A REINTERPRETATION OF THE ABINGDON CAUSEWAYED ENCLOSURE

The Neolithic enclosure at Abingdon has been excavated on three occasions, between 1926 and 1927, in 1954 and again in 1963. The reports on these separate projects reflect the changing interpretation of such monuments. The work of E.T. Leeds was amongst the earliest investigations of what were then known as ‘causewayed camps’, whilst publication of more recent excavations on the site shows the influence of contemporary research on other earthworks of this type. Each report did consider the results of earlier work at Abingdon, but it is because these results differ in certain essential features that another interpretation of the site is offered here. This is based largely on the existing accounts of the Abingdon causewayed enclosure, but excavation by the writer of a Neolithic long barrow only 100 m. to the south-east of the site provides an additional source of information (Fig. 1).

As all three excavations at Abingdon have been published in detail, it is not necessary to describe the site at any length. It occupies a low promontory between two streams, and is defined by a pair of approximately concentric ditches, the inner of which cuts off about 1.5 hectares, whilst the outer ditch defines an area roughly twice this size (Fig. 1). The inner ditch was of much slighter proportions than the outer earthwork and had been interrupted by a number of causeways. At different times a few subsoil features were recorded inside the two enclosures.

The definitive account of the site is the report on the 1963 excavation. Michael Avery argues that the outer ditch was constructed some time after the inner earthwork and that the large quantities of Neolithic pottery, flintwork and animal bones filling the latter feature result from the deliberate levelling of the site before it was extended to twice its original size. That levelling was accomplished through a systematic clearance of the occupation debris which had accumulated inside the enclosure. That process probably took place during the first half of the third millennium bc.

There are certain difficulties with this interpretation. Two of these can be considered very briefly, but the third raises more serious problems. First, if we are to accept Avery’s reconstruction of the sequence, we must also accept that the site changed its character, since the outer ditch is a formidable barrier, twice as deep as the inner earthwork. The outer ditch could have been recut on one occasion and there is some evidence that it had possessed a revetted internal rampart. It is not certain that this ditch had been broken by regular causeways, and in fact the whole earthwork seems to

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2 The report will form part of a monograph on the excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, being compiled by Claire Halpin and the writer.
3 Avery op. cit. note 1.
4 Ibid. 10.

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assume defensible proportions. Secondly, if the building of the outer earthwork was intended to double the size of an existing settlement, it is strange that the one area excavated between the two ditches contained such a low density of artefacts. Only four subsoil features were found in an area of about 180 square metres, of which the most important was a human burial. The filling of the outer enclosure ditch, excavated in 1954, was equally unproductive.

These problems are compounded by the distinctive character of the 'levelling' observed in the inner ditch. This seems to have involved a number of separate deposits in which lenses of organic material containing Neolithic artefacts could alternate with deposits of clean gravel. The quantity and sometimes the preservation of the artefacts is hard to explain if they had first accumulated on an intensively used ground surface, and the recognition of distinct heaps of animal bone surely suggests that some of the material in the ditch was fresh when it was deposited. This is also suggested by the large size of many of the illustrated sherds. Moreover, Avery's reading of the evidence differs

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5 Ibid; 12.
6 Ibid; 17.
7 Ibid; Figs. 14–19.
from the work of Leeds, the original excavator, who considered that much of this material had resulted from in situ activity and who recognised occasional variations in the types of material represented in different parts of the ditch.8

This claim is supported if we compare the types of material discovered in the three excavations. There is a striking contrast between the animal bones from the two ditches. 34 per cent of the bones in the inner ditch were of pig, the highest figure published from any causewayed enclosure,9 but there were no pig bones at all in the much smaller sample from the outer ditch. Pig bones do not survive particularly well, but the cattle bones from both areas contain the same parts of the body. This does not suggest differential destruction of the animal bones between these two contexts. Similarly, the part of the inner ditch excavated in 1927–8 contained a whole series of antler tools,10 but these were rare in the adjacent area excavated by Avery. Again, deer bones are described as ‘common’ in the report on the first excavation,11 but were virtually absent in later work on the site. In each case it seems as if different parts of the ditch system had different contents.

Now that all three excavations have been published, we can question whether the material from the inner ditch should be interpreted as domestic refuse. All the axe fragments came from this part of the site,12 and it also contained at least one group of sheep bones which retained their articulation.13 More important, excavation at Abingdon has now revealed three human burials, at least one of which had been in a ditch. In addition, Case found human pelvis fragments in the outer ditch, and the inner ditch also contained cranial fragments from two other individuals.14 Like the human bones from causewayed enclosures elsewhere, most of these belonged to young individuals.15

The animal bones listed by Cram in the most recent report can also be reconsidered. In his view these were simply ‘household rubbish’,16 although he based this argument partly on the similarity between these finds and the faunal remains from Windmill Hill, Wiltshire, which almost certainly was not an ordinary settlement. The representation of different body parts among the cattle bones from Abingdon is almost the same as in the faunal assemblage from the causewayed enclosure at Hambledon Hill in Dorset. Legge has used the evidence from this site to suggest ‘periods of high meat consumption’ and claims that there is less sign of bone processing at Hambledon than we would expect to find in a domestic assemblage.17 Again we must question the mundane character of the deposits in the inner ditch at Abingdon.

