

## Notes

### ROMANO-BRITISH MOULDED HEADS FROM SHOTOVER

The six face-masks illustrated in Fig. 1 were found at SP 573 058, on a field (called 'Red Sharde Fielde' in 1593) straddling the Horsepath-Shotover boundary, where Mark Hassall found a head-making mould in 1952.<sup>1</sup> Debris evidence suggests that the field contained at least five kilns, but all the newly-discovered heads came from an area near one kiln in the N. half of the field. The area has also produced red-painted flagon necks and parts of bowls, mortaria rims of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and a follis of Constantine c.315 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Sarah Green comments that the heads are all in white ware (as opposed to

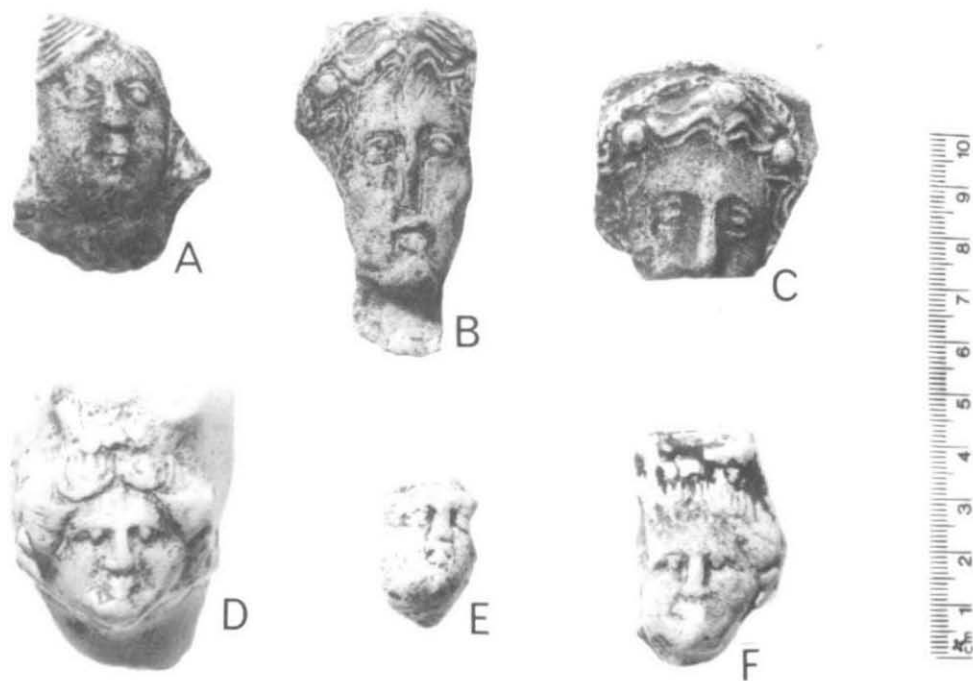


Fig. 1. Romano-British face-masks from Shotover.

<sup>1</sup> M. Hassall, 'A Pottery Head from Horsepath, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 231-4. None of the new heads was made from this mould.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank John Fox for his help in identifying this coin.

parchment ware). Examples B and C are similar to the parchment-ware head from the Churchill Hospital kilns.<sup>3</sup> Examples D and F, which are from the same mould, could possibly have been attached to Flagon W 15 (Young 1977) like the example from Beedon, Berks.<sup>4</sup> D and F bear possible traces of red paint.

In medieval and modern times Shotover has been a source of high-quality yellow ochre, used locally on Oxfordshire wagons and cottage walls and exported around the world. If the ochre is heated it changes colour to the various shades of red observed on the pottery, and it is possible that the Shotover ochre was used for this purpose, just as the Shotover white clay was used to make the white flagons and pots. The field has also yielded pieces of conglomerate quern-stones, which could have been used both for grinding up grits for the mortaria and for grinding up the ochre.

I am grateful to the Oxford Archaeological Unit for the photograph, and to Sarah Green, Anne Hallett and Brian Lewis for their help in preparing this note.

JACK TURNER

#### SAINT BEORNWALD OF BAMPTON: FURTHER REFERENCES

The exiguous evidence for the cult of St. Beornwald was reviewed in a paper of 1984, which showed that his relics were enshrined at Bampton by the 950s and continued to be venerated there until the Reformation.<sup>5</sup> References which have come to light during the last five years amplify the previously very slight indications that the cult continued through the later middle ages.

The most substantial new text (printed in full below) is the 'proof of age' of Thomas de Meaux, heir of Thomas de Meaux, taken at inquisitions at Bampton in 1370-1.<sup>6</sup> Several local residents testified that Thomas had been born and baptised at Bampton on 29 January 1349, 'in the first Pestilence'. Some had executed or witnessed documents on that day; others recalled seeing Thomas lifted from the font by his godparents Thomas de la More, Thomas Boule the vicar and Katharine Laundels; one had had a son who had died on that day and whose death was recorded in the missal of the church. All twelve jurors at the first inquisition said that they remembered the date because it was the feast of the Deposition of St. Beornwald, in whose honour the church was founded, 'and that all of them and many others of that region (*de eadem patria*) had come there to make offerings and hear divine service in honour of the said saint, and had seen how Thomas ate More, godfather of the said Thomas . . . , had lifted the said Thomas . . . from the holy font between high mass and matins'.

As is well-known, the anecdotal detail in medieval 'proofs of age' cannot be taken wholly at face value: facts were often manipulated to give a spurious air of precision to the witnesses' memories.<sup>7</sup> In the present case it stretches credulity that so many people should have reasons to recall the precise date of an event twenty-one years previously, and it is not encouraging that four jurors were stated in 1371 to be several years younger than in 1370. More seriously, there is clear evidence from other sources that the

<sup>3</sup> C.J. Young, *Oxfordshire Roman Pottery* (B.A.R. xliii, 1977), 93.

<sup>4</sup> S. Green, 'An Oxfordshire Face-Neck Flagon from Beedon, Berks.', *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1985), 279-80.

<sup>5</sup> J. Blair, 'Saint Beornwald of Bampton', *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), 47-55.

<sup>6</sup> P.R.O., C135/218(14); calendared *Cal. Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, xiii, No. 71.

<sup>7</sup> R.C. Fowler, 'Legal Proofs of Age', *English Hist. Rev.* xxii (1907), 101-3. S.S. Walker, 'Proof of Age of Feudal Heirs in Medieval England', *Mediaeval Studies*, xxxv (1973), 306-23, takes a rather more optimistic view.

