Notes

DEGREE PLAYS

In 1512 one Edward Watson, college or hall unknown, was required by a grace of congregation to write 100 songs in praise of the University, and also a comedy, in order to receive his B.A.[1] This is the only evidence in University records of play-writing as a statutory degree requirement. Other circumstantial evidence, however, points to an informal tradition at Oxford of undergraduates presenting original dramatic compositions as part of the ritual of supplicating for their B.A.s.

The main evidence for such a suggestion comes from two poems written *c.*1640 by Martin Lluellyn, a Student of Christ Church, printed in 1646 in a volume called *Men-Miracles. With Other Poemes* (no place of publication; *Wing*: L2625). The first poem, on p. 77, is entitled 'To my Lord B[ishop] of Ch[ichester] when I presented him a Play'. The second poem, immediately following on p. 80 (78 and 79 are omitted in the pagination), is entitled 'To Dr. F[ell] Deane of Ch[rist] Ch[urch] now Vicechancellour of Oxford, upon the Same occasion'. The first poem talks of 'single leafes' and 'lesse papers' which the author has given the recipient 'foure yeares since', and which, because of the latter's encouragement, have now grown into the 'Prodigie' of a 'Play'. The second poem calls the play 'a Trifle' offered to the dean in order to 'begge degree' and 'receive a Hood', adding that this is not a form of supplication 'as understood'.

From this information it is easy enough to reconstruct the date and the participants of this ritual. Martin Lluellyn matriculated as a Student of Christ Church on 25 July 1636, at the age of 18. He took his B.A. on 7 July 1640. He later became M.A. in 1643, and D.Med. in 1653. The date of the poems must therefore be 1640. In that year the Bishop of Chichester was Brian Duppa, who had been Dean of Christ Church for the first two years of Lluellyn's residency there. The table of contents to the volume confirms this by changing the title of the first poem to 'To my Lord B[ishop] of S[alisbury]' (sig.A8), which was Duppa's title in 1646.[2] The second poem is even more clearly addressed to Samuel Fell, who succeeded Duppa as Dean of Christ Church from 1638–47, and who was also Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1645–8, i.e. at the time the poem addressed to him was finally published.

These poems, then, record a rite of passage enacted by an undergraduate about to receive his B.A. before the two men who had been heads of his house since he arrived in Oxford. What the nature was of the 'single leafes' that he had given Dean Duppa in 1636 we cannot tell, but he evidently felt in 1640 that a more substantial composition was now called for, and that it should be a play. There is no indication of what language it was written in, and no suggestion that it was meant to be performed. The only hint as to what its subject was comes in the second poem, where the author asks Dean Fell to 'seat

[1] C.W. Boase, (ed.), *Register of the University of Oxford*, i (O.H.S. i, 1885), 298.

[2] In one of the three Bodleian copies of this book (8° L16 Art. BS) a marginal hand resembling Anthony Wood's has identified the dedicatee of this poem as 'Duppa'.

him high in his faign'd Queens view,/ High as her selfe, and yet both kneele to you'. All that can be made of this is that the central character in the play seems to have been a Queen.

Lluellyn's career as a playwright did not end with his baccalaureate. Although he became a physician by profession, his attachment to Oxford and its cultural activities continued. In 1660 he was appointed both King's Physician and Principal of St. Mary's Hall. In the following summer preparations were made for a visit to Oxford by the new King Charles II, and we know from a letter of Timothy Halton, a Fellow of Queen's, that 'the play [was] made by Dr. Llewellyn'. Whether it was the same play he had written 20 years before we do not know, since it was never performed due to a 'want of actors'.[3]