These arguments would be quite inconclusive without the results of excavation on a small long barrow directly opposite this part of the enclosure (Fig. 1). Possible pairings of causewayed enclosures and long barrows are known or suspected elsewhere,18 but for

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8 Leeds op. cit. note 1 (1927), 445.
10 Leeds op. cit. note 1 (1927), 448–50, and op. cit. note 1 (1928), 469–70.
11 Leeds op. cit. note 1 (1928), 476.
12 Avery op. cit. note 1, 40.
13 Ibid., 15 and 46.
14 Leeds op. cit. note 1 (1928), 476; Case op. cit. note 1, 18; Avery op. cit. note 1, 12.
15 Leeds op. cit. note 1 (1928), 476.
16 L. Cram in Avery op. cit. note 1, 46.
18 For example at Hambledon Hill (Dorset), Robin Hood’s Ball (Wiltshire), Eton Wick (Berkshire) and Roughton (Norfolk).
our purposes a more specific link can be identified. In two of its principal phases this burial mound was defined by a ditch which ran around three sides of the barrow, leaving an open area to the south-west. This was later closed off, but when the mound was enlarged its construction followed precisely the same sequence. The important point is that the features at this end of the barrow contained a series of apparently intentional deposits, whose distributions hardly overlapped: a group of sherds of Abingdon Ware; a series of flint implements; and four groups of used or unused antler which were found in the successive barrow ditches. All the deposits of antler were in the same area of the site, but it could be shown that they had been placed there on a number of separate occasions. More important, the limits of the antler distribution were marked by finds of human cranial fragments.

The character of these finds raises interesting issues. Their location in a burial monument suggests that they had been deposited with some formality, and it is particularly striking that at least two of these groups, the antler and the human skull fragments, are so similar to finds from Leeds excavation of the inner enclosure ditch at Abingdon. This adds weight to the suspicion that the contents of that ditch were more than ordinary refuse. A very similar comparison can be made between the results of excavation on the main enclosure at Hambledon Hill and those from an adjacent long barrow on that site. Here recent excavation has shown that the sequence of deposits was the same in the ditches of both monuments.19

It has been possible to test the link between the two sites at Abingdon through radiocarbon dating. The dates from the Abingdon enclosure cover a wide time span, but as Avery pointed out, those from samples of bone and antler are most likely to be informative.20 These extend from 2760 ± 135 bc (BM 352) to 2500 ± 145 bc (BM 354). The remaining dates, on charcoal, are less reliable, since no attempt was made to discover whether the samples included heartwood. Apart from a Mesolithic date of 4070 ± 110 bc (BM 349), these run from 3110 ± 130 bc (BM 351) to 2780 ± 135 bc (BM 348). They can be compared with dates for each of the antler deposits in the long barrow. The earliest comes from a primary level in the monument and gave a date of 2550 ± 60 bc (BM 2392), whilst the other three dates refer to stages in the lifespan of the larger mound which took its place. These are 2470 ± 70 bc (BM 2393), 2380 ± 80 bc (BM 2391) and 2370 ± 130 bc (BM 2390).21 We can compare the bone and antler dates directly, and these seem to indicate that the initial construction of the long barrow happened during the lifespan of the causewayed enclosure.

This evidence supports the idea that the material in the inner ditch at Abingdon may have been accumulated and deposited with more formality than Avery supposed. In this respect it is entirely similar to the evidence from such sites as the main enclosure at Hambledon Hill, for which a ceremonial function is favoured.22 The recutting of the ditch, the presence of so many separate deposits of ‘occupation debris’, the evidence of patterning in different parts of the ditch, and even the presence of human bones, are all repeated at other causewayed enclosures. Taken together, they seem to indicate a rather specialised function for the inner earthwork at Abingdon. At the same time, the rarity of artefacts between the two ditches, and even the presence of a crouched burial in this area, could imply that the outer enclosure served a different function. It is not clear

21 I am most grateful to Janet Ambers, Richard Burleigh and Ian Kinnes for undertaking the dating of these samples.
22 Mercer op. cit. note 19, chapter 4.
whether it was built at a later date than the inner enclosure, as the pottery from both earthworks is identical, but it does share its distinctive character with Crickley Hill on the Cotswolds where a rather similar enclosure assumed a defensive character towards the end of its period of use. Much the same happened at Hambledon Hill, where a causewayed enclosure containing a large number of human skulls was protected by an outwork whose recut ditch lacked the usual causeways. The distinction between these two components of the Hambledon complex recalls the less obvious contrasts recognised at Abingdon, and it may be no accident that a small long barrow was integrated with both of these enclosures.

These suggestions, then, would bring the evidence of all three excavations at Abingdon into line with the results of work at other sites, but in doing so they would also remove the one major occupation site claimed for the Upper Thames gravels. At one time this would have had serious implications, but fortunately the gap is already being closed by the results of careful field survey. Such work can produce less tangible results than excavation, but the contrast between the Abingdon enclosure and the ephemeral flint scatters in this part of the river valley is already sufficient to emphasise the unusual character of this monument.

RICHARD BRADLEY

A FLINT CHISEL FROM ABINGDON (Fig. 2)

This flint implement (County Museum P.R.N. 13692; Abingdon Museum Acc. No. 84.251.1) was found in the garden of a house in St. Peter’s Road, off Radley Road, Abingdon. Some of the houses in this area lie over the well-known neolithic causewayed camp, and St. Peter’s Road runs north from the built-over cropmarks (centred on SU 5110 9840).