Deposition of St. Beornwald was celebrated on 21 December, not 29 January.<sup>8</sup> But the testimonies seem likely to record genuine memories, albeit confused and conflated. The recorded feast of St. Beornwald really was that of his *depositio*; the Black Death was indeed taking hold in Oxfordshire during the winter and early spring of 1349; the de la Mores and the Laundels are known local families; and there are other references to Thomas Boule or Bowlegh as vicar.<sup>9</sup>

At least the picture of high mass on St. Beornwald's day, with the people of the area flocking to Bampton church to make offerings and hear divine service in his honour, can probably be accepted as genuine. The statement that the church had originally been founded 'in honour of the said St. Beornwald' provides virtually our only glimpse of local beliefs about the saint himself. The tradition was probably wrong: the earliest recorded dedication of Bampton church is to St. John Baptist,<sup>10</sup> and Beornwald is most likely to have been a head of the religious community which it had housed.<sup>11</sup> However, the church was said in 1335 to be dedicated to St. John Baptist and St. Beornwald,<sup>12</sup> and in 1521 to St. Beornwald alone.<sup>13</sup> His promotion to the status of patron reflects a widespread late medieval phenomenon, the revival of interest in obscure Anglo-Saxon saints.

The survival of the cult is further demonstrated by the confession of a repentant Lollard, Roger Parker of Letcombe Regis, in 1498. Roger admitted saying that the money spent on pilgrimages to shrines could more usefully be distributed to the poor, 'insomoch that upon xvj or xvij yeres past, whan I was dwellyng in Bampton in Oxenford shire, seyng men and women to goo barefote and offer images of wex or money to the reliques of Sainct Bernold ther, I scorned theym and called theym foolys in their soo doying'.<sup>14</sup> The profits, divided between the patrons (the Chapter of Exeter cathedral) and the vicars, were modest: in 1497/8 the Chapter received 25s. 4d. from half the oblations in St. Beornwald's box (*in pixid' Sancti Branwaldi*), indicating that offerings over the year totalled only £2 10s. 8d.<sup>15</sup> The next surviving Chapter account, for 1531/2, includes £4 13s. 4d. from the 'oblacions of Seynt Erkenwaldes box' — presumably a mistake by a clerk more familiar with the saint of London than with the saint of Bampton.<sup>16</sup>

An epilogue to the story of St. Beornwald's cult may be provided by the Bampton parish register, which records the burial of one 'Barnold' on 6 March 1593.<sup>17</sup> The absence of a Christian name is curious, and the spelling is consistent with late medieval spelling of St. Beornwald's name ('Bernold' in 1498, 'Barnwald' in 1516).<sup>18</sup> Elizabethan

<sup>8</sup> Blair op. cit. note 5, 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls 1350-4*, 394. The next vicar was instituted in 1367 on Bowlegh's death (Lincoln Bishops' Registers, Reg. X, f.341v).

<sup>10</sup> In 1292 (*Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 544). The church was said in 1317 to be dedicated to St. Mary and St. John Baptist (Lincoln Bishops' Registers, Reg. III, f.372).

<sup>11</sup> Blair op. cit. note 5, 54-5.

<sup>12</sup> Lincoln Bishops' Registers, Reg. V, f.522v: reference to a corpse buried *in cimiterio ecclesie Sanctorum Johannis Baptiste et Bernwaldi de Bampton*.

<sup>13</sup> Exeter College, Oxford, Deeds M.II.1.A(5): one of the vicars said to be *ecclesie parochialis Sancti Bernewaldi de Bampton*.

<sup>14</sup> Salisbury Bishops' Registers, Reg. Blythe, f.73v, quoted Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (1988), 309. I am extremely grateful to John Maddicott for this reference.

<sup>15</sup> Exeter Cathedral, Dean and Chapter archives, MS 5106 (Bampton bailiff's account).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* MS 6016/6.

<sup>17</sup> Oxfordshire Record Office, MS DD Par. Bampton c.1. The name is written in the surnames column, with a blank in the column for Christian names.

<sup>18</sup> Above, note 14; Blair op. cit. note 5, 50.

injunctions against the veneration of relics show that the practice was not stamped out everywhere; could it be that St. Beornwald's were preserved by local Catholic sympathisers, only to be buried some decades after the Reformation?<sup>19</sup>

*Proofs of the age of Thomas de Meaux, taken 1370-1 (P.R.O., C135/218(14)).*

(a) Probacio etatis Thome de Meaux consanguinei et heredis Thome de Meaux defuncti qui de herede Hugonis de Plescy, infra etatem et in custodia domini Regis tunc existente, tenuit per servicium militare, facta apud Bampton' in comitatu Oxon' xx<sup>mo</sup> die Novembris anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post Conquestum quadragesimo quarto [20 November 1370] coram Johanne Froille escaetore domini Regis in comitatu predicto, virtute breve domini Regis eidem escaetore directo et presentibus consuto, videlicet:

Johannes de Carswell, Thomas Pour, Bartholomeus Hastyngg', Henricus Turfray, Johannes Ikford et Thomas Taillour, quilibet eorum etatis 1 annorum et amplius, et Thomas Overstoke, Thomas Proudfof, Nicholas Cundale, Johannes Haddon', Rogerus Freman' et Hugo Ermond, quilibet eorum etatis xliij<sup>or</sup> annorum et amplius, iurati et examinati super etate predicti Thome consanguinei Thome, dicunt per sacramentum suum quod predictus Thomas consanguineus Thome fuit etatis xxj anni in festo depositionis Sancti Bernwaldi, videlicet xxix<sup>mo</sup> die Januarii proximo preterito, eo quod xxix<sup>o</sup> die mensis predicti anno regni domini Regis nunc vicesimo tercio [29 January 1349], videlicet in prima Pestilencia, natus fuit apud Bampton et in ecclesia ibidem baptizatus; requisiti qualiter hoc sciunt, dicunt quod predicta ecclesia fundata fuit in honore predicti Sancti Bernwaldi, et quod ipsi omnes et multi alii de eadem patria fuerunt tunc ibidem ad offerendum et servicium divinum ibidem audiendum in honore predicti sancti, et quod viderunt qualiter Thomas ate More, compater predicti Thome consanguinei Thome, inter altam missam et matutinas in predicto festo sancti predicti, eundem Thomam consanguineum Thome de sacro fonte ibidem levavit.

Et non scire feci Ricardo de Pembrugg, qui custodiam habet terrarum et tenementorum de hereditate predicti Thome consanguinei Thome in comitatu predicto, ad essendum hic predictis die et loco quibus probacio ista facta fuit ad ostendum si quid pro domino Rege aut pro se ipso haberet vel dicere sciret quare prefato Thome consanguineo Thome tenementa predicta reddi non debentur, eo quod prefatus Ricardus non moratur infra ballivam meam. In cuius rei testimonium sigilla predictorum iuratorum et testium presentibus sunt appensa. Data loco, die et anno supradictis.

