

ANTIQUITY
a review of world archaeology



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Journal:	<i>Antiquity</i>
Manuscript ID	AQY-RE-17-044.R1
Manuscript Type:	Research
Date Submitted by the Author:	n/a
Complete List of Authors:	Cessford, Craig; University of Cambridge, Archaeology
Keywords:	collegiate, ceramics, deposition, biography
Research Region:	Britain & Ireland

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Moving in mysterious ways: the use and discard of Cambridge college ceramics

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c. 5,765 words.

Introduction

When studying portable items of material culture archaeologists typically start with the context of deposition, as this is the only location that they know with a high degree of certainty. One fundamental issue that arises from this, is the relationship between the locations where objects are discarded and those where they are used and manufactured, with archaeologists effectively working backwards. In biographical terms objects are ‘born’, go through various stages of ‘life’ and then ‘die’ (Kopytoff 1986), which has led to the archaeological concept of the ‘object biography’ (for recent developments see Hahn & Weiss 2013; Joy 2015; Joyce & Gillespie 2015). Of these three main biographical stages it is often the ‘life’ of archaeological objects — arguably the most important stage — that there is greatest uncertainty about, as archaeologists rarely know with absolute reliability where items were used. One exception to this are 18th–20th century collegiate tableware used at the University of Cambridge, England, which were unambiguously manufactured and initially purchased specifically for use in the dining hall of a specific college, such as St. John’s College (Figures 1–2). The fact that locations of use are known with such certainty for collegiate ceramics obviates the need, inherent in most archaeology, to start with the depositional context as the prime fixed biographical location. This makes such ceramics particularly susceptible to a fine-grained and nuanced interpretation using a biographical approach, particularly when this is extended to assemblages of material rather than individual items, as synergistically the whole can be greater than the sum of its parts (for examples of assemblage biographies see Blanco-González 2014; Cessford 2014a; Joy 2016).

Sites where collegiate ceramics have been recovered can be broadly categorised into five types; in terms of their functional, spatial and temporal domains linked to an ideal or expected life when they were created (Table 1). A significant proportion of the collegiate ceramics recovered archaeologically were deposited at contingent sites, with no direct collegiate connection, as will be illustrated through two case studies. These serve to

demonstrate how complex the relationship between the locales of ‘life’ and ‘death’ may be for objects in urban contexts. This challenges the common assumption that the quantity of material deposited in contexts of prime usage was substantially greater than that disposed of elsewhere (e.g. Peña 2007: 39). In turns this raises significant questions about the interpretation of distributional patterns (e.g. Gerrard 2011), or the combination of structural, finds and environmental evidence to produce integrated narratives (e.g. Bowsher *et al.* 2007; Hall & Hunter-Mann 2002), by archaeologists studying urban centres.

The University of Cambridge

The University of Cambridge, founded *c.* 1209, is a federation of autonomous colleges, where governing authority and functions are divided between the central administration and the constituent colleges, although for most of its history the bulk of the power and wealth has rested firmly with the individual colleges (Leedham-Green 1996). By the late eighteenth century there were 16 colleges, varying markedly in size and wealth, rising to 23 by the end of the nineteenth century. The colleges can be broadly conceived of as grand households; comprising a master, fellows (academics), scholars (students) and servants. Until 1882 fellows had to resign if they married, so collegiate households were almost exclusively homosocial and adult. They were also relatively inward looking institutions, expressed architecturally by their quasi-monastic plans arranged around courts, although a significant proportion of students and almost all servants lived outside the college. Physically the colleges dominated the core of the historic town, centred upon a ‘university quarter’ between the main street and the river. Breakfast, lunch, and supper were simple meals, eaten privately or in small groups in a student or fellows rooms and usually ordered from the college kitchen or buttery. Dinner was a communal affair eaten in the college hall, with a strict hierarchy of fellows and different groups of students seated separately and those of higher status received better quality food. For the majority of students dining was not a refined affair; the hall at Trinity College was ‘ugly, smoky, and smelling so strong of bread and meat, that it would be impossible for me to eat a morsel in it.’ (Mayor 1911: 124–25), with dining a ‘primitive’ and savage piece of business’ and where one ‘gobbled his fill’ (Smith & Stray 2003: 57). In contrast, at the top of the hierarchy fellows and some students could enjoy ‘one of the very best dinners ever put on a table’ (Everett 1865: 134–35).

Collegiate Ceramics

From *c.* 1760–70 onwards many collegiate dining related ceramics were marked during the manufacturing process — using a range of techniques including moulding, scratching, hand-painting and transfer-printing — with a college coat of arms, heraldic achievement, badge, name or view, or the name of the cook who supplied the crockery (Cessford 2016a, forthcoming). The fact that we can know with absolute certainty where these ceramics were used, combined with substantial bodies of documentary and cartographic evidence about where they were deposited, creates the opportunity for fine grained richly contextualised analysis. In particular, it is apparent that a significant proportion of collegiate ceramics were deposited at contingent sites, which have no direct collegiate relationship. Detailed analysis allows the reconstruction of plausible explanations of how ceramics moved between contexts of use and deposition. This has significant implications for the study of the urban archaeology of the modern world, as well as urban archaeology more generally, because it permits a finer scale of analysis allowing direct connections between acquisition, use, and deposition.

One crucial underlying assumption is that collegiate ceramics were expected to remain within their respective colleges for the entirety of their use-lives: moving between the hall, fellows and students private rooms, the kitchen, the scullery and storage rooms. While largely true, collegiate ceramics might occasionally legitimately leave the college. In 1860 fellows were allowed to marry and live outside college. Until the Second World War college cooks sometimes supplied evening meals, including crockery, to fellows living outside college, picking up the crockery the next morning. Groups of college cooks were occasionally involved in preparing food for major civic and university events outside their colleges, which may also have involved supplying ceramics. Despite these provisos, such instances of collegiate ceramics been used outside colleges with official approval were the exception rather than the rule.

Whilst a wide range of eighteenth–twentieth-century institutions and other groups employed marked ceramics, most such as those associated with the military (Demers 2009), eating houses (Gooch 2007), university fraternities (Wilkie 2010: 184–92), hospitals (Jeffries & Braybrooke 2015: 254), etc. have generally been found in relatively small quantities and at anticipated sites, almost exclusively linked to their prime usage. Marked ceramics linked to hotels (Myers 2016) and shipping lines (Lasiter 2006) have been found in larger quantities, but again largely on anticipated sites. In contrast Cambridge collegiate ceramics have been found in particular abundance and on a wide range of types of site, many of which are demonstrably proximate, contingent or delayed. This is partly because the university constituted a significant proportion of the town population at 7.8–11.4 per cent, contrasting

with most other eighteenth–twentieth-century institutions, which usually formed a much smaller proportion of the urban centres they were located in. Secondly the majority of college servants — including the cooks, who often supplied and owned college ceramics — and many undergraduates resided outside the colleges, leading to a great deal of daily movement and institutional permeability.