24 Mercer op. cit. note 19, 40.
Probably a chisel, it was made from a rod of brown, chert-patched flint, roughly rectangular in section at its present thicker end, where it was broken. Its dimensions are: length 78 mm.; width (max.) 29 mm.; width (cutting edge) 22 mm.; thickness (max.) 26 mm. Both sides were flaked alternately to produce a high dorsal ridge tapering to a narrower cutting edge. A final flake was taken off the dorsal ridge longitudinally from the cutting edge, and this face has been slightly ground and polished. The break, near the butt-end, truncates four scars. The cutting edge is that of a chisel, but would also have been suitable used as an adze.

A similar example is from Teddington (British Museum Occasional Paper No. 1, Cat. No. 245). But no others have come from excavation of the causewayed camp itself (1926-7; 1954; 1963), or from the intensive fieldwalking in the area. In a late neolithic context these are prestige possessions, found near major sites, and are often associated with grooved ware.

The chisel is on display in Abingdon Museum on a long-term loan. The Museum would like to thank Teresa Midwinter who found it and brought it in for identification; Richard Bradley, Julie Gardner and Ival Hornbrook who offered their comments and identified it; and Jeff Wallis who drew it and described its manufacture.

NANCY HOOD and JEFF WALLIS

THE EYNSHAM BY-PASS, OXON., 1982

This new road was constructed in 1982 across open land to the east of Enysham village.\(^\text{26}\) The route passed over the Summertown-Radley gravel terrace and also areas of recent alluvium.

A link road was also built. This ran south of the A40 from the bypass to Mill Lane and was constructed along the assumed northern edge of a known pagan Saxon cemetery. The cemetery, centred N.G.R. SP 4341 0989, was first discovered in 1859 and subsequently rediscovered during house building in Wytham View in 1952.\(^\text{27}\) Construction of the by-pass link road did not reveal any trace of the cemetery.

The northern end of the by-pass immediately south of the A40 passed along the assumed eastern edge of an early Saxon settlement.\(^\text{28}\) In 1938 several sunken-floored huts were discovered during gravel digging in an area centred NGR SP 4365 0980. Roman pottery was also found. However, the bypass construction did not reveal any archaeological remains in the vicinity.

A previously unsuspected Romano-British settlement\(^\text{29}\) was revealed during topsoil stripping for the bypass immediately to the east of the present primary school (site centred N.G.R. SU 759 806). Several linear features, pits and an area of cobbling were recorded. The finds suggested that these features belonged to a primarily domestic site, probably an agricultural settlement of unknown size. Although two features were clearly Romano-British, several features were not dated. None of the pottery recovered need have been any later than the mid 4th century A.D. One spread of domestic debris

\(^{26}\) The finds, site records and a detailed report will be deposited with the Oxfordshire County Museum under Sites and Monuments Record, P.R.N. 13,194.

\(^{27}\) Oxoniensis, xvii (1952), 216 and xviii (1953), 224; P.R.N. 1649.

\(^{28}\) Oxoniensis, iii (1938), 167; P.R.N. 1687.

\(^{29}\) P.R.N. 13,186.
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provided pottery which might have belonged to either the Late Iron Age or the early
Roman period. This settlement was probably a continuation of a late Iron Age
settlement centred to one side of the by-pass. The lack of specific late Roman-period
wares suggested that the centre of domestic activity may have moved a short distance
away by the later 4th century, perhaps in the direction of the Saxon settlement to the
north-west. No direct link between the Saxon and Roman settlements was found. The
presence of limestone in two features suggested a substantial Roman-period building
close by.

The Oxford Archaeological Unit would like to thank both Oxfordshire County
Council and the contractors, Kottler and Heron Construction Ltd., for permission to
enter and record the archaeology revealed during the construction of the by-pass. The
project was funded by the Department of the Environment.

R.A. CHAMBERS

A Roman Villa at Chilswell Farm, Boars Hill, Oxon

Work on this site was undertaken by Susan Shaw and Duncan Wilson for the Oxford
University Archaeological Society in 1976-77 as part of the Cumnor parish survey. A
scatter of pottery and building materials covering just over a hectare was located near
Chilswell Farm on a south-east facing slope surrounding an old springline (fig. 4D). The
site overlies the lower greensand. Within the scatter there were three concentrations of
material, of which the most dense (C) was examined by excavation. Points B and C
corresponded to spreads of stone and tufa. Concentrations A and C lie at the periphery
of the walked area, indicating that the scatter extended down the slope and over the
western field boundary.

Two trenches were sunk in area C to determine the nature of the building, the
depth of the stratigraphy, the date range for occupation and the extent of plough
damage (see Figs. 5 and 6). However, several relationships were not recorded. These
include all those with F7, that between L3 and L10, and the removal of the floor at the
west of trench A. Essentially, there is an opus signinum floor (L8a, 8b), made up on a layer
of small stones (L10), delimited to the north and east by stone walling bonded with
yellow mortar and standing in places to a height of two courses. The peculiar position of
F7 probably indicates a separate phase of occupation to which the two robber trenches
(L3, L6) might or might not belong. F4, recorded as both a trench and a depression, has
been drawn as the latter. The function of F9, a sub-rectangular projection of white
mortar surrounding a post-hole and contemporary with the floor, cannot be known
without further excavation. The section reveals that the building was set on a terrace,
and that plough damage extends below the floor levels for most of their extent. L2 and
the fill of F4 indicate the remains of a destruction layer largely removed by the plough.