(b) Probacio etatis Thome de Meaux consanguinei et heredis Thome de Meaux defuncti qui de herede Hugonis de Plescy defuncti qui de Rege tenuit in capite, infra etatem et in custodia Regis existente, tenuit per servicium militare, facta apud Bampton' in comitatu Oxon' xij<sup>o</sup> die Februarii anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post Conquestum xlvj<sup>o</sup> [12 February 1372(*sic*)<sup>20</sup>] coram Willelmo Auncell escaetore domini Regis in comitatu Oxon', iuxta tenorem brevis domini Regis huic probationem [*sic*] consut':

Johannes Carswell etatis xl<sup>a</sup> annorum, Edmundus Croxford etatis xlvj annorum, iurati et examinati super etate predicti Thome, dicunt per sacramentum suum quod predictus Thomas natus fuerit apud Bampton' et in ecclesia parochiali ibidem baptizatus xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii anno regni Regis nunc xx<sup>o</sup>ij, et dicunt quod fuerunt tunc ibidem cum Johanne de Meaux patre predicti Thome pro quadam concordia facienda inter eundem Johannem de Meaux et Ricardum Talbot super quadam contentione inter eos mota, de qua quidem concordia factione fuerunt indenture portantes datam apud Bampton de predicto xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii et predicto anno xxij<sup>o</sup>, et que invente fuerunt in custodia executorum predicti Johannis de Meaux, per datam quarum indenturarum hoc bene sciunt.

Johannes Icforde etatis 1 annorum, Johannes Abraham etatis xxxviij annorum, Johannes Warener etatis xliij annorum, Thomas Erlestoke etatis xxxij annorum, Nicholus Cundale etatis lij annorum, iurati super etate predicta, dicunt quod predictus Thomas de Meaux natus fuit et in ecclesia predicta baptizatus predicto xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii; requisiti qualiter hoc sciunt, dicunt quod eodem die feoffati fuerunt de quibusdam terris et tenementis in Bampton', et quod per datam carte feoffamenti predicti hoc bene sciunt, portantem datam apud Bampton' de predicta xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii et anno xxij<sup>o</sup> predicto.

Johannes Moschet' etatis xl annorum, iuratus et examinatus super etate predicta, dicit quod predictus Thomas natus fuit et in ecclesia predicta baptizatus predicto xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii; et hoc bene scit quia habuit unum filium nomine Jacobum qui obiit eodem die, cuius obitus in missali ecclesie predicte in perpetuam memoriam xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii et anno predictis scribebatur.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Blair op. cit. note 5, 54.

<sup>20</sup> This is clearly an error for 45 Edward III, i.e. 12 February 1371.

Willelmus Pacy etatis l annorum, Thomas Taylour etatis xl annorum, Johannes Haddon etatis xxxviii annorum, Hugo Hermond etatis xlii annorum, iurati et examinati super etate predicta, dicunt quod predictus Thomas natus fuit et in ecclesia predicta baptizatus predicto xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii; requisiti qualiter hoc sciunt, dicunt quod fuerunt cum predicto Johanne Meaux patre predicti Thome de Meaux apud Bampton eodem die, quo die idem Johannes feoffatus fuit de uno mesuagio et una carucata terre cum pertinentiis ibidem, et quod in carta feoffamenti predicti facti fuerunt testes, et quod hoc bene sciunt quia carta feoffamenti predicti portat datam apud Bampton<sup>1</sup> de xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii et anno predictis; et similiter quod viderunt predicto die qualiter Thomas Boule tunc vicarius de Bampton, Thomas de la More et Katerina Laundels predictum Thomam de Meaux de sacro fonte levaverunt.

Et sic dicunt omnes iuratores et testes predicti quod predictus Thomas de Meaux fuit etatis xxij annorum xxix<sup>o</sup> die Januarii ultimo preterito, et Ricardus de Pembrugg<sup>2</sup> qui custodiam habet terrarum et tenementorum predicti Thome de Meaux premunitus fuit et non venit predicto xij<sup>o</sup> die Februarii, nec aliquis pro eo qui probationem predictam sciverunt contradicere. In cuius rei testimonium sigilla predictorum iuratorum et testium presentibus sunt appensa. Data die, loco et anno supradictis.

JOHN BLAIR

### THE MADLEY BROOK: SOME REFLECTIONS ON AN OXFORDSHIRE STREAM-NAME

This note offers some comments on the history of a small stream which rises at North Leigh and flows by Cogges to join the Windrush at Witney. Its present name is the Madley Brook, which contains part of the name by which it was known as early as the 10th century.

In its present form, the stream-name appears at the end of the 13th century in a perambulation of the bounds of Wychwood Forest as *Madelebroke*, rising at a spring called *Madeleyewelle*.<sup>21</sup> In 1300 a similar survey refers to these features in a slightly abbreviated form as *Madlewelle* and *Madlebrok*.<sup>22</sup> In her discussion of the name,<sup>23</sup> Margaret Gelling suggests that it derives from a lost place-name, \**Madley*, identical with the two Madeleys in Staffordshire and Shropshire, and derived from a personal name \**Māda* and Old English *lēah*, meaning a 'clearing, open space in woodland, or, occasionally, the woodland itself'.<sup>24</sup> The survey of deserted villages in Oxfordshire undertaken by Alison et al. contains no reference to such a place,<sup>25</sup> and it seems unlikely that if there had been such a settlement in the area between North Leigh and Witney which was deserted some time after 1300 that it would have escaped all notice in the wide variety of surviving sources.

It is, however, equally possible that the name Madley derives from OE *mād*, *lēah*, meaning something like 'clearing with or by a meadow'.<sup>26</sup> It is conceivable that it represents a version of the name North Leigh. The latter was recorded simply as *Lege* in Domesday Book and until the end of the 12th century.<sup>27</sup> (South Leigh first appears as *Stanton'lega* in 1190, reflecting its proximity to Stanton Harcourt.<sup>28</sup>) Even if this were not

<sup>21</sup> H.E. Salter (ed.), *Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* (Oxford Hist. Soc. li, 1908), 94.

<sup>22</sup> J.Y. Akerman, 'A View of the Ancient Limits of the Forest of Wychwood', *Archaeologia*, xxxvii (1857), 435-6.

<sup>23</sup> M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, i (E.P.N.S. xxiii, 1953), 8.

<sup>24</sup> E. Ekwall, *The Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn., 1960), 310-11.

<sup>25</sup> K.J. Allison, M.W. Beresford and J.G. Hurst, *The Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire* (Leicester, Dept. of English Local History Occ. Paper 17, 1965).

<sup>26</sup> A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, (E.P.N.S. xxvi, 1956), 31, 18-22.

<sup>27</sup> Domesday Book f.158v.; Gelling op. cit. note 23, 274.

<sup>28</sup> Gelling op. cit. note 23, 276.

the case, the name Madley need not indicate a settlement site, but could be a field- or wood-name.

Whatever the meaning of Madley, it appears to be of Anglo-Saxon origin. It seems, however, that this stream, or at least the lower part of it, bore a different name until the mid 13th century. There are two references to it in pre-Conquest charters relating to Witney, and two dating from the first half of the 13th century. The charters in question are dated 969 and 1044, although both survive only in 12th-century copies.<sup>29</sup> They refer to the stream, in the eastern part of the boundary perambulation, as *Met sinc* and *Mætseg/mætseg* respectively. In 1212/3, the tenants of Cogges were to have a path from the wood next to the *gurgitem de Mætsegge*,<sup>30</sup> while in 1242 the manorial fishpond was said to be *inter pontem de Mesberg and culturam qui vocatur Borehull*.<sup>31</sup> Although the second form is clearly corrupt, the name is certainly not Madley.