Many discoveries of collegiate ceramics have been made at anticipated sites that formed part of the commodity chain linking manufacturers and primary consumers (the colleges). During the period in question Cambridge colleges stored refuse in enclosed above-ground containers or structures, with individuals known as scavengers employed to regularly remove this waste. This material then joined the official civic refuse system and was transported to a number of ‘common dunghills’ around the town, where it was dumped before being used to backfill quarry pits in the surrounding town fields. The common dunghills and the fields near Cambridge can therefore be viewed as anticipated sites. Collegiate ceramics have also been found on proximate sites that have close links to colleges, or poorly documented unknown sites where such connections may have existed.

There are, however, a number of well-documented contingent sites that have produced collegiate ceramics and where it can be convincingly demonstrated that there were no direct collegiate connections. There are two particularly convincing examples, distinguished by the recovery of large assemblages that permit a nuanced reading of the linkages between the contexts of use and deposition as a form of ‘assemblage biography’.

Grand Arcade

The 1.5 hectare Grand Arcade site, excavated in 2005–06 by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, investigated significant portions of 14 properties within a street block. None of these properties were parts of colleges or occupied by members of colleges, however 34 identifiably collegiate vessels were recovered from 15 assemblages. The presence of many of these collegiate vessels was readily explicable and these can be considered anticipated sites; some were recovered from a firm of ceramic retailers that supplied material to colleges, while others were found at a property occupied by a college cook.

The largest group of collegiate vessels, comprising 20 vessels linked to five colleges, was deposited *c.* 1843–45 in a cellar and associated features at the Cock Inn and can be considered a delayed contingent site (Figures 3–4; Cessford 2014a). The Cock Inn had no direct collegiate associations; it is, however, possible to construct a convincing explanation of how this group of collegiate material was formed. The earliest ceramics are four plates of

Trinity Hall and Gonville & Caius (*c.* 1770–85). These plates were presumably ‘inherited’ by Richard Hopkins, the cook at Trinity Hall and Gonville & Caius (*c.* 1800–10), whose own name occurs on eleven vessels. There were also single plates of Bates Francis Tunwell (Emmanuel College, 1794–1806) and William Scott (St. John’s College, *c.* 1779–1808). Scott was a witness at the marriage of Hopkins in 1787, so Richard probably acquired these vessels upon the retirement/death of the other cooks. These plates were then used by Richard’s widow Sarah, who was the cook at the same colleges until 1818. Sarah appears not to have commissioned any plates marked with her name, but she probably acquired two vessels linked to the Leach family of cooks at Trinity College. The Leach’s had been linked to the Hopkins by marriage since 1787, when the last cook retired or died in 1812–14 the vessels were presumably given to Sarah.

After ceasing to be a cook Sarah, her son Richard and her brother Thomas Broadbent were brewers and brawn manufacturers on Slaughter House Lane. Sarah Hopkins died in 1843 and in *c.* 1843–45 part of the Cock Inn, located 100–150m from her premises on Slaughter House Lane (now Corn Exchange Street), was re-developed. As brewers Sarah and her son Richard may have had business connections with the Cock Inn. Alternatively, there may simply have been a serendipitous coincidence, with Richard disposing of his mother’s possessions when the Cock Inn required backfilling material.

Over two hundred ceramic items were deposited in the cellar and nearly three hundred items in total, so collegiate ceramics represent less than ten per cent of the ceramics from the assemblage. Others items, including what are probably some highly personal items and some vessels that probably derive from the Cock Inn, form very different elements of the assemblage biography. While for the collegiate ceramics the backfilled cellar represents a delayed contingent site, for other elements it appears to be variously an anticipated, proximate or contingent site.

Barnwell

In the 18th century Barnwell was a village, located 1.5km from the core of Cambridge and the colleges. After enclosure of the surrounding town fields in 1807 it was developed rapidly by the 1820s of cheap working-class housing, becoming a suburb of the town. Since 2012 the Cambridge Archaeological Unit and Oxford Archaeology East have conducted several excavations, covering 0.5 hectares, investigating portions of around a dozen properties. As at Grand Arcade none of these properties were parts of colleges or occupied by members of

colleges, but 189 identifiably collegiate vessels were recovered from 12 assemblages. None of these can be considered anticipated sites; they are instead a mixture of contingent and unknown sites.

170 of the vessels derive were used to backfill a pit and other features and create a layer of hard-core during a substantial re-development of a property *c.* 1877–85 and can be considered a contingent site (Figures 5–7; Cessford 2014b). The premises were occupied by the Fletcher family, who were cow-keepers running an urban dairy on the outskirts of Cambridge. The re-development was probably linked to the ‘Dairies, Cow-Sheds and Milk-Shops Order’ of 1879, which established minimum building standards. The assemblage was only partially recovered, but at least 158 vessels are from three dining services — plus some food storage and preparation vessels — employed at Trinity Hall. Although it was initially believed that this might relate to the wholesale replacement of some college dining services, subsequent discoveries demonstrate that vessels for one of these services were still being manufactured in 1890. This suggests that there may have been some form of accident instead, such as collapsing shelves, leading to a large quantity of damaged crockery.

As well as the Trinity Hall material there were twelve vessels linked to other cooks and colleges. One can probably be linked to Henry Brown of Clare College (1840–47), while six are linked to one of his successors William Moore (*c.* 1861–73). There were also three vessels linked to John Fuller of Gonville & Caius College (1839–71) and later Clare College (1873–74), one of which can be specifically linked to Gonville & Caius. When he died in 1874, John Fuller presumably had some Gonville & Caius and Clare ceramics in his possession, including vessels ‘inherited’ from his predecessors at Clare. His brother Alfred Fuller was the cook at Trinity Hall (1861–84). It therefore appears that after John Fuller’s death his ceramics came into the possession of his brother Alfred, who took advantage of the disposal of a large group of Trinity Hall ceramics to get rid of this other unwanted material. Although there is no documented connection between Alfred Fuller and the Fletcher family of cow-keepers, as cook Fuller would have been responsible for purchasing milk for the college. Alternatively, the connection may have been more tenuous; such as Alfred Fuller employing a haulier with a cart to dispose of the ceramics and the haulier being employed concurrently at the re-development of the cow-keepers premises.