30.449 kg of pottery was recovered, and consisted mostly of coarse reduced wares
(79.35 per cent), with some coarse oxidised wares (16.89 per cent), mortaria (1.52 per
cent), white wares (1.69 per cent), samian (0.12 per cent) and black burnished (0.15 per
cent). The tile removed from the site amounted to approximately 130 kg. Analysis of the
small quantity surviving reveals roof, floor and flue fragments and six tile tesserae from
area A. Painted wall-plaster was also recovered. One small red fragment has survived;
the rest, apparently coloured red and white, has been lost. Small finds consisted of a
blue glass bead (Fig. 7a) and two bronzes. The first, a badly worn coin, is of 1st-century
date, perhaps from the reign of Nerva. The second is a ring with prominent shoulders
KEY

- Find of Roman pottery
- Pottery kiln
  1st - 4th century
- Pottery kiln
  1st - 2nd century
- Major built-up areas

Fig. 3. Chilswell Farm, location.
ornamented with diagonal striations (Fig. 7b). The setting was originally enamelled, and has been dated on stylistic grounds to 150–250 A.D. One fragment of a coarse quartzite conglomerate quernstone, probably from the Pennine area, was also found. This had a convex grinding surface and was probably part of a lower stone.

This evidence suggests that the building is part of a villa, and the other concentrations of material perhaps indicate the locations of two further structures in the complex. The pottery shows that the site was occupied from the late 1st to the 4th century A.D. Fig. 3 shows the evidence for surrounding settlement and industry.

Some 50 mesolithic and neolithic flints were also found. Details of types and distributions are deposited, with the finds and site records, at the County Museum.

NIALL DONALD and SALLY CRAWFORD

30 Cf. J.R. Kirk, 'Bronzes from Woodeaton, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia* xiv (1949), 21–2, Fig. 5, No. 8.
Fig. 5. Chilwell Farm, trench-plans.

Fig. 6. Chilwell Farm, section.
The Roman main road (Margary 160b) which passes north from the Roman town at Dorchester-on-Thames to Alchester was sectioned obliquely, at N.G.R. SU 5753 9535, by a drainage gulley during the construction of the Dorchester bypass. The section appeared to confirm that the bridle path leading to Berinsfield was the Roman road, although no direct dating evidence was recovered.

Observed from the west the road could be seen as a low agger, but from the east the agger was concealed by a broad plough headland. This was confirmed by the section (Fig. 8). The headland comprised a light-brown soil (L12) which sealed the irregular surface of a buried topsoil (L13) similar to that found beneath the Roman road (L4). The irregular surface of L13 emphasised the nature of the accumulation beneath which it was buried. Tip-lines from soil dumped to create the raised foundation or agger for the road were clearly seen in section (collectively labelled L3). No road-surface metalling survived. The pre-Roman ground surface was clearly visible beneath the agger as a darker reddish-brown soil (L4) above a calcareous brown earth subsoil.

The road appears to have a continuous history as a thoroughfare until the present day. The headland (L12), laid out beside rather than above the road, suggests that the road continued in use during the medieval period. It appears to have been an open and unfenced route across agricultural fields before the 19th-century enclosure hedges were planted. The road does not feature on the Davis map of 1797, but is shown as a public highway on the Tithe Award map of 1847. The original roadside ditches were recut at

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33 The site records will be deposited with the Oxfordshire County Council Department of Museum Services, under P.R.N. 8923.
34 Classified as a typical argillic brown earth, either Sutton Series or Badsey Series. The lower portion of these soils are often slightly calcareous. Pers. Comm. John Hazelden of the Soil Survey for England and Wales.
35 O.R.O., Tithe Award No. 132.
least once (L5 and L14) during the 19th century. L8 has the appearance of once-removed subsoil and may be the edge of the road make-up which slumped into the roadside ditch soon after the road was built.

R.A. CHAMBERS

THE FOUNDATION OF GORING PRIORY

Of the Augustinian nunnery at Goring, H.E. Salter wrote in 1907: 'we have some knowledge of its early history from a confirmation charter issued about 1181 by Henry II to "the church of St. Mary at Goring and the nuns of that place". It tells us that the priory was founded in the reign of Henry I by Thomas de Druval, who granted the church a carucate of land at Goring.'

In fact Henry II’s charter says nothing of the kind. It does indeed confirm several small gifts by one Thomas de Druval, ninth in a list of nineteen benefactors of whom the others mostly lived in the 1160s or 1170s. Thomas is the most substantial benefactor

36 V.C.H. Oxon, ii, 103.
listed, but there is no suggestion in the charter that he had been the founder. The hide in Goring which was believed by 1279 to have been 'given in pure alms at the foundation of the house', presumably the 'carucate' referred to by Salter, does not appear at all. Since Henry II goes on to confirm 'that all the land of the said church of Goring shall be as free and quit of all pleas, claims, gelds, scots, castle-works and other customs as King Henry my grandfather granted to them, and as his charter witnesses', it is likely that all benefactions before some date in the 1120s or early 1130s appeared in this earlier document and were therefore taken as read: the confirmation of c.1181 only lists gains since the beginning of Henry II's reign.

This view is confirmed, where Thomas de Druval is concerned, by a newly-discovered charter of Thomas and his brother and heir Hugh, datable to 1173×95 on internal evidence. As a nun's dowry for their sister Emma, the two brothers give the nuns: 'an enlargement of their curia as a wall runs and demarcates between us and them'; the half-virgate which Aldred Nicher held with the appurtenant croft; the tenement of Osbert brother of Purchase with Osbert and his issue; Eilric Snig's croft; 8 ac. in the north field; and 'our quarry for repairing their mill and for all the necessities of their church'. Of these, Osbert's tenement and the quarry both appear among Thomas de Druval's gifts which Henry II confirmed in c.1181. The absence from this list of the other properties is probably because they were given after 1181, in which case the new charter should be dated 1181×95: this accords with the implication that, since Hugh was Thomas's heir and Emma was to become a nun, Thomas and Emma were probably elderly and childless. In any case, it seems inconceivable that the grant of a living villein, Osbert brother of Purchase, could actually be confirming a charter issued by another Thomas de Druval more than forty years earlier. Hence the Thomas whose benefactions were confirmed in c.1181 must be the one who flourished in the 1170s and 1180s, not some namesake of Henry I's time. This disposes of the nunnery's alleged founder, while leaving its real origins obscure.