Mrs. Gelling states that 'the term is obscure',<sup>32</sup> but this ignores the existence of an identical stream-name in Middlesex, whose etymology has been successfully elucidated. That stream is now called Pymmes Brook, a tributary of the River Lea. It is recorded in a variety of 13th-century forms:<sup>33</sup>

<i>Medeseye</i>	1200
<i>Medesing(g)e</i>	1250/13th
<i>Medesange</i>	1257/1261
<i>Medesenge</i>	1274/13th

The editors of the English Place-Name Society's Middlesex volume suggest that the name derives from OE *mæd* + *\*sæging*, meaning 'meadow by a slow-moving stream',<sup>34</sup> a description which exactly fits the topography of the eastern end of the Pymmes Brook. The second element derives from an OE verb *sīgan*, meaning 'to fall, descend'.<sup>35</sup> There is a related word, *\*sæge*, 'swamp, marsh, lake, slow-moving water' (cf. German dialect *saig/sege*).<sup>36</sup> This has been suggested as the origin of Seabrook in Ivinghoe, Buckinghamshire.<sup>37</sup>

The topography of the lower part of the Madley Brook as it flows through water meadows to reach the Windrush near Witney perfectly reflects the name *\*Mædsæge*, 'slow-moving stream by a meadow', and it is clear that this is the correct interpretation of the name which features in the period 969–1242. By the end of the 13th century, the name had changed slightly with the removal of the water-element and the substitution of one related to woodland. This might refer to the settlement now called North Leigh, or merely to another clearing in the Witney/Cogges area, where the creation of two new urban settlements in close proximity no doubt required not only previously agricultural

<sup>29</sup> P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (1968), Nos. 771, 1001; bounds detailed in Gelling op. cit. note 23, 489–90.

<sup>30</sup> *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, eds. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton (Northants. Record Soc. XV, 1950), No. 114. I owe this and the next reference to John Blair.

<sup>31</sup> Charter Roll, P.R.O. C53/35 m. 7; J. Blair, 'Medieval Cogges: An Oxfordshire Landscape in the Making', *Oxfordshire Local History*, ii.8 (1988), 298–306, shows the relationship of the Madley Brook to the development of Cogges.

<sup>32</sup> Gelling op. cit. note 23, 323.

<sup>33</sup> J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Middlesex* (E.P.N.S. xviii, 1942), 5.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>35</sup> J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898), s.v.

<sup>36</sup> Smith op. cit. note 26, 93.

<sup>37</sup> A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (E.P.N.S. ii, 1925), 98.

land, but also woodland.<sup>38</sup> The Old English basis of Madley makes it unlikely that the name was coined as late as 1250, however, but it is possible that the name arose from scribal confusion between 'l' and 's', and that the correct development of the name should have been to \**Madesey*. The word 'Brook' was then added because it had been forgotten that the second, never very common, element of the name described a water feature.

KEITH BAILEY

### A SURVEY OF A FISHPOND AT LOWER BROOKEND FARM, CHASTLETON

Towards the end of 1986, an earthwork was discovered during clearance of trees and dense undergrowth from a plot of land situated near Chastleton, Oxfordshire. The earthwork lay on the estate of Wells Folly Farm, Gloucestershire, and the find was reported to the County Archaeological Officer for Gloucestershire (J. Wills) in the mistaken belief that the earthwork lay in that county. As replanting of trees was planned, a survey of the earthwork was undertaken in December 1986 and January 1987 by the Crickley Hill Archaeological Trust (MSC Agency), with the kind permission of the then land owner, J. Kirk. The resulting contour survey was obtained by levelling the site at one-metre intervals over an area of 1.59 hectares (3.92 acres).

#### *Location (Fig. 2)*

The earthwork, which lies in Chastleton parish, occupies the full length of a narrow enclosure (O.S. parcel no. 0381) which runs north-eastwards from NGR SP 2308 3090 to NGR SP 2299 3072. The enclosure lies 100 m. E. of the county boundary, and the nearest habitation is now Middle Brookend Farm, 470 m. to the S.E. Twenty-five metres W. of the southern end of the earthwork are the demolished remains of Lower Brookend Farm, after which the site is named. The farmhouse and all its outbuildings were demolished during the 1960s (pers. comm. J. Kirk) and its plan has been plotted onto Fig. 2 from the Ordnance Survey 25" map of 1885 (Gloucestershire XXII.3).

#### *Earthwork: description (Figs. 2 and 3)*

Along most of its length, the earthwork takes the form of a substantial linear bank, 206 m. long and up to 15 m. broad. In profile the bank has rounded, gently sloping sides and a flattish top. It is just over 2 m. high and its top is at a fairly constant level of 130 m. O.D., although diminishing in height slightly towards its S. end. The shape of the earthwork may be characterised as an elongated S. At its N. end, the terminal curves westward until it adjoins a ditch. The southern end runs slightly E. of the bank's line and terminates against a farm track set at right-angles to it. Despite the abrupt termination, the surrounding topography does not suggest that the earthwork extended further S. than it does at present.

<sup>38</sup> Blair op. cit. note 31.