Physically Distant but Proximate Sites

Physical distance and degree of connection are not necessarily related, as exemplified by two discoveries of nineteenth century collegiate material from outside Cambridge. Fragments of four mid-nineteenth-century Queens' College plates from two different services were recovered at Brook Farm, Haslingfield, 7km south-west of Cambridge (Figure 8). This is the furthest from Cambridge that collegiate ceramics have been recovered archaeologically, and is too far for refuse disposal to be a reasonable explanation. Queens' acquired substantial landholdings in Haslingfield in the late fifteenth century, which it leased to tenants until the mid-twentieth century. It is likely that the presence of the Queens' plates relates to this link, probably as some form of gift, so this can be thought of as a proximate site. Sherds from two mid-nineteenth-century Trinity College plates from two different services were found in a field near Coton, 5km east of the college. This suggests that the Haslingfield example is not unique, although in the case of the Coton plates the link is less clear as the colleges with close documented connections to the village are King's, Queens', St. Catharine's and St. John's rather than Trinity, making this an unknown site.

In the 1960s *c.* 230 complete late eighteenth–mid nineteenth-century bottles with Emmanuel College seals were found 80km north-west of Cambridge in a cellar at the Old Rectory, North Luffenham (Rutland) (Figure 8). Emmanuel gained the advowson — right to nominate individuals to a vacant church living — of this parish in 1591. This right was still being exercised in the mid-nineteenth century, when the college ceased using sealed bottles. It seems unlikely that empty bottles were transported so far, suggesting that they contained wine. The most likely candidate for the movement was the fellow John Weller (1794–1862), 'a most eccentric man and of great obstinacy of character' who fell out with the other examiners of the Classical Tripos in 1827, left Emmanuel 'under a bad omen' for North Luffenham in 1837 and found it 'truly a hard and thankless office' (Anon. 1908: 7–8). This prompts the question whether the bottles and their putative contents were given to Weller by the college, or if he illicitly appropriated them. Whatever the case, this represents a proximate site. In a similar instance, the advowson for Hempstead (Norfolk), 120km north-east of Cambridge was held by King's College, a cesspit at the rectory backfilled in the 1890's contained a tile decorated with the college crest (Licence 2015: 78) (Figure 8).

Classifying Deposition

Although specific depositional circumstances are often highly idiosyncratic, various types of site do appear to have different characteristics in terms of the assemblages of marked collegiate vessels (Table 2). In general, sherd size, weight and damage do not vary

significantly between types of sites. One potentially useful measure is the relative prevalence of collegiate ceramics within overall eighteenth–twentieth ceramic assemblages. A relatively crude, but effective, measure of this is to divide the number of marked collegiate vessels by the weight of eighteenth–twentieth ceramics (Table 3; Figure 9). The highest values relate to colleges (anticipated sites), followed by sites closely linked to colleges (proximate sites), while the lowest are areas of town with no particular collegiate associations (contingent sites). Sites of civic refuse disposal, with material from both colleges and the rest of the town, can be classified as anticipated sites and have intermediate values. Physical proximity does not appear to affect values; Barnwell with no particular collegiate associations and located several kilometres away having higher similar values to the much closer Grand Arcade. One site known as Christ’s Lane located close to Grand Arcade provided accommodation for college servants; it constitutes a proximate site and had a higher value, despite being indistinguishable in terms of other architectural and material culture remains.

Other Material

That the phenomenon of deposition of material at contingent locales is not limited to ceramics associated with the University of Cambridge, but is probably much more widespread, is supported by several other groups of ceramics. Pre-Modern parallels are usually problematic, as it is often debatable what markings relate to. Even when this can be determined, it is still difficult to identify where pottery was used rather than deposited (e.g. Spence 2015). In fifth-century BC Athens some vessels were marked with the names of individuals or as public property (Lang 1976: 51–52; Rotroff & Oakley 1992). Those marked as public property include significant numbers from distinctive large assemblages at the *agora* linked predominantly to drinking alcohol. These were probably used in nearby public dining facilities serving the city magistrates and may be either an anticipated or proximate site. Three such vessels have also been found nearly 80km away in Corinth, this is probably a contingent site with one possible explanation being that they accompanied Athenian envoys (Donati 2011: 7–8).

Turning to more recent material, it is unsurprising that there are assemblages associated with the University of Oxford involving similar processes to those that will be outlined for Cambridge colleges (Cessford 2016b). Returning to Cambridge, although an assemblage of *c.* 1775–80 linked to a coffee-house run by William Clapham *c.* 1750–79 has nine vessels marked with the proprietors initials, there are also four vessels with other initials or names (Cessford *et al.* 2017). Two are from the Sun’s Coffee Room and the Rose Inn and

appear to be linked to coffee-house patrons ordering out, where groups would request particular favourite meals or drinks from other establishments. The marking was presumably to facilitate their return and such 'ordering out' at least partially explains the regularity with which inn-related material is recovered at other establishments and domestic premises (e.g. Hassall *et al.* 1985: 216; Owens & Jeffries 2016: 821–23; Owens *et al.* 2010: 219).

John Murray 4th Earl of Dunmore (1730–1809), the last crown governor of Virginia (1771–75), transported a set of Chinese porcelain armorial ceramics manufactured *c.* 1750–60 with him to Virginia in 1771. In 1775, early in the American Revolutionary War, Dunmore was forced to evacuate the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, abandoning his possessions. Some of his armorial porcelain has been recovered at the palace, but examples have also been found at six other Williamsburg sites (Noël Hume 1969: 42). These vessels may either have been carried off when the palace was ransacked in 1775, or sold at auction in 1776. In either scenario, some of Williamsburg's inhabitants dined off their vanquished adversaries' armorial porcelain at contingent sites. In another case, an early twentieth-century soup bowl from the Atlantic Lunch restaurant in Washington was recovered from a contingent site at St. Mary's City, Maryland, located 90km away but with a long-lived community connection (Miller 1984).

These other marked ceramics clearly demonstrate that deposition at contingent sites without a close connection to that of their prime usage was not exceptional and confined to Cambridge college ceramics, but is a much more widespread phenomenon. The Athenian material in Corinth suggests that similar issues regarding the linking of use and deposition can also be considered for earlier societies.

Discussion

The distribution of archaeologically recovered ceramics that can be definitively associated with Cambridge colleges indicates that while some come from sites where their presence might reasonably be anticipated, a significant proportion appear in unexpected locales. Many are found on proximate sites with a direct connection to the colleges, but in some instances the connections between usage and deposition are spatially and temporally much less direct and contingent. Other contemporary and earlier marked ceramics indicate that this situation is not unique, raising profound implications for urban archaeologists.