Goring church, which was already parochial as well as monastic in the middle ages, consists of an early 12th-century west tower, nave, and originally apsidal chancel. Later in the 12th century, a whole new church with a cloister was added eastwards; the original church, separated from the new one by a cross-wall just west of its former apse, was left as a parish nave. The Druvals' gift of land adjoining the nuns' precinct suggests a context for these changes. The reference to a wall which 'demarcates between us and them' probably means that the nuns had incorporated the new land before the execution of the charter, though how long before is unclear. It at least seems likely that the building of the new church and cloister between the 1170s and the 1190s was in some way associated with patronage by Thomas de Druval: a fact which may explain his later claim to be considered the 'founder'.

39 One of the witnesses is Adam abbot of Missenden, for whom the earliest possible date is 1173: D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V. London (eds.), Heads of Religious Houses, 940-1216 (1972), 176. Thomas de Druval was dead by 1195: The Eynsham Cartulary, ed. H.E. Salter, i (O.H.S. xlix, 1907), 110-11. For other references to Thomas, see Ibid. 106-7, 168; Goring Charters, op. cit. note 37, xi-xl, 256; M. Chibnall, Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec (Camden 3rd ser. lxxiii, 1951), Nos. XXIV, LI.
40 On this interpretation, Osbert's tenement and the quarry are in the new charter as confirmations disguised as gifts. An alternative possibility (if the new charter in fact pre-dates 1181) is that the other tenements are being confirmed, and were omitted in c.1181 because they were already in Henry I's confirmation. But this is probably ruled out by the fact that they appear in the new charter as grants de novo for a nun's dowry.
How had the church been arranged before this firm separation of monastic from parochial? Did the nuns share it with the parish? There may be a faint suggestion that these Augustinian nuns, like so many houses of Augustinian canons, had succeeded some non-regular establishment with parochial functions, the former community of priests being either devolved to chapelries or allowed to co-exist with the nuns. Possibly in support of this is the remarkable number of chaplains and priests who witness the two early Druval charters for the nunnery:

Thomas and Hugh de Druval
1173×95 (printed below)

Alfred the chaplain
Bartholomew the chaplain
Jordan the chaplain

Hugh de Druval, c.1180×90
(Goring Charters, p. 3)

Alfred the chaplain
Bartholomew the chaplain
Ralph chaplain of Whitchurch
Ralph the clerk
Richard the clerk
Roger the priest
Stephen chaplain of Nuffield

These men do not appear in other Druval charters, and must be witnesses for the nuns. It is tempting to see them as the dispersed successors of a community which had once served outlying chapels from a central mother church.

The Goring case has affinities with other late 12th-century Augustinian foundations. An interesting architectural parallel, insofar as it also involved a new eastern church, is Henry II's enlargement of Waltham Holy Cross as an Augustinian abbey during the same years. Waltham was re-founded in expiation for Becket's murder, and it is at least a striking coincidence that Goring was dedicated (presumably re-dedicated) to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Nearer at hand, and perhaps more directly relevant, is Gilbert Basset's re-foundation of Bicester Priory. Again the Augustinian canons seem to have replaced an existing secular community; again they were housed in a new, properly conventual church, leaving the old one for parish use; again this happened in the early 1180s. Furthermore, witness-lists reveal links between the patrons of the two houses. Thomas and Hugh de Druval and Bartholomew the chaplain witness Gilbert Basset's first charter for Bicester (1182×5); Adam abbot of Missenden witnesses the first Druval charter for Goring and the second Basset charter for Bicester; and the witnesses to the second Druval charter for Goring begin with Gilbert Basset himself, as constable of Wallingford. Other witnesses common to the Bicester and Goring charters

42 For parallels for these practices see J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), Domesday Book: a Reassessment (1985), 120 note 67, 127-31. For a case of a former prebendary canon appearing as capellanus of a daughter church after the regularisation of his minster, see M.J. Franklin, 'The Secular College as a Focus for Anglo-Norman Piety', in J. Blair (ed.), Monastic and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition (forthcoming).

43 Cited note 39.

44 H.M. Colvin (ed.), The History of the King's Works, i (H.M.S.O., 1963), 88-9.


are Fulk Basset, William son of Philip de Cowley and James de Gerardmoulin. Goring was held of the honour of Wallingford, and the Druvals’ patronage of the nunnery may have owed something to Basset. Thus Goring highlights some cross-connections, both personal and architectural, in this relatively late phase of Augustinian patronage.

I am very grateful to Mr. Christopher Whittick for drawing my attention to the charter, and to him and to Dr. Janet Cooper for comments on an earlier draft.

Grant by Thomas and Hugh de Druval to the nuns of Goring, 1173\times81


(East Sussex Record Office FRE 7008. 226 × 127 mm. Slits for two seal-tags. Endorsed: ‘Carta Thome de drual. et hugis fratris eius’ (13th cent.); ‘iij.’ (medieval); ‘Goring, carte augmentationis monasterii et molendinii’ (16th cent.). This transcript follows punctuation and capitalisation, except that a comma represents the punctus elevatus.)