# Lower Brookend Farm location of earthwork survey

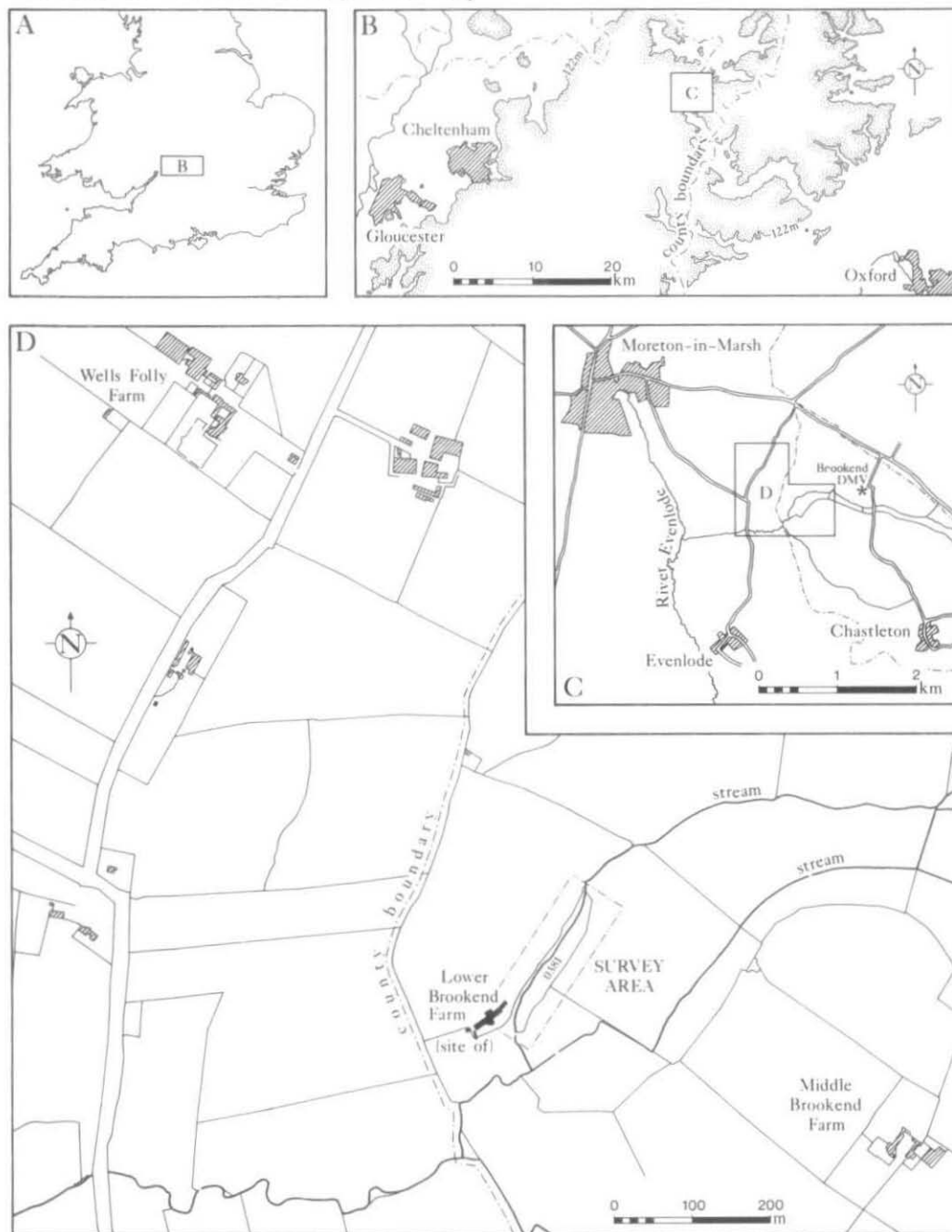


Fig. 2. Lower Brookend Farm, Chastleton; location of earthwork survey.



LOWER BROOKEND FARM 1987  
Chastleton, Oxon.

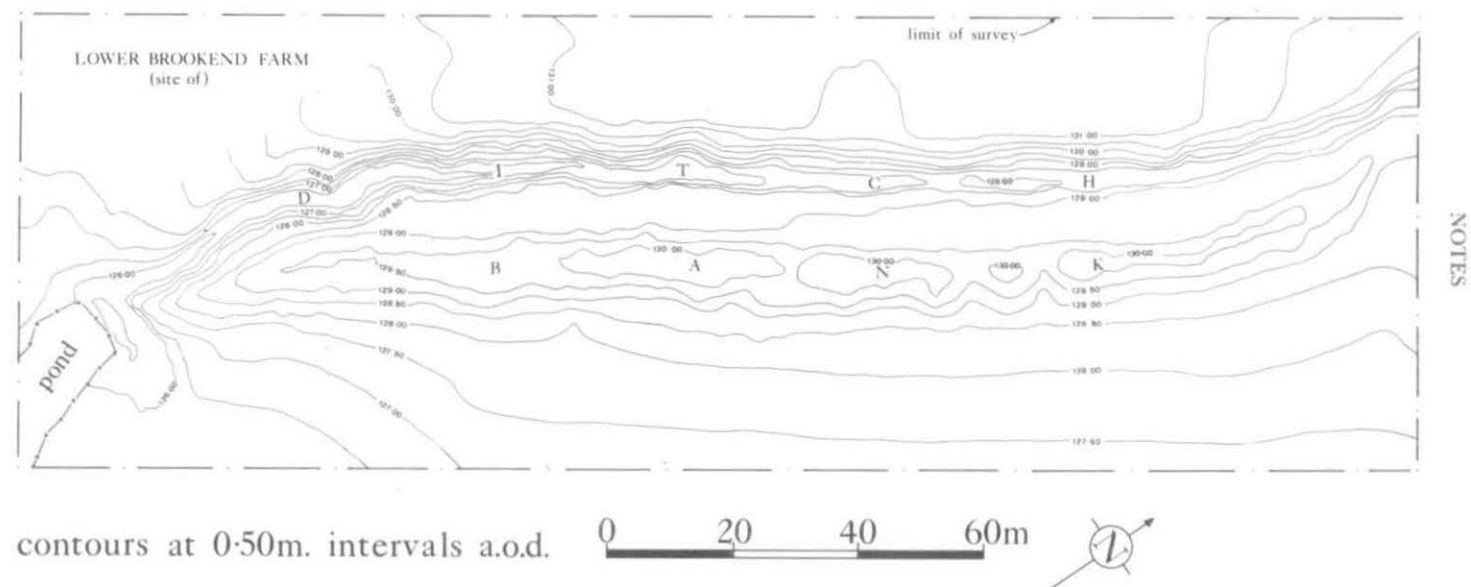


Fig. 3. Lower Brookend Farm: earthwork survey, 1987.

There was no surface evidence to indicate any detail of the bank's internal construction, although its rounded profile suggests that it is composed of an earth dump.

Approximately 8 m. W. of the earthwork, and parallel to it, is a ditch which carries a stream. Rising from the stream's western bank is a scarp, which is a maximum of 3.5 m. high, its lip forming the W. boundary of O.S. parcel 0381. The distance between the lip of the scarp and the bank's top is a maximum of 20 m. and, like the top of the earthwork bank, the lip hugs the 130-metre contour or is slightly higher in places. The stream running in the ditch along the scarp's foot is one branch of a drainage system which runs parallel to a second stream, and the two are connected by lateral branches at intervals. Just S. of the earthwork, the stream flows into a small pond and then exits from this to join the River Evenlode some 1.4 km. to the W.

The scarp running parallel to the bank appears to be a natural formation, but it is perhaps possible that its slope has been exaggerated by cutting back and levelling up, possibly when the ditch or bank were constructed.

### *Interpretation and Dating*

The earthwork can be interpreted as a bank retaining the E. side of a narrow fishpond, the construction of which utilised the opposing natural scarp edge to form its western bank. This interpretation is based first upon the agreeing levels of the bank and opposing scarp's top, and secondly upon the presence of a water-supply with which the pond could be easily filled. To function as a fishpond, only a dam and perhaps a sluice to facilitate drainage and regulate water-level would be necessary at the S. end of the bank. The present lack of such a feature may be due to deliberate demolition after the fishpond had gone out of use, or alternatively a dam may have been eroded by the stream which continues to flow through the former pond bed.

The Lower Brookend fishpond should be added to the 148 medieval and post-medieval ponds so far identified from Oxfordshire, which have been discussed and classified by Bond and Chambers.<sup>39</sup> Morphologically, the pond belongs to their Type 11, the linear pond. This form probably derived from the greater efficiency with which a narrow pond could be managed, and belongs in date to the late medieval and post-medieval periods.<sup>40</sup> In terms of form, it is probably significant that the Lower Brookend fishpond has an identical breadth (20 m.) to the linear fishpond near Oxe Mead in Yarnton,<sup>41</sup> and although this was twice as long, (400 m. compared to 200 m.) the agreement in width suggests that similar working practices were carried out at both sites. At Lower Brookend, the length of the pond may have been determined purely by topographical factors, as the earthwork bank is only as long as the natural scarp forming the western side of the pond.