Consideration of the locations where Cambridge collegiate ceramics have been archaeologically recovered, classification of these locations into anticipated, proximate, contingent, unknown and delayed sites and the recognition that these objects have complex

biographies allows a nuanced consideration of both the linkages between the contexts of use and deposition and the relationship between various human actors and the objects. In many respects it is the more counter intuitive discoveries that are the most informative. Anticipated sites can provide some insights, but effectively confirm that colleges used collegiate ceramics. Proximate sites are more interesting, physically revealing and illustrating connections that were in some instances already known. Contingent sites that demonstrably possess no direct collegiate connection, but instead probably relate to a series of serendipitous coincidences, are the most challenging. It is here that the relationship between human actors, particularly those that might traditionally be accorded relatively little significance in a consideration of collegiate ceramics such as college cooks and haulage merchants, and objects come most clearly into focus. While unknown sites are less informative, it is worth reflecting that for most archaeological material culture the vast majority of sites would be categorised as unknown, with no sense whether they are anticipated, proximate or contingent. Particularly with assemblage biographies, it is apparent that during their lifespans some collegiate ceramics were moved from anticipated to proximate contexts, before the material was deposited at delayed contingent sites.

Cambridge collegiate ceramics provide a particularly useful case study and suggest that current archaeological approaches to urban sites inadequately address the issue of the relationship between locales of use and deposition. Social connections between individuals and groups, be they proximate or contingent, are more significant than simple physical closeness. This suggests that what is required is a fundamental re-conceptualisation of urban archaeological sites, as not necessarily principally places where households live and discard material, but as locales that people and objects move through on various timescales and then leave via conduits of divestment (Gregson *et al.* 2007) or dispersal (Lucas 2014). Appropriately, just as most inhabitants of Cambridge colleges are undergraduates who pass through them in three years, rough and necessarily approximate calculations suggest that it is improbable that more than five per cent of collegiate ceramics were deposited on college sites. Many other collegiate ceramics then moved in decidedly mysterious ways, between contexts of use and deposition. The overall distributions of depositional contexts from which ceramics associated with particular Cambridge colleges have been recovered do not allow those colleges to be located within Cambridge (Figure 2). Instead the ceramics are evidence of numerous extended assemblage biographies, spanning both the commodity chain linking manufacturers and primary consumers and multiple contingent conduits of divestment or dispersal.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, particularly Richard Newman, as well as to Rob Atkins, Michael Coles, Kasia Gdaniec and Nigel Jeffries for providing information on various discoveries. Marcus Brittain and Charles Orser provided helpful comments on a draft of the text and it has been improved by the comments of two anonymous reviewers. This paper was written during my time as the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research field archaeologist in residence and benefitted from stimulating discussions with many members of the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge.

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Figures

Figure 1. Selection of sherds from late 18th to early 20th ceramics produced for use at St. John's College, which have been recovered from a variety of archaeological investigations (Craig Cessford).

Figure 2. Map of locations where late 18th to early 20th ceramics produced for use at St. John's College have been recovered during archaeological investigations (Craig Cessford).

Figure 3. Map of colleges and cooks represented in the Cock Inn cellar assemblage and temporal span of collegiate material in the Cock Inn cellar (Vicki Herring).

Figure 4. Diagram reconstructing the probable biography of the 'life' of the collegiate material in the assemblage recovered from the Cock Inn cellar, plus section of the cellar and portrait of the cook Barnett Leach III on a box lid surrounded by quill work (photographs by Craig Cessford, Dave Webb & Ric Leach, drawing by Craig Cessford).

Figure 5. Part of a large assemblage of Trinity Hall ceramics associated with the re-development of the Fletcher family property c. 1877–85 (photographs by Craig Cessford & Dave Webb).

Figure 6: Map of colleges and cooks represented in the assemblage associated with the re-development of the Fletcher family property (Craig Cessford)

Figure 7: Diagram reconstructing the probable biography of the 'life' of the collegiate material in the assemblage associated with the re-development of the Fletcher family property (Craig Cessford).

Figure 8: Location map of sites mentioned (Craig Cessford)

Figure 9. Prevalence of marked collegiate vessels ceramics (Craig Cessford).

For Peer Review

Tables

Table 1. Definitions of site categories

Site category	Definition
Anticipated	Sites where the presence of collegiate ceramics might reasonably be expected, both spatially and temporally
Proximate	Sites with a direct collegiate connection, but not a location where collegiate ceramics would normally be expected to occur
Contingent	Sites that demonstrably possess no direct collegiate connection
Unknown	Sites where sufficient information does not survive to allow categorisation
Delayed	Anticipated, proximate, contingent or unknown sites, where the material occurs in contexts later than might reasonably be expected

Table 2. Attributes of college related material from different types of sites, based upon investigated instances

Site type	Site category	Single/multiple colleges	Semi-complete vessels	Dominated by unusual vessel forms	Homogeneous dating	Numerous vessels
Retail establishments	Anticipated	Multiple	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
College	Anticipated	Single	No	No	No	Yes
Civic discard	Anticipated	Multiple	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Non-collegiate university sites	Proximate	Multiple	Yes	No	No	Yes
Premises of college servants	Proximate	Typically single	No	No	Yes	Yes
Domestic and business sites with close connection to a college	Proximate	Single	No	No	Yes	Yes
Charitable gifts	Proximate	Single	Yes	No	No	Yes
Undergraduate lodgings	Proximate	Single	Yes		Yes	No
Hospital	Proximate	Multiple	Yes	Yes	Either	Yes
Domestic and business sites without a close connection to a college	Contingent	Either	Yes	No	Either	Either
Various	Contingent	Multiple	Yes	No	Either	Either

Table 3. Prevalence of collegiate ceramics by weight of overall assemblage, * values with large assemblages excluded

Site	Site type and category	No. of marked collegiate vessels	Assemblage weight (kg)	Prevalence
St. John's College First Court	College (anticipated)	7	1.21	5.79
Pentitionary of St. John's College	Occupied by college facilities and servants (proximate)	6	15.72	0.38
Christ's Lane	Occupied by college servants (proximate)	3	8.39	0.36
West Fields	Civic discard (anticipated)	21	87.27	0.24
St. Clement's Gardens	Owned by college and sublet (proximate)	5	20.91	0.24
Civil war castle ditch	Civic discard (anticipated)	3	16.00	0.19
St. John's Triangle	Domestic and business premises (mixed; proximate and contingent)	14	113.54	0.12
Vicar's Farm	Farm (contingent)	3	34.93	0.09
Grand Arcade	Domestic and business premises (mixed: proximate and contingent)	34 (14)*	496.80	0.07 (0.03)*
Barnwell	Domestic and business premises (contingent)	189 (19)*	441.36	0.43 (0.04)*
Total		135	1236.13	0.10