JOHN BLAIR

BUSCOT, OXON: MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT (S.U. 227 978, P.R.N. 7535)

Buscot is one of several shrunken villages on the banks of the upper Thames. Most of the parish is in the care of the National Trust, which since about 1960 has unfortunately allowed extensive ploughing of ridge and furrow grassland in the parish, and of medieval village earthworks between the present village and the 12th-century church.

Field-walking on the earthwork site has produced much medieval pottery in scattered groups with a main concentration at SU 2265 9785. This same area also produced a significant amount of 2nd-century Romano-British pottery of mainly coarse grey ware. The bulk of the pottery dates from the 12th to the 14th century, much of it from kilns at Minety, Brill/Boarstall, and a source in East Wiltshire. Some earlier calcareous tempered wares were also present.

The most impressive medieval group came from the eroding bank of Buscot weirpool where, above present normal river-levels, there is an exposed cross-section of a ditch or natural stream bed. Pottery was collected from bank falls following frost and flood and by minimal excavation. Some neck and handle sherds of individual vessels were found grouped together in situ. Three of these have been reassembled by the finder and drawn by Eleanor Beard of the Oxford Archaeological Unit. One is late 13th- or early 14th-century, decorated with white slip and slight green glaze, and may possibly originate from kilns at Nash Hill (Wilts.) (Fig. 9, No. 2). The second is probably a late 14th- or 15th-century jug from Minety (Wilts.) (Fig. 9, No. 1). The third, from Brill/

A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF NICHOLAS OF LYNN'S KALENDARIUM: CHAPEL HILL
MS 522, ff. 159'-202'

Chapel Hill MS 522, ff. 159'-202' (hereafter CHMS 522) contains a hitherto unidentified

manuscript of the Latin Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn, a Carmelite friar and astronomer who flourished at Oxford in the late 14th century. Nicholas’s Kalendarium is an astronomical almanac for the years 1386–1463 inclusive, computed for the longitude and latitude of Oxford. It includes a month-by-month calendar, listing saints’ feasts and the times of sunrise and sunset for each day, a shadow scale, calculating the length of the shadow of a six-foot man at various solar altitudes for each day of each month, and solar and lunar eclipse drawings and tables. In most manuscripts, these materials are preceded by a dedicatory prologue to John of Gaunt, who requested that Nicholas compile the calendar, and are followed by explanatory canons, giving directions for using the calendar proper. The Kalendarium was known to and used by Chaucer, who refers to Nicholas by name in his Treatise on the Astrolabe. Sigmund Eisner has already identified fifteen manuscripts of the Kalendarium, none of them complete, and published an edition for the New Chaucer Society. Although CHMS 522 is also incomplete, it does contain important materials missing from Eisner’s base text, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 622, namely all the lunar eclipse drawings and the tables of ascensions and equations of houses for Aries and Taurus.

Chapel Hill acquired the manuscript from Sotheby in December 1982 at a sale of the Macro library. Among its previous owners were Sir Henry Spelman, collector of many of the Macro manuscripts, and James Cobbe, whose 17th-century marginal notes appear within Nicholas’s prose treatise. The Kalendarium is bound with several other astronomical and mathematical manuscripts, among them William Rede’s Canones in tabulas Osionenses, John Maudith’s Canones and Robert Grosseteste’s De Sphaera. One of the manuscripts in the book is unique, a copy of Walter Odington’s Objectiones contra astrononmus et Respansiones ad objecta, a tract defending the study of astronomy by friars. Most of the manuscripts are on paper and consist of separate gatherings. The William Rede and Nicholas of Lynn, however, are copied on vellum. Many of the manuscripts, including the Nicholas of Lynn, have significant early glosses, indicating that their compiler may have been collecting useful scientific booklets. The book was assembled by the Dominicans at Thetford (Cambs.) in the early 15th century, although many of the manuscripts, including the William Rede and Nicholas of Lynn, probably originated in Oxford. The binding is 15th-century, wood boards covered with whitened leather, sewn onto five double-thongs. The clasp is missing.

The date of the manuscript is c. 1400, the terminus a quo of any Kalendarium manuscript being 1386, the year Nicholas tells us in his prologue that he compiled the calendar. The manuscript is written by a single scribe throughout, in a middle-grade university book hand, with features typical of late 14th-century anglicana hands and no secretarial influence. The manuscript’s colophon is unique, identifying the calendar as