There is no evidence, documentary or archaeological, to date the construction of the Lower Brookend fishpond, but in view of the former proximity of the farmhouse some relationship is strongly suspected, especially as the farmhouse was located close to the fishpond's hypothetical dam or sluice area. The date of the farmhouse is unknown,

<sup>39</sup> C.J. Bond and R.A. Chambers, 'Oxfordshire Fishponds', in M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (B.A.R. British Ser. 182 (ii), 1988), 353-67.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 363-4.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 363.

but the fishpond's construction may post-date the demise of the village of Brookend in the late medieval period, for no fishpond is mentioned in Lloyd's study of Brookend's medieval economy.<sup>42</sup>

Whatever the date of construction, the fishpond must have been out of use by c. 1800. In 1842, the distinctive shape of the enclosure around the pond is shown on the Chastleton tithe-map.<sup>43</sup> The schedule names this enclosure (plot 48) as 'coppice' and identifies its state of cultivation as 'wood', suggesting that in 1842, the pond had been covered by mature trees for several decades at least.

#### *Acknowledgements*

Fig. 2 was drawn by J. Hoyle, Fig. 3 by W. Greenhalgh. I would like to thank R.A. Chambers for visiting and discussing the site with me shortly after the survey was completed in 1987. Errors of judgement and textual infelicities are, of course, mine alone.

CHARLES PARRY

### FISH-BONES FROM THE HAMEL AND OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN AND AROUND OXFORD

This note announces the completion of a further specialist report on the excavation at the Hamel, Oxford.<sup>44</sup> About 200 medieval and post-medieval fish-bones, chiefly gathered by normal excavation, have been examined by Alison Locker.<sup>45</sup>

Species identified are: conger eel, herring, cod, haddock, ling, mackerel, plaice, flounder, eel and pike. Further information and discussion will be presented in microfiche alongside comparable reports on the bones from the St. Ebbe's sites in Oxford.<sup>46</sup>

A further fiche appendix<sup>47</sup> compares such records of fish among normally collected bones at sites in Oxford with the species record from other local sites where sieving of soil recovered a significant amount of fish debris. The comparison, along with actual numbers of recorded bones, shows that the representation of small-boned fishes, e.g. herring, eel and members of the carp family, is high where soil is sieved and low where bones are collected by normal excavation.

This bias of differential recovery gives undue prominence to the occurrence of large marine fish in the normal excavation record and creates an impression that freshwater or migratory fish like the eel were not important as food. Soil sieving (and some documentary records), indicates this is not true. It is still uncertain, however, whether

<sup>42</sup> T.H. Lloyd, 'Some Documentary Sidelights on the Deserted Oxfordshire Village of Brookend', *Oxoniensia*, xxx (1965), 116-28. For the location of Brookend see Allison et al. op. cit. note 25, 33.

<sup>43</sup> O.R.O. Tithe Map 86.

<sup>44</sup> N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlv (1980), 124-225.

<sup>45</sup> Funded by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage.

<sup>46</sup> In T.G. Hassall, C.E. Halpin et al., 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, 1967-1976, Part I', this volume, pp. 258-68 above.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

the medieval consumption of different kinds of fish varied much from site to site, for example from manor to town.

Consequently it is important that the excavation record from future sites of all periods is improved by an economical collection of more reliable evidence from the sieving of sizeable quantities of small and fine bone refuse, particularly from floor-layers of domestic buildings and from other rubbish accumulations which are well-preserved.

BOB WILSON and ALISON LOCKER

### THE SUPPRESSION OF *TERRAE FILIUS* IN 1713

From medieval times the annual Act at the University, which included the inception of M.A.s, contained a speech by a *Terrae Filius*: an inceptor or master who, during the disputations, represented the layman and asked questions of the intending masters that 'sons of earth' might ask. Originally the idea was two-fold: to inject some wit and light relief into the proceedings and, more seriously, to train the masters in dealing with, and answering, the point of view of 'the Philistine'.<sup>48</sup> At each Act there were either one or two *Terrae Filii*, who were nominated by the proctors. In Tudor Oxford they asked questions of the inceptors like: is the sea salt, are women happier than men and can gold be made from base metals?<sup>49</sup> *Terrae Filius*'s status was 'quasi-statutable'<sup>50</sup> and he had counterparts in other universities. At Cambridge there was a 'Tripos jester' and in Dublin an orator with a similar function. However, by the early 18th century *Terrae Filius*'s role had become so controversial that in 1713 the office was suppressed, and while there were attempts to revive it, the University authorities were determined that it should not reappear. The aim of this article is to examine briefly the history of *Terrae Filius* and explain why it was suppressed in 1713.

In Tudor Oxford *Terrae Filius* seemed to have fulfilled its role satisfactorily, and indeed even into Stuart and Restoration times the speeches from time to time fulfilled their original aims. In 1713, for example, Sir Richard Steele remembered that in his time at Oxford (1691-1694) the *Terrae Filii* were content to be 'bitter upon the pope or chastise the Turk'.<sup>51</sup> Equally in 1657 the *Terrae Filius*, Daniel Danvers of Trinity, told the congregation 'what religion they supposed him to be'.<sup>52</sup> However, from the beginning of the 17th century the speeches became steadily more and more lewd. John Evelyn in July 1669 referred to the *Terrae Filius* speech of that year as 'rather licentious lyeing [sic] and railing than genuine and noble wit'.<sup>53</sup> These speeches naturally caused offense. In 1651 the *Terrae Filius* speech was so abusive and caused such uproar that the Vice-Chancellor was forced to call in musketeers to end the unrest. Seven years later the puritan Vice-Chancellor, Richard Conant, tried unsuccessfully to suppress the *Terrae Filius* speech.<sup>54</sup>

Besides the personal attacks made by *Terrae Filius* on leading members of the

<sup>48</sup> A.D. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century* (1908), 192.

<sup>49</sup> C.E. Mallett, *A History of Oxford University* (1924), ii, 131.

<sup>50</sup> A. Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England* (1923), 86.

<sup>51</sup> *The Guardian* (1713), No. 72, 2.

<sup>52</sup> A. Clarke (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, i (O.H.S. xix, 1891), 221.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Mallett op. cit. note 49, iii, 48.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 395-401.