Taken together with the much earlier grace involving Edward Watson, the case of Martin Lluellyn, playwright, does not seem to be an isolated event. A number of Oxford plays, all of them in Latin, survive in MS copies for which there is no external evidence of performance and whose existence may only be explained if we posit a circumstance like Lluellyn's. Thomas Atkinson's *Homo* (*c.*1619), surviving in a fair copy dedicated to William Laud, President of St. John's, would seem to be just such a degree play, though a few stage-directions added after the text had been copied suggest that it may eventually have received a production. In the same category we can probably put Philip Parsons's *Atalanta* (*c.*1614), also dedicated to Laud, and Christopher Wren's *Physiponomachia* (*c.*1609), dedicated to John Buckridge, Laud's predecessor. The fact that these plays, along with others like John Blencowe's *Mercurius*, George Wilde's *Eumorphus*, Henry Bellamy's *Iphis*, and Joseph Crowther's *Cephalus et Procris* were all written by St. John's men has led G.E. Bentley to wonder whether they do not represent 'a standard St. John's exercise'.[4] The survival of so many MSS from St. John's is indeed suggestive of this, but Lluellyn's play, which was unknown to Bentley, may indicate that the practise they represent was widespread throughout the University.

J.R. ELLIOTT

OXONIENSIA AND THE STUDY OF EARLY WINE-BOTTLES: A NEW EXAMPLE DATED 1659

In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s no journal did more than *Oxoniensia* to support and encourage the infant discipline of medieval archaeology. Papers by R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, E.M. Jope and E.T. Leeds set the subject firmly on its feet, not least in the proper and meticulous study of ceramics. Nor was later material ignored; in these papers, the archaeological approach was extended logically to what was only afterwards to be called 'post-medieval' archaeology ('early modern' would be a less negative, culturally more helpful title).

Among the later materials which early attracted attention were the glass wine-bottles, commonly known as 'sack bottles', whose fragments must have turned up on every building site in the city. Long before their real value as dating evidence can have been fully appreciated – in their changing forms these bottles are one of the characteristic artefacts of English, indeed European colonisation – E.T. Leeds began the scholarly study of their evolutionary development. From a pioneering paper in *The*

[3] Cal. State Pap. Domestic, xxxix, 32 (1661).

[4] G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (1941–68), iii, 4.

Facsimiles of all of the MSS mentioned here may be found in M. Spevack and J.W. Binns (eds.), *Renaissance Latin Drama in England, First Series: Plays Associated with Oxford University* (Hildesheim and New York, 1981–4).

Antiquary in 1914, he returned to the subject in three papers in *Oxoniensia*, in 1938, 1941, and 1949.[5] Leeds's work was successfully extended in the 1960s by Ivor Noël Hume, partly on the basis of discoveries in Virginia,[6] and the subject has expanded with the burgeoning application of archaeological enquiry to early modern sites, most recently by Gabeba Abrahams working in Cape Town.[7]

Meanwhile, in Oxford, Leeds's historical approach of relating the bottles by their seals to Oxford taverns had been followed up by the work of D.A. Hinton in 1967 and Jeremy Haslam in 1969 and 1970, linking the bottles by their seals to individual colleges.[8]

Wine-bottles of this kind, made from thick green or dark-green glass, come into common use in the 1660s. From this time onwards their evolution in form provides useful dating evidence for both land sites and wrecks. And the relatively large numbers in which fragments are found means that their scatter is helpful in defining areas of occupation, whether of or within a single-period site, or of the successive phases of a multi-period settlement.[9] With the basic chronology of their changes in shape now established, future studies, drawing on the large deposits of known date gradually becoming available from urban excavations and underwater wrecks, will probably refine this chronology statistically, revealing the overlapping, waxing, and waning of the different types of bottle.[10] Definition of regional variations within the broader chronological changes should also help to explore the development of the bottle-making industry.