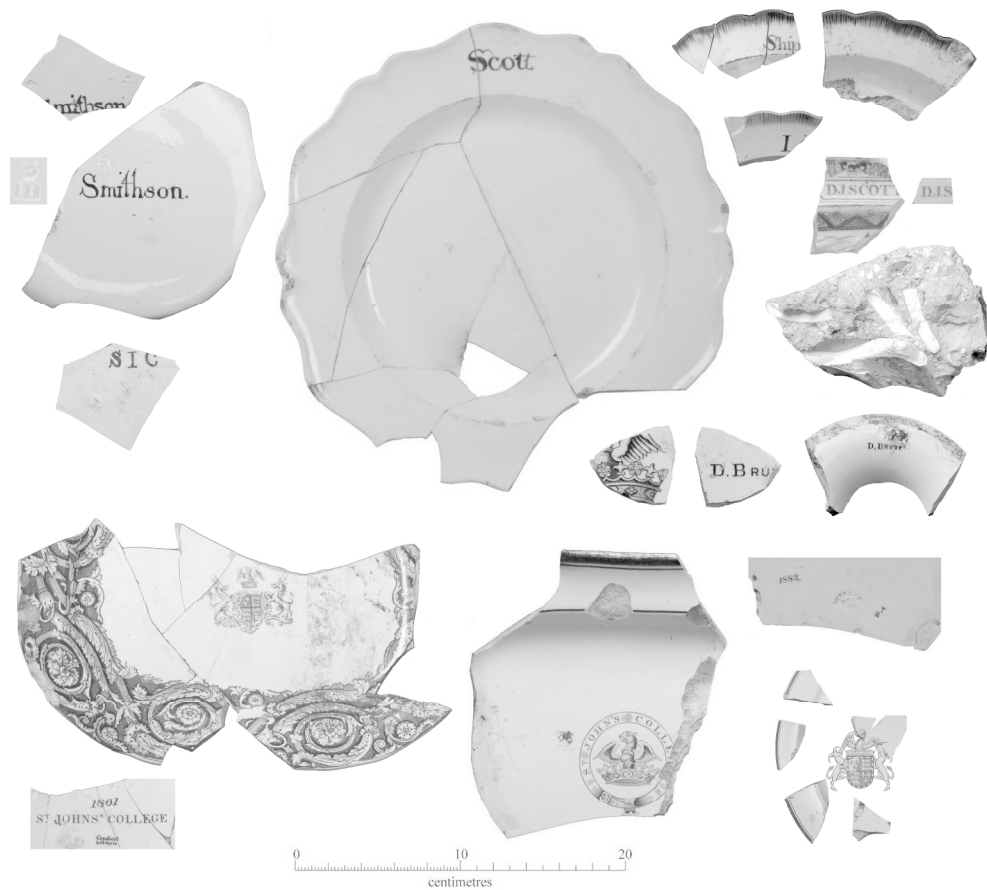


Figure 1. Selection of sherds from late 18th to early 20th ceramics produced for use at St. John's College, which have been recovered from a variety of archaeological investigations (Craig Cessford).

120345x107492mm (1 x 1 DPI)

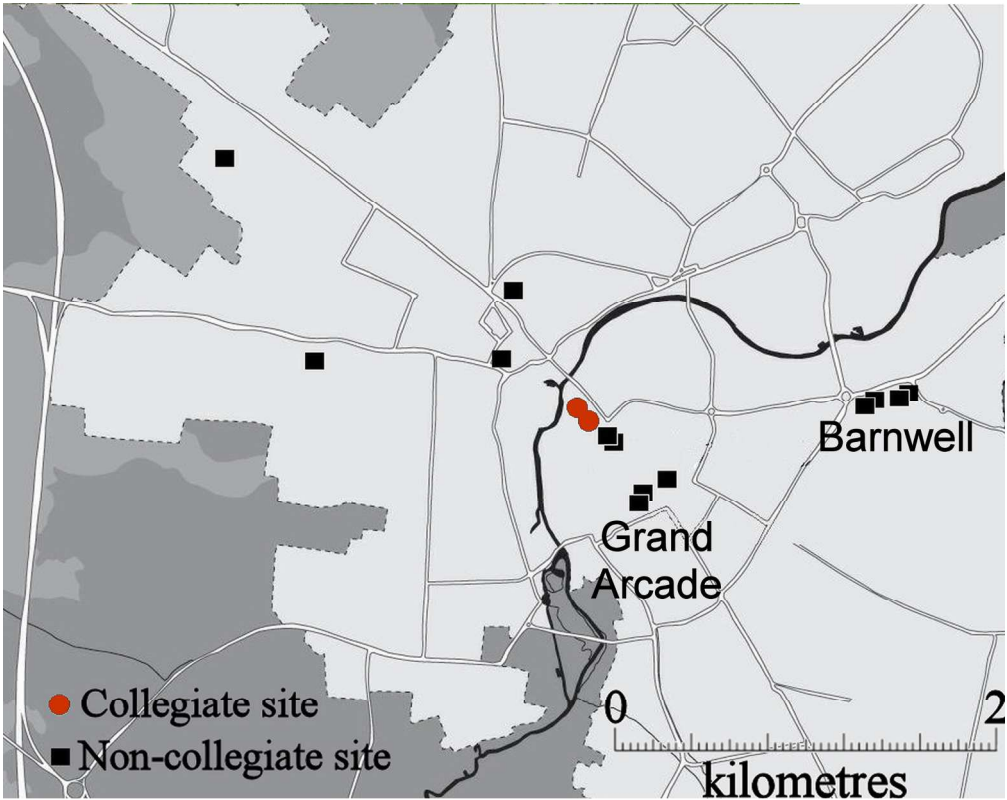


Figure 2. Map of locations where late 18th to early 20th ceramics produced for use at St. John's College have been recovered during archaeological investigations (Craig Cessford).