University, and partisan remarks against colleges, much offence was caused by the fact that the speeches were expected to be high wit; indeed, they were delivered in St. Mary's church before the Sheldonian Theatre was built. Even after they were moved to the Theatre there was an expectation that the speeches should be decorous. Thus Anthony Wood felt that Thomas Hayes, *Terrae Filius* in 1669, had gone too far and had 'disgraced all solemnity'; and John Shirley, *Terrae Filius* in 1673, was obscene and profane.<sup>55</sup> In theory, at least, *Terrae Filius* could speak without fear of prosecution or action. But in Stuart and Commonwealth Oxford the authorities found that they had to take some action against the speakers. In July 1658 Lancelot Addison's *Terrae Filius* speech was considered so offensive that he was required to kneel before the congregation and ask its pardon. In the same year the other *Terrae Filius*, Thomas Pittys of Lincoln, refused to beg for pardon and was expelled.<sup>56</sup> A similar expulsion took place in July 1676 when Balthazar Vigures of Alban Hall was expelled, though his colleague, John Crofts of New College, agreed to submit to the congregation.<sup>57</sup> An expulsion also took place in 1669.<sup>58</sup>

Surprisingly, *Terrae Filii* were not callow youths. By tradition they were either inceptors or masters, and some were men of standing in the University or men whose careers were distinguished. For example, Lancelot Addison (1658) was a Fellow of Queen's College as *Terrae Filius* and, twenty-five years after his pardon, was made Dean of Lichfield. Thomas Hayes, expelled in 1669 for his *Terrae Filius* speech, was a Fellow of Brasenose; John Crofts, who submitted to the congregation for his speech of 1676, was Chaplain of New College at the time; Henry Boles, *Terrae Filius* in 1682, was a Fellow of New College; and Henry Aldworth, *Terrae Filius* in 1693, was the son of the Chancellor of Oxford diocese.<sup>59</sup>

Occasionally the University was able to enjoy the discomfort of a *Terrae Filius*. In 1684 Michael Smith, *Terrae Filius* of the previous year, was expelled for endeavouring to ravish a maid at the Mermaid Inn, Carfax. Similarly, in December 1693 Robert Turner, *Terrae Filius* of the previous July, was expelled for a like offence.<sup>60</sup> In 1662 the Act was cancelled for lack of sufficient inceptors proceeding to an M.A. and the doctors and masters were relieved that they would not be a 'jerk'd' by a *Terrae Filius* speech.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the Vice-Chancellor in 1665, 1666, 1667 and 1669 took the opportunity of the building of the Sheldonian Theatre to cancel formal Acts, thus avoiding the *Terrae Filius* speeches.<sup>62</sup>

The difficulties with *Terrae Filius* became most pronounced when national events threatened to boil over into unrest. In June 1687, for example, after James II's public row with Magdalen College, the Act was cancelled for political reasons: 'tis conceived' wrote Anthony Wood, 'that the officers of the Act, *Terrae Filii*, and others, may reflect upon the papists and proceedings in the nation and so bring the University into danger. . .'.<sup>63</sup> The suppression of 1713 was similarly a product of the dangers attendant on *Terrae Filius* stirring up popular feeling at a time of national crisis.

<sup>55</sup> Clarke op. cit. note 52, ii (O.H.S. xxi, 1892), 166, 266-7. Wood here may have found John Shirley's speech particularly obnoxious as Shirley attacked him.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. i, 256.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. ii, 351.

<sup>58</sup> Mallett op. cit. note 49, ii, 439.

<sup>59</sup> Moreover, up to the end of the 17th century the speech was written in Latin, and even the 1713 speech contained elements in Latin: V.H.H. Green, 'The University and Social Life', in L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, v (1986), 351-2.

<sup>60</sup> Clarke op. cit. note 52, iii (O.H.S. xxvi, 1894), 108, 439.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. i, 443.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. ii, 563.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. iii, 222.

By 1713 it was clear that Queen Anne would not live much longer, and arrangements for the succession of the Protestant George of Hanover would have to be made to stop the high Tories inviting James Stuart to take the throne. Oxford was a Tory stronghold, in 1710 the election was a massive victory for the Tories, and as such the University was suspected of being Jacobite. However, some senior members of the University were ardent Whigs. For example, Dr Lancaster, Provost of Queens, was a stern anti-Jacobite, while John Baron, Master of Balliol, and John Wynne, Principal of Jesus, were hard-line Whigs. Even the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Gardiner Warden of All Souls, was a 'court Whig'. But there were strong Tories too, principally Dean Atterbury of Christ Church who was intended as a government minister if the Stuarts were restored. As a result Oxford quickly became polarised into two camps and even minor events became the cause of outbursts of political feeling. At the slightest pretext the Whig and Tory clubs and supporters lit bonfires and even rioted in the street. In 1707 there had been riots at All Souls when two Fellows marked the anniversary of the death of Charles I — a classic Tory festival — with a dinner.<sup>64</sup> In 1711 even the election of the beadle of beggars was made a party matter,<sup>65</sup> and in 1713 Addison's play *Cato* saw both sides attack one another over it.<sup>66</sup> It was particularly unfortunate for the Vice-Chancellor that a month before the 1713 Act Dean Atterbury was nominated to the vacant see of Rochester. This fuelled the Tory ambitions and inflamed Whig feelings, and as a result Oxford was a powder keg: an outspoken *Terrae Filius* could spark off riots and incur the displeasure of a new monarch (be he James Stuart or George of Hanover). Dr. Gardiner's fears were confirmed when the *Terrae Filius* for 1713 was chosen: he was John Willes, a brilliant orator.<sup>67</sup> The Vice-Chancellor accordingly decided to go ahead with the Act but, with the agreement of the proctors, announced the suppression of the *Terrae Filius* speech. Thomas Hearne commented that this was 'quite contrary to what the statutes direct'.<sup>68</sup>

Gardiner's relief was short-lived, as John Willes arranged for his speech to be printed in London and sold at 6d. each. The tract was entitled 'The Speech that was intended to have been spoken by the *Terrae Filius* in the Theatre at Oxford, July 13th 1717, had not his mouth been stopp'd by the V—Ch—r'. In the dedication (to Dr. Gardiner) *Terrae Filius* boldly said that the decision would haunt the Vice-Chancellor and proctors. As might be expected the speech contained a number of items of personal abuse, including questioning the paternity of Dr. Gardiner's child, and attacking Provost Lancaster of Queens as a 'Slyboots' and Principal Wynne of Jesus as the creature of Lord Pembroke.<sup>69</sup> There were also obscene poems such as that attributed to Gardiner:

In what I write I all the world defy  
To catch me in one single lye  
Else may I be a stinking varlet  
And piss'd upon by Ward and Charlett.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Mallett op. cit. note 49, iii, 35.

<sup>65</sup> W.R. Ward, *Georgian Oxford* (1958), 47.

<sup>66</sup> Mallett op. cit. note 49, iii, 38.

<sup>67</sup> Willes in due course became a lawyer. He was the junior defence counsel to Bishop Atterbury at his trial in 1722, and went on to be an M.P. and a judge.

<sup>68</sup> D.W. Rannie (ed.), *Hearne's Collections* (O.H.S. xxxiv, 1897), iv, 243. In the place of the *Terrae Filius* speech, Gardiner provided some 'excellent music': G.V. Bennett, 'The Era of Party Zeal', in Sutherland and Mitchell (eds.) op. cit. note 59, v, 96.

<sup>69</sup> For Wynne's career at Jesus see W.T. Gibson, 'A Whig Principal of Jesus', *Oxoniensis*, lii (1987), 204–8.