The date of the introduction of the thick-walled glass wine-bottle remains obstinately obscure, although important not only as providing a key element in the dating of mid 17th-century deposits, but also as marking a significant development in the glass industry, and the connoisseurship of wine. The actual date will eventually be established only by the publication of dated deposits of the 1640s(?) and 1650s, for example from sites occupied for short periods during the Civil War, or from ships sunk in these decades whose date of loss is known. This must at least be the case for unsealed bottles, whose actual date (or *terminus ante quem*) can only be established precisely by their discovery in dated deposits. Their shape will certainly be that called 'shaft and globe', but the minor variations of form within this type do not provide secure evidence of their date of manufacture, least of all at the beginning of the type in the 1640s or 1650s.

A second approach is through the seals attached to some bottles. These consist of a

[5] 'On the Dating of Glass Wine-Bottles of the Stuart Period', *The Antiquary*, l (1914), 285–90; 'Glass Vessels of the XVI Century and Later from the Site of the Bodleian Extension in Broad Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, iii (1938), 153–61; '17th and 18th century Wine-Bottles of Oxford Taverns', *Oxoniensia*, vi (1941), 44–45; 'Glass Bottles of the Crown Tavern, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 87–9.

[6] 'The Glass Wine Bottle in Virginia', *Journal of Glass Studies*, iii (1961), 90–117; *Glass in Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeological Collections*, Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series i (Williamsburg, 1969), 33–41; *A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York, 1970), 60–71; *All the Best Rubbish* (1974), 173–203.

[7] 'Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Glass Bottles Excavated from Fort De Goede Hoop, Cape Town', *Annals of the South African Cultural History Museum*, i.1 (November, 1987). I am very grateful to Ms. Abrahams for drawing this paper to my attention.

[8] D.A. Hinton, 'A Glass Bottle Seal from Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxii (1967), 10–12; J. Haslam, 'Oxford Taverns and the Cellars of All Souls in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiv (1969), 45–77; J. Haslam, 'Sealed Bottles from All Souls College', *Oxoniensia*, xxxv (1970), 27–33.

[9] Their use both for dating deposits and for defining areas of occupation has been a feature of the study of the later occupation of Nonsuch Palace: see, M. Biddle et al., *The Palace of Nonsuch*: ii: *The Domestic Occupation* (forthcoming).

[10] A beginning has been made by J.P. Allan, 'A Note on the Green Bottle Glass', in J.P. Allan, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971–1980*, Exeter Archaeological Reports 3 (1984), 278.