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54 Rede (c. 1325–85), later Bishop of Chichester, and Maudith (c. 1303–43) were both prominent members of the Merton College school of astronomy. See R.T. Gunther, Early Science in Oxford, ii (1923), 56–57, 48.
56 Sale Catalogue, p. 53. A note on f. 50r records three disasters: the Black Death, an earthquake in 1382, and a fire in the Dominican Convent, Thetford. On the Dominican priory and convent at Thetford, see The Reliquary, n.s. iii (October, 1887).
the ‘new’ one compiled by Nicholas of Lynn (\textit{novum kalendarium compositum a fratre Nichalau de Lennia}, f. 202).\textsuperscript{58} The arrangement of materials in CHMS 522 is also noteworthy. In all but one of the manuscripts previously identified, Nicholas’s monthly calendar and supplemental tables come between his prologue and canons. Only in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.895, which Eisner dates to the 15th century, and in CHMS 522, do the canons come immediately after the prologue.\textsuperscript{59} In CHMS 522 the prologue and canons are in a single gathering, separate from the calendar proper, the outside pages of which are ruled but otherwise blank: that is, prologue and canons are a self-contained pamphlet.\textsuperscript{60} The only advantage of such an arrangement would have been scribal, at an early stage in the copying. Because greater care would be necessary in recording the columns of numerical data in the calendar proper, it would have made sense to keep this scribal task distinct from the copying of the prose treatise. Later, in copying more ‘finished’ manuscripts, scribes could easily insert the monthly calendar and tables between the prologue and canons. A red bracket on f. 196\textsuperscript{r}, beginning at the line where the prologue leaves off and the canons begin, may have been intended to signal the insertion of the calendar proper at this point. Finally, the content of CHMS 522 is distinctive. Eisner groups each of his manuscripts as early or late according to whether they use approximate or more exact calculations for the shadow lengths for low solar altitudes (1 degree or less), postulating that the approximate figures are the work of later scribes. Each of his manuscripts contains either the approximate or the more exact calculations. CHMS 522 contains data from both sets of calculations, approximate figures for January–July, more exact ones for August–November, suggesting that both sets of figures may have originated with Nicholas himself, and that CHMS 522 might have been copied very soon after Nicholas compiled his calendar.

I am currently preparing for publication a thorough description and analysis of CHMS 522, with a list of textual variants collated against Eisner’s edition. Thanks are due to the Rare Book Collection, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, for permission to quote from the manuscript, and to Mr. David Ganz, of the university’s Classics Department, for much helpful advice.

MICHAEL P. KUCZYNSKI

FILLING A REGIUS CHAIR: PATRONAGE AND THE DIVINITY CHAIR IN 1741

Evidence for the operation of the 18th-century patronage system is necessarily limited by the nature of political society in the period. The court acted as the focus of patronage, and most discussions there were oral and have left little if any evidence. Significant exceptions were the periods of royal visits to Hanover, during which it was harder for ministers to influence the monarch. In the case of ecclesiastical preferments, particular problems were created by the tradition that the Anglican chaplain in attendance on the king had the first call on any plum post.

The series State Papers Regencies preserved in the Public Record Office (Chancery Lane) contains the correspondence between the actual, or acting, Secretary of State who

\textsuperscript{58} ‘New’ here probably is meant to distinguish Nicholas’s calendar from the ‘old’ calendar of Walter of Elwedene, which ran to 1385.

\textsuperscript{59} CHMS 522 could not have been copied from MS Rawlinson C.895, which has many more omissions.

\textsuperscript{60} Resulting in Sotheby’s failure to attribute the calendar proper to Nicholas of Lynn in their description: Sale Catalogue p. 55.
accompanied the king to Hanover and his counterpart who remained in London. Scattered through it are valuable references to considerations of patronage. One such from 1741, when George II went to Hanover taking with him William Stanhope, Lord Harrington, the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, is a letter (SP 43/105, unfoliated) relating to the Regius chair of Divinity in Oxford, made vacant by the death of Dr. Rye. It was sent on 15 July (O.S.) 1741 by Andrew Stone, under-secretary of state in the Southern Department and general factotum of the Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, to Harrington's under-secretary Edward Weston. The letter reveals ministerial sensitivity over the idea of a Cambridge graduate gaining the Oxford chair. Stone, a product of Christ Church, and John Potter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, were to have their way: Rye was succeeded by John Fanshawe D.D., formerly Regius Professor of Greek. The letter, printed below as in the original, is of considerable interest as evidence for the qualifications considered vital for the post, and the care taken not to offend Oxford views.

I inclose a private letter from My Lord Duke to Lord Harrington... There is one point omitted in it, which His Grace directed me to desire you would be so good as to mention to His Lordship, relating to the place of Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, now vacant by the death of Dr. Rye, who succeeded the Archbishop of Canterbury in it. The Archbishop, and everybody here, are of opinion, that this vacancy must be supplied by one of the University of Oxford: There having never been, (as anybody knows of) one precedent to the contrary, and, as Dr. Bullock was of Cambridge, he will not, (it is concluded,) think of making any application on this occasion; It will probably enough occur to you, that Dr. Roger Hutton was in a circumstance very like this, when he attended H.M. at Hanover in 1736, at which time a canonry of Ch. Church became vacant; & tho' he, being of Cambridge, could not take the canonry himself, yet he negotiated an exchange with Dr. Freind, & succeeded him in the canonry of Windsor, which he quitted, in order to go to Ch. Ch. But the present case in one material circumstance is very different: The office of Divinity-Professor requiring a person, particularly qualified for it; And such an one, as I believe can not be found at present, in either of the Churches of Westminster, or Windsor; at least, that would quit one of those easy & quiet preferments, for the laborious and difficult employment of Professor.

JEREMY BLACK

MARRIAGE FOR OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE FELLOWS: A PLEA OF 1762

An interesting plea for the marriage of Oxford and Cambridge fellows can be found in an anonymous letter in the London Chronicle for 13 February 1762:

To the printer,
Sir,
That the 'chief strength of a state consists in the number of its subjects,' is a maxim too apparently just to be denied; he then who promotes the populousness, promotes also the good of his country. Actuated by this motive, the writer of the present letter flatters himself, that his intention will be considered with candour, though his proposal may perhaps be misconstrued by prejudice, or misrepresented by malevolence.