344x273mm (180 x 180 DPI)

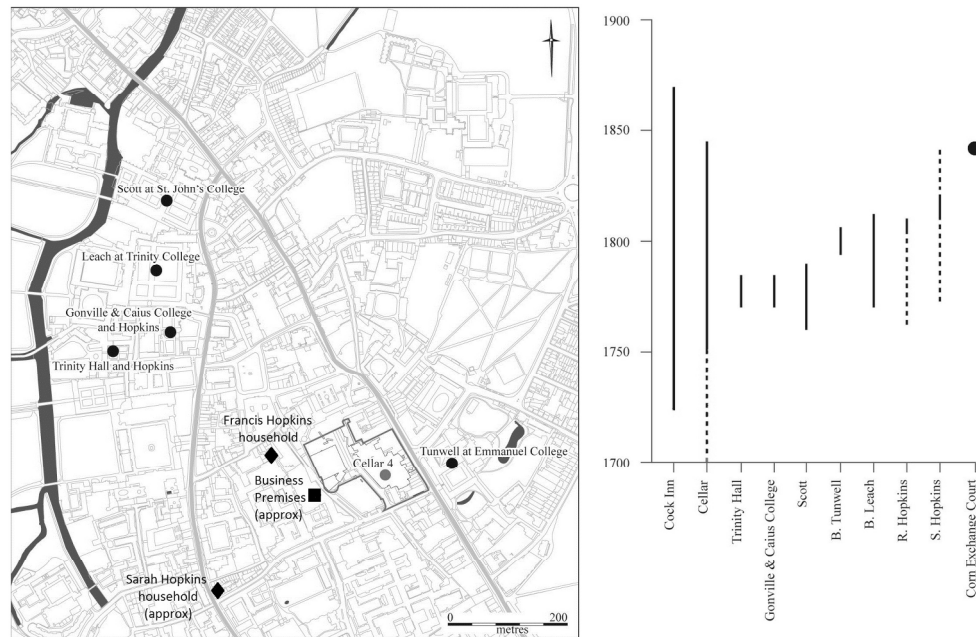


Figure 3. Map of colleges and cooks represented in the Cock Inn cellar assemblage and temporal span of collegiate material in the Cock Inn cellar (Vicki Herring).

195x126mm (300 x 300 DPI)

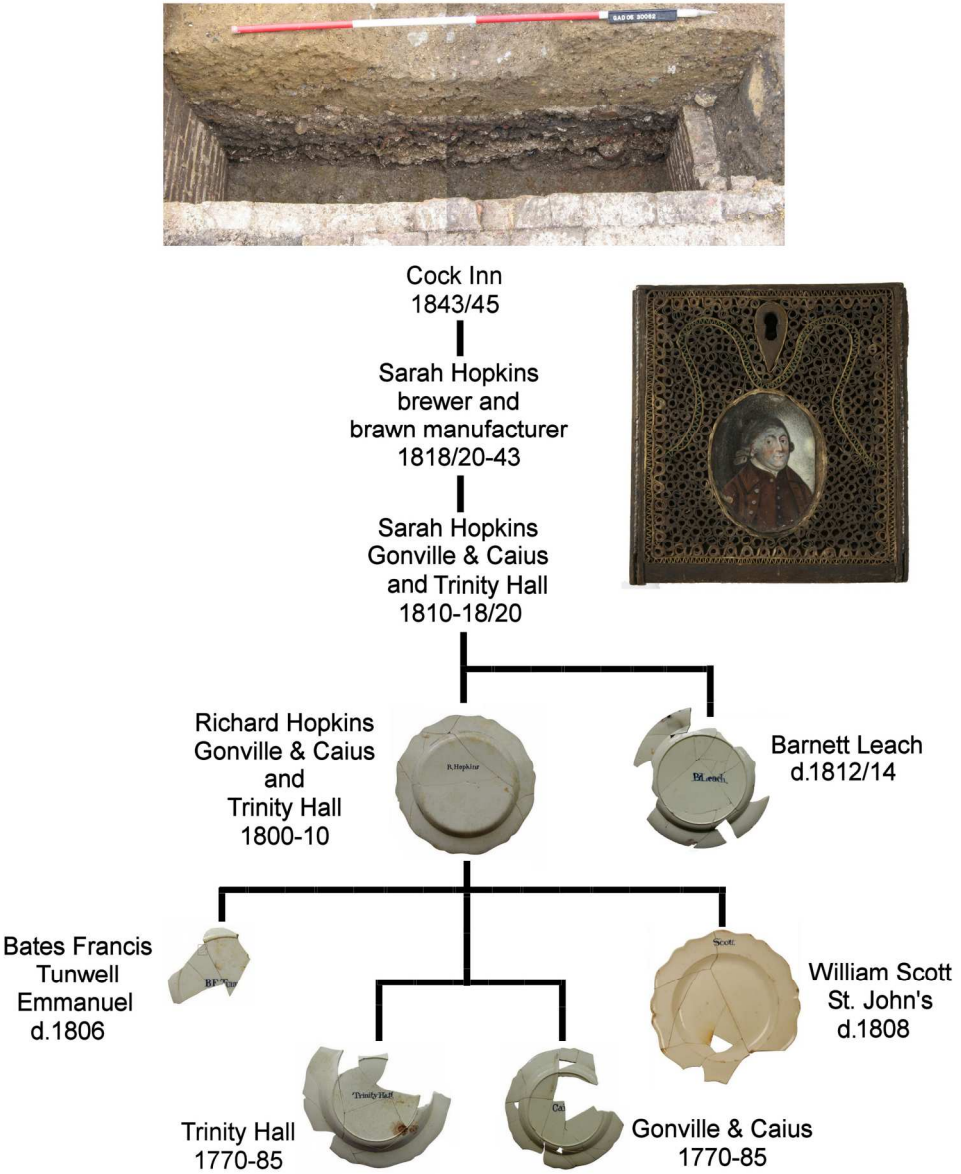


Figure 4. Diagram reconstructing the probable biography of the 'life' of the collegiate material in the assemblage recovered from the Cock Inn cellar, plus section of the cellar and portrait of the cook Barnett Leach III on a box lid surrounded by quill work (photographs by Craig Cessford, Dave Webb & Ric Leach, drawing by Craig Cessford).

58648x71602mm (1 x 1 DPI)