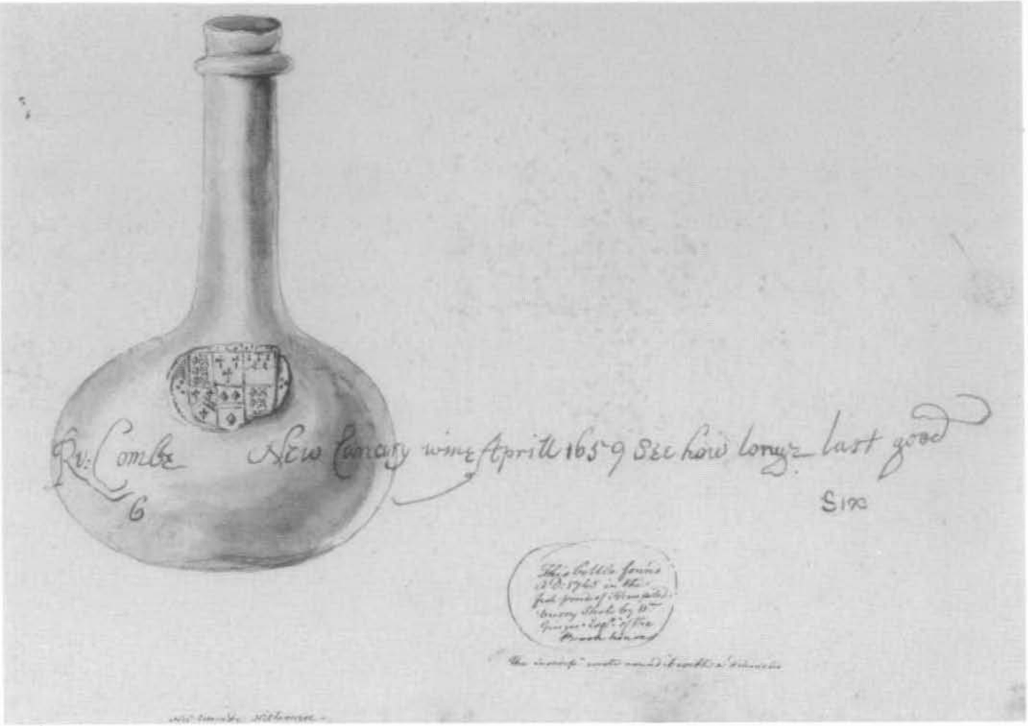

Fig. 1. Wine-bottle sealed with the arms of Richard Bury of The Combe, Hemel Hempstead, and dated 1659. (Bodl. Gough Maps 11 f. 61; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library.)

blob of glass applied to the bottle while still warm after blowing and stamped with a metal die engraved with the arms, initials, or mark of the owner, whether a private individual (such as Samuel Pepys), an institution (for example, All Souls College), a tavern (for example the Three Tuns in Oxford), or a merchant. Only three sealed bottles bearing dates earlier than 1660 seem so far to have been reliably recorded:[11]

WE 1650	The letters joined. From the Thames at Queenhithe (Museum of London). Seal only.
John Jefferson 1652	With arms (Museum of London). Seal only.
RMP 1657	With a king's head in profile. Found at Market Harborough (Northampton Museum). Intact bottle.

[11] For the latest general listing, with references to earlier work, see R. Dumbrell, *Understanding Antique Wine Bottles* (1983). This is a useful and enthusiastic book, where the lists of seals with crests and coats-of-arms (Appendix I, pp. 208–31) and other seals (Appendix II, pp. 232–324) provide a valuable updating of the pioneer list published by S. Ruggles-Brise, *Sealed Bottles* (1949), but this is only a start: only one of the ten seals from Nonsuch (see above, note 9) occurs in these lists, and the publication of recent excavations, especially those from London, can be expected to add very many more. For a drawing of the *WE 1650* seal, see R. Weinstein in *Glass Circle News*, xxxix (Nov. 1987); I am grateful to Hazel Forsyth, Museum of London, for this reference. For the find-spot of the *RMP 1657* seal, usually said to have been Wellingborough, see R. Morgan, *Sealed Bottles. Their History and Evolution (1630–1930)* (2nd edn., 1980), 25, and cf. pp. 7 (photograph) and 9.

The purpose of this note is to put on record a fourth example dated before 1660. Although not now known to exist, it is admirably recorded in a watercolour sketch in the Bodleian Library (Fig. 1).[12] The bottle is a 'shaft and globe' with a rounded, unshouldered body, and a long, parallel-sided, untapered neck; the string-rim is applied well below the lip. These features are all regarded on typological grounds as belonging to the earliest type of thick-walled wine bottle and datable to the 1650s. The bottle is sealed with an elaborately quartered coat of arms. Around the body, 'The inscrip[tio]n wrote round it with a diamond', as a note on the drawing records, is the text *Ri: Combe New Canary wine Aprill 1659 See how longe last good*, with the numeral '6' and the word 'Six' below. In an oval cartouche, possibly representing a copy of a label stuck on (? below) the bottle, is the note *This bottle found A.D: 1745 in the fish ponds of Hempstedburry Herts by W.^{m} Ginger Esq.^{r} of the Brook house.* Below this cartouche is the note about the diamond, presumably added by the artist from his own inspection of the bottle, and along the bottom margin is the motto *Nil linnide* [sic] *Nil temere* – possibly with reference to the coat of arms on the seal immediately above.

The beginning of the year at this date was 25 March, so the year is 1659 as given, but this provides only a *terminus ante quem* for the bottle. The inscriptions '6' and 'Six' probably number the bottle in a series,[13] since the description 'New Canary' presumably excludes a reference to the vintage of 1656.

