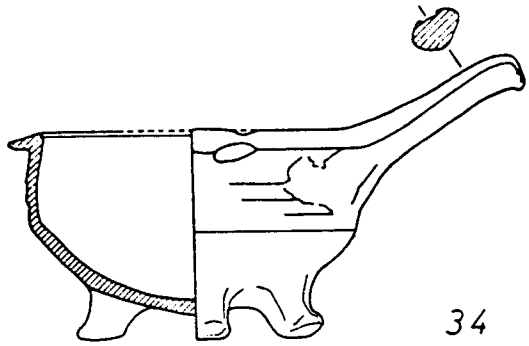
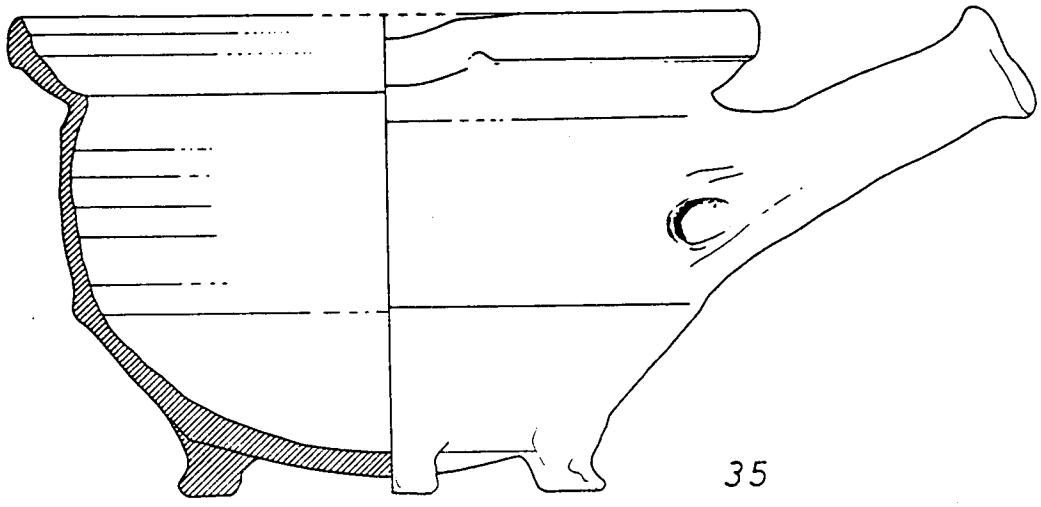
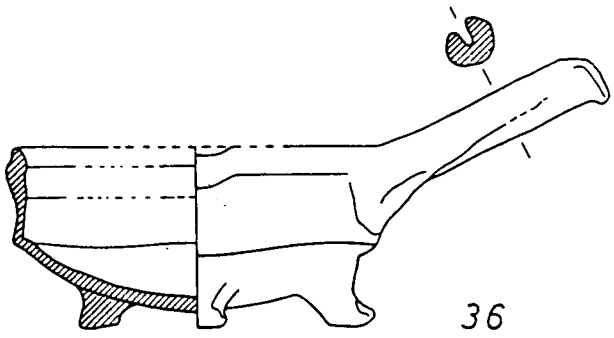


FIGURE 33

Red earthenware, slipdecorated bowl, Kallo-polder, late 17th c. (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, écuelle décorée à la barbotine, Kallo-polder, fin 17e s. (Echelle: 1/3)







FIGURES 34 - 36

Red earthenware, handled tripod cooking-bowls, Sint-Niklaas (Castrohof, nr. 34) and Kallo-polder, mid- and late 17th c. (Scale: 1/3)
Céramique rouge, tèles à cuisson tripodes et ansées, Sint-Niklaas (Castrohof, n° 34) et Kallo-polder, milieu et fin du 17e s. (Echelle: 1/3)