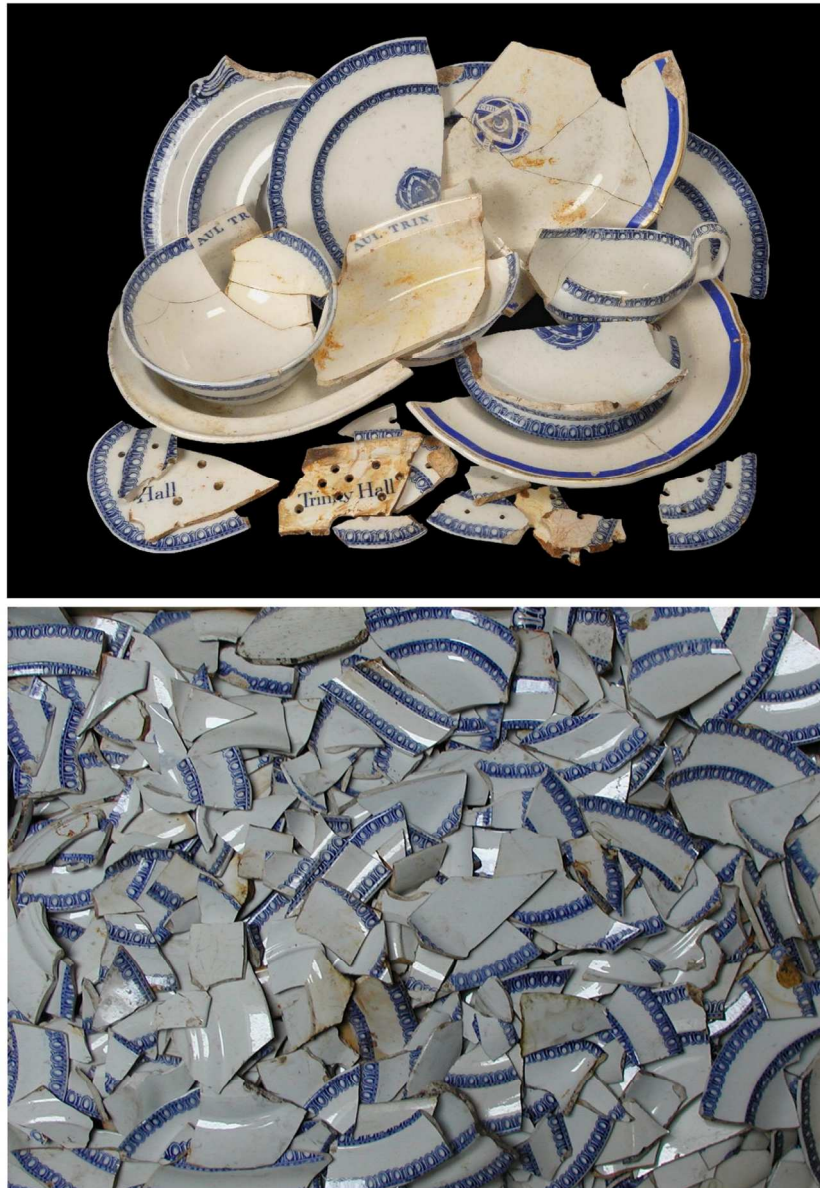


Figure 5. Part of a large assemblage of Trinity Hall ceramics associated with the re-development of the Fletcher family property c. 1877–85 (photographs by Craig Cessford & Dave Webb).

40309x57759mm (1 x 1 DPI)

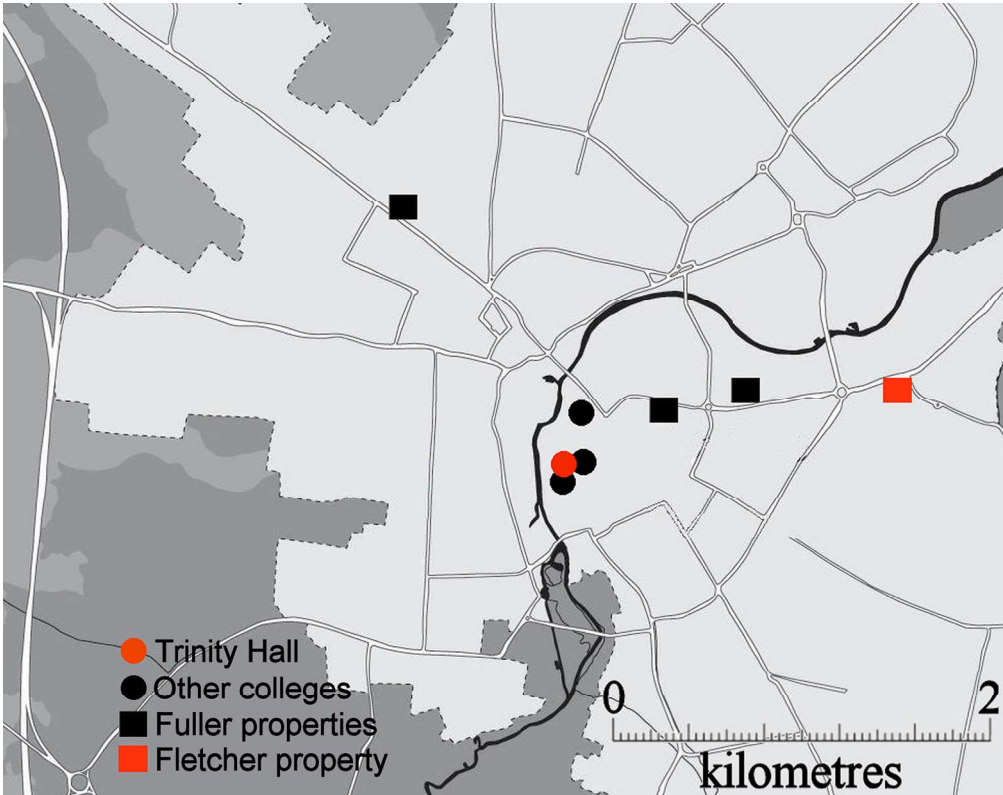


Figure 6: Map of colleges and cooks represented in the assemblage associated with the re-development of the Fletcher family property (Craig Cessford)

652x515mm (96 x 96 DPI)