The record of the find-spot provides the clue needed to solve the origin of the bottle. Hempsteadbury, or The Bury, was the manor-house of Hemel Hempstead, acquired by the Combe family in the reign of Henry VIII.[14] By the mid 17th century it was the property of Richard Combe, who was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1646, knighted before 1662–3, and died in 1676.[15] The Combe arms are carved on the surviving mid 16th-century porch of The Bury, now known (erroneously) as 'The Charter Tower' and rebuilt on a new site in Gadebridge Park:

> Quarterly of 6: I and VI, ermine, three lions passant in pale (gules), for Combe; II, three swords in pale, points in base; III, per fess indented ermine and . . . [?]; IV, a chevron between three trefoils slipped; V, a fess between three lozenges, for Marshall?[16]

[12] Bodl. Gough Maps 11 f.61.

[13] This suggestion finds some support in the discovery ten years earlier of what seems to be another bottle in the series: 'Saturday 30 August [1735]. As some Labourers were lately cleaning a Fish pond at *Hempstead* in *Hertfordshire*, they found a Bottle of Sack cover'd with Mud a Yard thick; on it were inscrib'd these words, *New Canary put in to see how long keep good, April, 1659, Ri. Combe.* The Mouth of the Bottle was wax'd over, and the Wine good, but the Cork almost decay'd' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, v (1735), 499; also noted by R. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquaries of the County of Hertford*, i (1815), 417, note i). At first sight this would seem to be a record of the discovery of the bottle illustrated in the Bodleian watercolour, but the date of the discovery is different, and it was made by labourers, not by Mr. Ginger (although he might, of course, have got the bottle from them). What seems to clinch the matter, even given possible vagaries of recording, is the text with its different word order and additional words.

[14] *VCH Herts.* ii (1908), 219–20.

[15] Clutterbuck op. cit. note 13, 417–19; J.E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, iii, *The Hundred of Dacorum* (1879, repr. 1972), 156–7. The Bury was rebuilt in 1790 by Mr. Ginger (Cussans, op. cit. 156), perhaps the son of the William Ginger of Brook House who found the bottle in 1745, who may himself be the William recorded in 1727 (*VCH Herts.* ii (1908), 225).

[16] Cussans op. cit. note 15, 156. The arms on the tower were already then partly illegible (cf. *R.C.H.M. Herts.* (1910), 110; N. Pevsner and B. Cherry, *The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire*, (2nd edn., 1977), 180), but can be extended by the arms on the graveslab of Dame Ann Combe (d. 1658), Sir Richard's wife, in the N. transept of Hemel Hempstead church, as recorded by Cussans op. cit., 159. For the pedigree of Combe, see Clutterbuck op. cit. note 13, 419.

Here we have what are clearly the arms of the bottle, and we may safely identify 'Ri: Combe' as the Restoration knight who died in 1676. That the artist made this connection to the Combe family is shown by his record of their motto *Nil timere nec temere*, albeit incorrectly, in the bottom margin of the drawing, below the seal.[17]

This identification between owner and sealed bottle is the earliest dated and documented example we have so far.[18] It fully supports Ivor Noël Hume's contention that 'the earliest seals seem to have been made either for gentlemen or for taverns'.[19] Combe, like Pepys four years later,[20] loved his wine and was sufficiently conscious of family and status to have his bottles sealed in what by 1659 must still have been a fairly new fashion. How new, and by which glass-houses and die-makers the demand was met, are questions still to be answered.

MARTIN BIDDLE

THE SIEGE OF OXFORD AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

The Museum of Oxford has on loan from the Earl of Dartmouth a painting of the siege of Oxford by Jan de Wyck (1652–1700).[21] This painting is not all that it appears to be, and doubt has been cast on its validity as direct evidence of the siege.[22] The principal basis for the painting is de Gomme's map of the Oxford defences (1645),[23] whilst the anachronistic depiction of the Sheldonian Theatre and the layout of the castle implies familiarity with Loggan's birds-eye view of Oxford (1675), from which the panorama of Oxford at the top of the painting is also taken.