It has been often invishly remarked, that the Fellows of Colleges in both our Universities are, in regard to marriage, almost as useless to the state, as an equal number of Monks would be. 'Tis allowed — and yet it is no less true, that want of inclination can seldom be objected against them. It is a well-known — though a melancholy — truth, that many of them live years after years, under mutual engagements with the object of their several choice waiting, wishing, and pining, with a fruitless expectancy of something which may enable them to enter into the state with cheerfulness. To them the consequence of marriage is the loss of their fellowship; they defer then in hopes of some preferment, because few have a competency exclusive of their fellowships; and a little observation serves to convince them that, where want interferes, conjugal felicity is
rarely, very rarely to be found. To remove these discouragements, many schemes have been hitherto in vain projected. The following one may probably be disapproved, but let it be considered, at least, before it is condemned.

When a living in the gift of any particular college becomes vacant it is offered (according to the present plan of succession) to the senior Fellow; if he declines it to the second in point of seniority – and so is continued by a gradual decent till some one accepts it. Let this plan be still partly pursued — but let the Living be given (though in preference to a senior) to him who declares his resolutions of marrying within a stated time after his presentation to it, as thus; when a college living becomes vacant, let it be offered to the Senior as usual, but with this condition, that he signs a bond or some other equivalent assurance, to marry within a limited time, – one year, or two perhaps, after his signing the said assurance; – if he refuses, let it be proposed with the same condition to the next, and so downwards, till some one accepts, or all refuse. In the last case (which I dare venture to affirm, will not happen twice in an age) let it be offered again without restriction, after the method in which college livings now are.

The advantages of this proposed method are manifest. The man who wishes to enjoy the benefits of society, to taste the bliss of "wedded Love," to discharge his obligations to his country as a subject, a husband, a father, will be enabled to do it, and will bless the change which puts it so expeditiously in his power. The long years of expectancy, to which the former method would have doomed him, vanish at once; he comes into life before his passions are so deadened as to leave him no relish of it, and enters upon the several duties of society, whilst his age, still vigorous, enables him to execute them. Nor can it be exclaimed against as unjust in the person who may be thus excluded. If a man prefers solitude to society, he will refuse the offer; let him refuse it and remain as he is. If his affection for his fellow creatures, if all those social virtues, which are implanted in us to humanize the soul, and conciliate our love for each other, are sunk, are swallowed up in a kind of apathy, of stoical insensibility — let him hide himself in the gloom of a college, let him industriously refrain from all intercourse with the rest of mankind, and esteem himself, as every one else does — an useless member of society!

Besides, he who wishes for an increase of wealth (says a well-known author) to confine its benefits to himself, is unworthy of it; — how much then must this unworthiness be encreased; when we consider that in the instance now before us, a man of this selfish unsoical nature, engrosses very often those benefits unprofitably, which, if conferred on others, would produce the most grateful returns. I am, Sir, your constant reader,

ACADEMICUS

Two issues later, on 18 February, appeared a reply from A Templar, another anonymous contributor.

Sir,
The letter signed, Academicus in your last Saturday's paper, brought to my mind the new absurd restriction, which the professors of Gresham College, and all candidates for a professorship there, labour under, by the prohibiting them to marry, and led me to offer a hint, through the means of your paper, to the gentlemen concerned in the application to parliament for pulling down the College, and erecting in its room a square of dwelling-houses, to add a clause to their bill, for taking off that restriction, which would only be intended by the public-spirited founders as a necessary provision in a college or university (which he certainly aimed at establishing in this metropolis) where the professors and students were to lead a kind of monastick retired life, in separate apartments, with common tables in the publick hall for their meals, and subject to such other regulations as usually take place in universities, and are not consistent with a married life. As this intention, however well-aimed, could not take effect, and as the professors are now to be dispersed, and there is no probability of establishing an university on this foundation, it ceases to be necessary, even within what we must suppose to be the view of the patriotic mind of Sir Thomas Gresham, to confine either the professors or candidates to celibacy; and surely so useless a restriction ought no longer to remain in force, as it is derogatory to the honourable state of marriage, contrary to good policy, and inconsistent with the welfare of the community. Let the reader, to convince himself of the propriety of abolishing this restriction, only compute according to the common rules of propagation, how many members have been lost to the body politic by this restraint on seven professors having subsisted ever since the establishment of the college, and that will be sufficient to induce him to be of the same opinion as your humble servant.

A TEMPLAR
This appears to have been the end of the exchange, a fascinating and rare glimpse of attitudes towards academics in this period.

JEREMY BLACK

NONCONFORMIST CHAPELS IN OXFORDSHIRE, 1984

The nonconformist chapels are now disappearing, some altered for other purposes and some demolished. It seemed worth attempting to make a record of them, omitting those built since the Second World War and those in the urban areas of Oxford and Banbury.

The method employed was to visit the churches marked on the 1" O.S. Map of the county. Those which are nonconformist were photographed and a brief description made of their external features. No attempt was made to examine the interior, or to consult written records. The name of the denomination and the age of the building is often inscribed on it, and could therefore be noted. Thirteen marked on the map could not be found, and five unmarked ones were located. A total of 203 chapels was recorded, of which 119 were still in use, 25 were disused often ruinous, and 59 had been converted for other purposes. The numbers belonging to the three main denominations were as follows: Methodist 98; Baptist 35; Congregational 17. There was no information as to the ownership of 34 chapels. It was possible to determine the age of 120 buildings by reference to inscriptions. The numbers for the four quarters of the last century were 7, 24, 38 and 30 respectively, and 10 were dated between 1901 and 1925. There were only 4 from the 18th century, and one of these was a Friends Meeting House.

The photographs and notes are deposited for reference in the County Museum, Woodstock.

B.J. and M.J. MARPLES