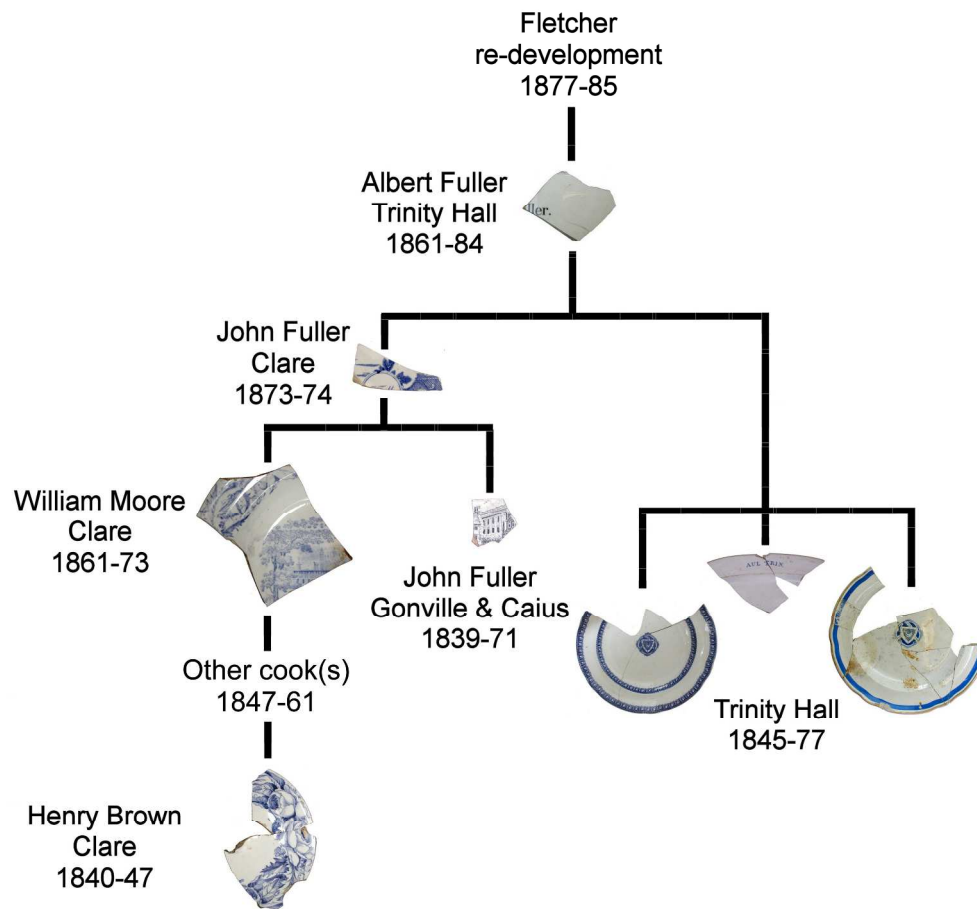


Figure 7: Diagram reconstructing the probable biography of the 'life' of the collegiate material in the assemblage associated with the re-development of the Fletcher family property (Craig Cessford).

110109x101854mm (1 x 1 DPI)



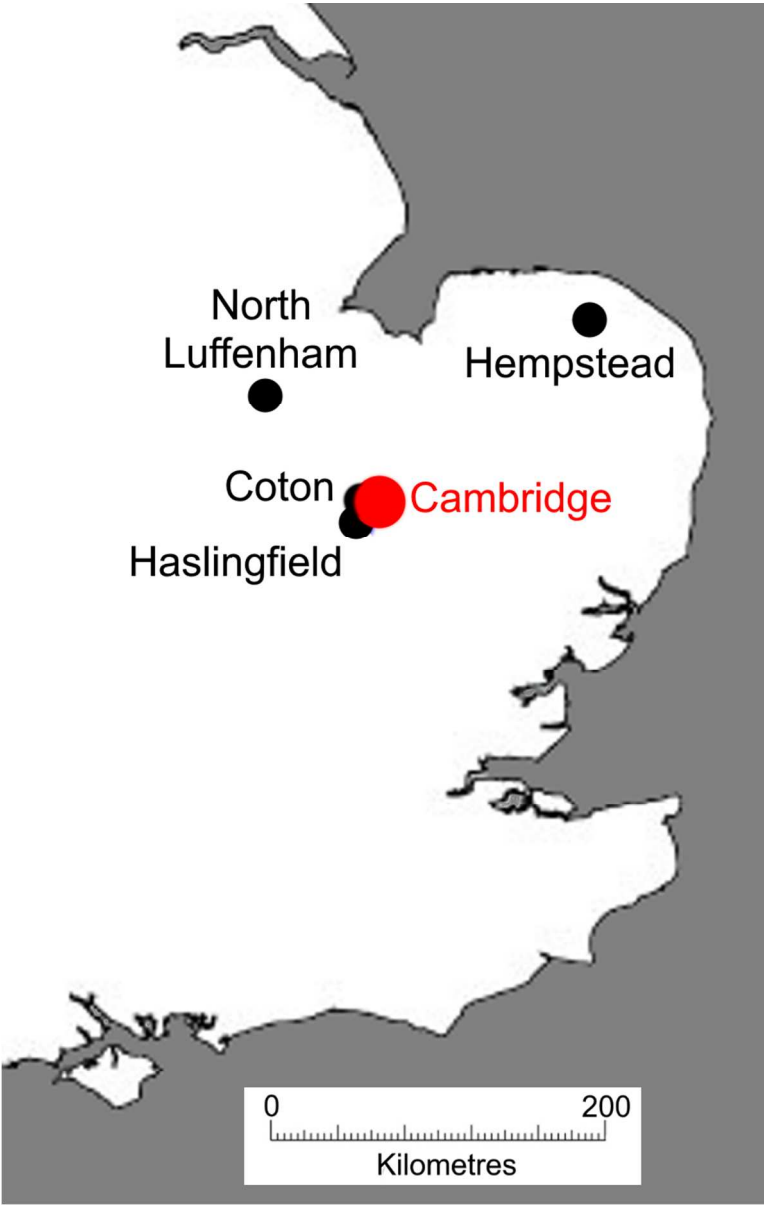


Figure 8: Location map of sites mentioned (Craig Cessford).

233x366mm (96 x 96 DPI)

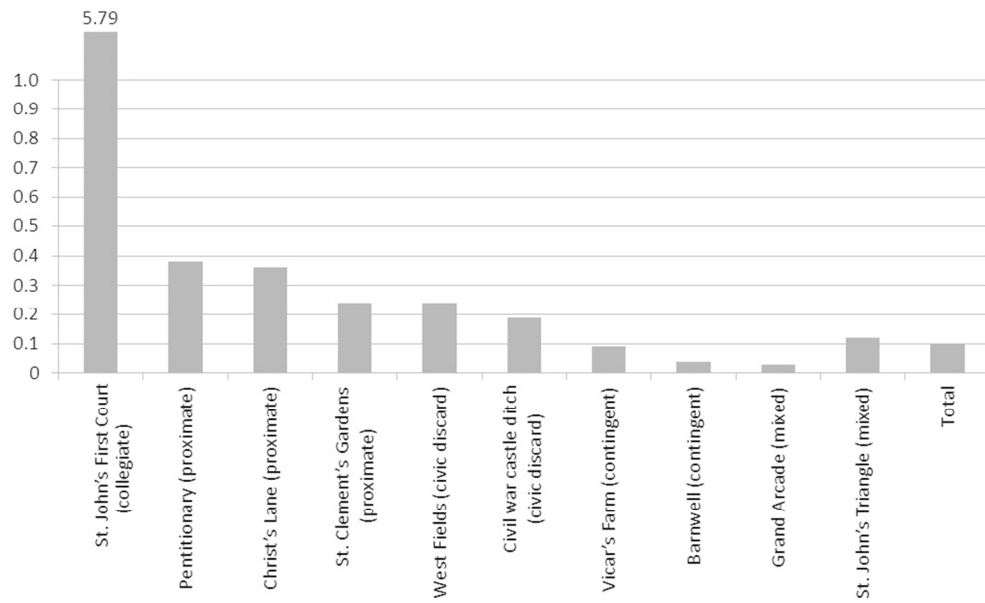


Figure 9. Prevalence of marked collegiate vessels ceramics (Craig Cessford).