One fact that has so far gone unnoticed is the date of the painting itself. It is clearly signed and dated *J. Wyck A° 1689* (i.e. the year March 1689 to March 1690). If indeed the painting was commissioned for the first Baron Dartmouth in 1689, this date is not without significance. George Legge (1648–91) was raised to the peerage in 1682 in memory of his father's service as much for his own loyal service to the crown.[24] William Legge (1609?–1670) had been Governor of Oxford between January and September 1645, during the second siege of Oxford, and was later to decline the offer of an earldom from Charles II. His removal from the governorship was simply on account of his association with Prince Rupert, whose disgrace he shared after the fall of Bristol.[25] The 'second siege' of Oxford was a short affair, lasting from 21 May, when Fairfax arrived at

[17] For the Combe motto, see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, s.n.

[18] For the purpose of this note, I am including only bottles actually bearing dates. Ivor Noël Hume has established that bottles stamped *RW*, two of which are known from London, were probably made for Ralph Wormeley of Jamestown, Virginia, who died in 1651, since a bottle seal from the same matrix was found on Wormeley's home site at Jamestown (*Glass in Colonial Williamsburg's Collections*, op. cit. note 6, pp. 33–4, Fig. 23). If this is correct, and it seems very probable, this would be the earliest documented sealed bottle, although not itself actually bearing a date.

[19] *Artifacts of Colonial America*, op. cit. note 6, p. 61.

[20] R. Latham and W. Matthews, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, iv, *1663* (1971), 346: 'Thence to Mr Rawlinsons and saw some of my New bottles, made with my Crest upon them, filled with wine, about five or six dozen'. Pepys' crest was a camel's head erased, and it seems clear that it was with this and not his arms that his bottles were sealed.

[21] A well-known painter of battle scenes; see s.n. John Wyck in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[22] A. Kemp, 'The Fortification of Oxford during the Civil War', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 237ff, esp. 241–2.

[23] R.T. Lattey, E.J.S. Parsons and I.G. Philip, 'A Contemporary Map of the Defences of Oxford in 1644', *Oxoniensia*, i (1936), 161ff; de Gomme was working at Portsmouth while William Legge was Governor there (Kemp op. cit. note 22, 241).

[24] For both George and William Legge, see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[25] F.J. Varley, *The Siege of Oxford* (1932), 75.

Oxford, until 4 June, when the rebel forces left Oxford to pursue the King in the campaign leading to the battle of Naseby.[26] Given the obvious anachronisms of the scene shown on the painting, it may as well be a view of the siege of 1645 as of the final siege in the next year, when Legge was no longer Governor. Indeed, if any one occasion is meant to be depicted amongst the several events in the painting, it might show the raising of the siege, when the outlying forces withdrew from around Oxford and returned over the bridge at Marston to the Parliamentary lines.

What then of 1689? George Legge, Lord Dartmouth, after many years in the army under Rupert and the Duke of York, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in 1688 on the approach of the Prince of Orange. Only the winds and weather kept the fleet from active pursual of William down the Channel, though the loyalty of the seamen might have been less than wholly dependable if the two fleets had actually engaged. Dartmouth's own loyalty was unquestionable, though he felt unable to convey the young Prince to France at James's behest.[27] Once the King had left, all acts of hostility ceased and the fleet was put under the Prince of Orange's protection, on the orders of the provisional government.[28] He was relieved of his command in January 1688/9, and was amongst the first to take the oath to William and Mary, but was nevertheless involved in the Jacobite conspiracy of December 1690, which ended with the arrest of Lord Preston and others, and he died of apoplexy in the Tower in October 1691.