<sup>70</sup> Jolly Ward was a Fellow and Arthur Charlett the Master of University College.

Worse was attributed to Mr Ball, Gardiner's 'nag'.

'Since I' said Ball 'your nag have been  
Han't I gone through both thick and thin;  
F—d handsome, ugly, rich and poor,  
Did I e're fail these twenty years  
Except on Mr Fulk's stairs?'

Appalling as these doubtless were to Gardiner, he was more afraid of the political invective that *Terrae Filius* produced: King William III was attacked as low church and Queen Anne as too high church. The Hanoverians were pointedly named as *principes futures* and loyal addresses were ridiculed. There was even a rhyme on the death of Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne. The pamphlet was the spark that the Vice-Chancellor and City authorities feared might set Oxford alight. The Heads of Houses met after its appearance in Oxford and decided that the tract must be denounced. According to Thomas Hearne, the proposal to burn the tract was fiercely opposed and Hearne believed that a scrutiny of votes on the matter would reveal a majority against the burning.<sup>71</sup> Another version, however, claimed that the burning was 'readily agreed' on by the assembly of doctors and masters that 'a general abhorrence should be shown of the scandalous libel'.<sup>72</sup> Either way, the speech was burnt in the yard of the Sheldonian Theatre on 3 October 1713. In a denunciation of the author the speech was declared 'against all good; against public peace and discipline in the University; against honour, convenience and the profit of the University. . .'.<sup>73</sup> Soon after another tract appeared, entitled 'More Burning Work for the Oxford Congregation'.<sup>74</sup>

The suppression of *Terrae Filius* in 1713 was the first shot in the unrest that attended the transfer of power from Anne to George I. From June 1713 Oxford was a hotbed of unrest, with bonfires, effigies and street fighting between factions a common experience, until the Hanoverians were firmly established. But for Gardiner and successive Vice-Chancellors it had been clearly demonstrated that *Terrae Filius* was a destructive force. For twenty years the office was unfilled at the Act. In 1721 Nicholas Amhurst published a newspaper entitled *Terrae Filius* which attacked corruption and scandal in the University, but it lasted only a few months. In 1733 a self-appointed *Terrae Filius* printed a speech at the Act called 'The Oxford Act: a new ballad-opera'. The speech portrayed the Vice-Chancellor and proctors congratulating each other on escaping the *Terrae Filius* for twenty years, which would otherwise have left the University 'bemir'd and in the suds'.<sup>75</sup> There was another revival of *Terrae Filius* in 1763 and occasional tracts were signed by that name, but none were sustained. By turning from its original purpose and entering the arena of politics *Terrae Filius* had made the office a dangerous and unacceptable one; one the authorities could no longer tolerate and would no longer allow to endanger the University's reputation.

W.T. GIBSON

<sup>71</sup> Rannie op. cit. note 68, iv, 243.

<sup>72</sup> This is an anonymous letter to a Dr. Hicks (of London) bound into the copy of Willes's *Terrae Filius* speech in the Tract Collection, St. David's University College, Lampeter.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. f.2.

<sup>74</sup> Mallett op. cit. note 49, iii, 48.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. iii, 49.



## GOING UP TO OXFORD: CHARLES WESTON'S ACCOUNT IN 1748

Son of a senior government official – Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland – and grandson of a bishop of Exeter, Charles Weston was fairly well-connected when he went up to Christ Church in December 1748. The intention of this note is to print two hitherto unknown letters that describe his first days at Oxford. Their recipient was Charles's father Edward, who, besides being a senior official, also wrote religious works, such as *The Englishman Directed in the Choice of his Religion*. The first was sent by John Black, a cleric hunting preferment, who had escorted Charles to Oxford. The second was sent by Charles himself. The latter, though an eldest son, was destined for a career in the church. By his death in 1801 he had held a variety of clerical posts: Prebendary of St. Pauls, Durham and Lincoln, Vicar of Somerby in Lincolnshire and Rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire.

The letters are printed as in the original. They are in the possession of a descendant of Edward Weston, John Weston-Underwood, and I am most grateful to him for giving me permission to consult them. The papers are unfoliated.

*John Black to Edward Weston*

Oxford 15 Decr. 1748

While Mr Charles was writing to you last night an account of our journey and arrival at Oxford, I went to wait upon Mr Dickens, who came presently with me to the Inn to see his pupil and to direct further proceedings. He appointed us to be with him this morning at 9 o'clock to be introduced to the Dean of Christ Church. The Dr received your son in a very affectionate manner, expressed the greatest regard to the memory of his worthy friend the Bishop of Exeter, and assured him that he might expect all the good offices in his power. After many such obliging expressions his name was entered in the College Books. The Dr told us that he was to be matriculated next Saturday, and to be admitted student on Christmas Eve. Upon Mr Dickens hinting that the admission was later than was expected, he said he would consider of it, and admit him some days sooner if it was not found contrary to the forms and usage of the College. We are invited to spend the evening with Mr Dickens, where Mr Weston is to meet 3 or 4 of the Gentlemen students whom his tutor judges most proper for his acquaintance. Mr Amyand is to be of the number. Your son is to be this night, and during his stay at Oxford, in a gentleman commoners rooms which Mr Dickens has borrowed for him. He is now writing Latin letters to the Censors of the College, praying to be admitted to the College Table which we make no doubt will be complied with tomorrow; I shall then lose my agreeable companion, and be condemned to solitary meals. A taylor has this day taken his measure for making a new gown which is only to be used at the last and great ceremony. His tutor had borrowed one in the meantime to be worn at the College Table. His new rooms and bed are ordered to be well aired, and I hope he will catch no cold upon changing his lodgings. I shall continue at the New Inn which we made choice of for its nearness to the College.

*Charles Weston to Edward Weston*

Christchurch Dec.<sup>r</sup> 16 1748

Dear Papa,

Last night I lay in Colledge, and this morning put on a Commoners Gown, the square Cap and Band, at twelve I dined in Hall, at the Commoners table where I am to remain till I am a compleat student, which I am afraid will not be until the end of next week. I have had the pleasure of delivering Mr Porter's letter to Mr Amyand at my tutors, where 2 more gentleman were invited, all of whom I seem to like very well. At Hall today I did something that I knew was not wrong, on which a Commoner laughed and attempted to set the table in a laugh likewise, but his endeavour failed, and the confusion he thought to have thrown on me turn'd all upon himself. I cannot say that as yet I like Oxford, but time and being more used to this way of life will make it

grow more agreeable to me, especially when I shall be got in my own Chambers and have all my Things about me, and know what not to do. Mr Black dined in the Hall at the Master's of Arts table, and I have not seen him since dinner. I have not as yet been matriculated but that ceremony is to be passed through tomorrow which is the last day of this term. The Chambers that are to be mine I have not seen, at present I am in Mr Eyre's; who is I believe with his father by Doncaster. We hold well here and hope you are all so at home. Pray give my Duty to my Mama and proper respect to all and Mr Black desires his respects as due.

I am your dutifull son  
Charles Weston

JEREMY BLACK