If, as seems likely, it was Dartmouth who commissioned Wyck in 1689 to paint the siege of Oxford, what can he have intended? Whilst the parallels are not exact, the common factor in both father and son of service to the Stuart cause must have been obvious. Although Dartmouth was not to live to see his King restored, his father had done so. Ironically, his own son was to be raised to an Earldom in 1711.

JULIAN MUNBY

THE WAYSIDE CROSS AT SARSDEN: A 19th-CENTURY 'FOLLY'?

The supposedly medieval wayside cross (Fig. 2; N.G.R. SP 2908 2329) near Sarsden House, Sarsden (Oxon.) has few references in archaeological or topographical literature. It has been described by B.J. Marples in *Oxoniensia*[29] and is mentioned in *The Buildings of England*.[30] It is included on the Department of Environment List of Historic Buildings as a Grade II* item.[31]

The absence of earlier references is complete. The cross is not mentioned in Aymer Vallance's *Old Crosses and Lychgates* (1920), nor apparently in any of the voluminous 19th-century literature of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Society or the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society, including E. Marshall's paper on medieval crosses.[32]

[26] Ibid., 126–9; F.J. Varley, *Mercurius Aulicus* (1948), 103–5.
[27] Robert Beddard, *A Kingdom Without a King* (1988), 18–19, 31.
[28] Ibid. 68–9, 176–7.
[29] B.J. Marples, 'The Medieval Crosses of Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 308.
[30] J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Oxon.* (1974), 753.
[31] Revised by the writer 1987 and awaiting publication by D.O.E.
[32] E. Marshall, 'Wayside, Churchyard and Market Crosses', *Oxon. Arch. Soc. Reps.* xxxvii (1897–8), 28–39.

Fig. 2. Sarsden, the 'wayside cross'. (Ph. N. Doggett.)

Earlier antiquaries such as Skelton, Brewer, White Kennett, Dr. Plot, Rawlinson and Camden likewise make no reference to the cross.[33]

This in itself is perhaps not surprising, but the number of early maps on which the cross is not shown is rather more remarkable. It is not shown on detailed estate maps of the area made in 1788 and 1795,[34] nor is there any clue as to its existence from the surrounding fieldnames recorded in the accompanying terriers.[35] Likewise, it is not marked on a map of 1817 recording an exchange of the surrounding land between J.H. Langston, the owner of Sarsden House, and the rector of Churchill-cum-Sarsden in 1818.[36] It does not appear on the plan in Humphry Repton's Red Book of 1795/6 for improvements at Sarsden,[37] nor on the 2-inch working drawings (1815) of the Ordnance Survey.[38] The first map on which it is marked is the first edition 6-inch map of the area (1885), where it is lettered in Gothic script denoting an antiquity.[39]

[33] Joseph Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (1823); J.N. Brewer, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Oxford* (1819); White Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities of Ambrosden and Burcester* (1695); Dr. Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677); Rawlinson's Collections for Oxfordshire, Bodl. MS Rawl. B. 400. B; William Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Richard Gough (1808).

[34] Oxon.R.O., LO. vii/1; LO. vii/2.

[35] Oxon.R.O., LO. vi/5; LO. vi/7–9.

[36] Oxon.R.O., LO I/i/1.

[37] In private collection. Reproduced in Nigel Temple, 'Sarsden, Oxfordshire', *Jnl. Garden Hist.* vi (2) (1986), 96.

[38] Oxford Central Libr. map collection.

[39] Ibid.

The earliest illustration of the cross appears to be J.C. Buckler's pen and ink drawing of 1825.[40] This shows it in its present form and location, with the 18th-century gate-pier at the N. entrance to the E. drive to Sarsden House close by. The cross it not shown, however, in M. Burghers's birdseye perspective of Sarsden printed in Kennett's *Antiquities* (1695),[41] although the spot where it now stands is clearly visible in this view.

All this leads the writer to suspect that the cross was erected at some time between 1818 and 1825. This hypothesis is strengthened by a detailed examination of the cross itself. The parts of which it is composed appear to be medieval work, the octagonal base with its blind cinquefoil-headed panels and cusped gabled canopy to the short shaft suggesting an early to mid 14th-century date.

The whole appearance of the cross is suggestive, however, of a 19th-century reconstruction reusing medieval stonework. Although Marples suggests that the shaft may have been of composite type[42] (there is a circular socket-hole in the top of the gabled canopy), there is no positive evidence to confirm this. In fact the gabled canopy may not be *in situ*, and the shaft may originally have been longer. The six steps in the shape of an irregular octagon on which the base rests display considerable signs of wear and are probably medieval. However, their width and height are more characteristic of a market cross than the simple wayside cross which this is traditionally held to be.[43]

If the cross truly dates from the period between 1818 and 1825, why was it erected here and what is the provenance of the components (undoubtedly from a genuine medieval cross) used in its construction? The old church at Churchill, approximately 1.7 km. to the N.W., of which the chancel remains, was largely demolished in 1825 (the year in which Buckler drew the Sarsden cross) and it is tempting to speculate that the materials came from there. The faculty for the church's demolition gives little information other than granting permission for the re-use of the materials in the new Church of All Saints,[44] although in the event little use seems to have been made of them. Furthermore, an engraving in Skelton's *Antiquities* showing the old church from the S.E.,[45] and Buckler's drawing of the building made in 1825 after the demolition work,[46] show neither a cross in the churchyard nor any material identifiable with the elements in the Sarsden cross.

Another possible source of building materials for the cross is the nearby church of St. James, Sarsden, remodelled by G.S. Repton in 1823–5.[47] Again, views of the church before the restoration printed in Kennett and Skelton, and a drawing (*c.*1820) by Richard Buckler, are not helpful;[48] neither are the post-restoration drawings (1825) by J.C. Buckler.[49]

In short, it is not possible to say that materials from either Churchill or Sarsden church were used in the construction of the cross, although in the absence of evidence to the contrary the possibility cannot be ruled out. Clearly, however, the base of the cross is not, as Lilian E. Rose suggested,[50] the basin of the old font from Churchill inverted.

[40] Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. a. 68, No. 453.

[41] Kennett, op. cit., note 33, 683.

[42] Marples, op. et loc. cit. note 29.

[43] I am grateful to Dr. Alastair Ward of English Heritage for this observation, which should not be taken to imply that the steps are thought to have come from a market cross.

[44] Oxon.R.O., MS DD. Par. Churchill c. 12 *a*.

[45] Skelton op. cit. note 33, 52.

[46] Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a. 66, No. 170.

[47] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840* (1978), 679.

[48] Kennett op. cit. note 33, 682–3; Skelton op. cit. note 33, 59; Bodl. MS Top. Gen. a. 11, f.130, No. 523.

[49] Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. a. 68, Nos. 452 and 454.

[50] Lilian E. Rose, *The History of Churchill* (1934), 29.

The question of the motive behind the erection of the Sarsden cross must also remain unanswered. It may have been placed there as part of the improvements to the Sarsden estate carried out for J.H. Langston at this time, but again the evidence is lacking, and as the cross cannot be seen from the house it is unlikely to have been erected as an eye-catcher. Langston's reputation as an architectural patron has been established but it is not known if he followed any antiquarian interests.[51]

One puzzle remains. If the cross had been erected so recently, why did Buckler consider it worthy of illustration? Again no answer can be given, although it may simply be that in drawing Churchill and Sarsden churches in 1825,[52] Buckler's attention was drawn to the cross and, knowing it to be composed of genuine medieval materials (and perhaps too their provenance), he felt it merited recording.

NICHOLAS DOGGETT

[51] For details of Langston's patronage of architecture in the area see Temple op. cit. note 37, 89–111 and Sherwood and Pevsner op. cit. note 30, 752.

[52] See notes 46 and 49. In any case, neither Churchill nor Sarsden church was a building of much antiquarian interest after the work done to them in 1825.