

NOTES

A ROMAN INTAGLIO FROM FRILFORD

The lower half of a cornelian intaglio was found on the surface at the site of the Romano-British rural settlement at Frilford in autumn 1993 by the landowner, Mr. W. Cumber, just east of the site of the probable amphitheatre.¹ The gem is very slightly convex with a surviving height of 6 mm. (originally it would have been *c.* 10 mm.); its width is 7.5 mm. The subject is a nude male figure standing to the front on a short baseline, holding an ear of corn in his right hand (Fig. 1). The attribute in his left hand is lost, together with the upper part of the figure, but comparanda show that he held a patera, and in fact represented *Bonus Eventus*.

Bonus Eventus is often shown on gems carrying ears of corn and a patera (as here), grapes or a dish of fruit; sometimes he bears baskets or a hare suspended from a pole or branch, all of which illustrate his name which means 'the bearer of good things'. He is, incidentally, sometimes shown making a libation over an altar (an established convention which in reality signifies the human votary presenting gifts to him) and this demonstrates that he belongs in the sacral realm, as one of the deities to be propitiated in the countryside.² In fact, an iconographically similar image to this example shows a draped female figure likewise with corn ears and identified as Ceres (or sometimes, on coins, *Fides Publica*).³ The two figures may have been created as a statuary pair of Demeter and Triptolemos – who in Greek myth brought the seed-corn and hence agriculture to man – by the famous 4th-century BC sculptor, Praxiteles.⁴ A gem depicting Ceres of just this type is, in fact, recorded from Bridewell Farm, North Leigh.⁵

Together with Ceres, *Bonus Eventus* was especially concerned with agricultural prosperity. He is attested on an inscription upon an early 4th-century mosaic in the large villa at Woodchester, Gloucestershire, inscribed '*Bonum Eventum bene c[on]solite*' (worship *Bonus Eventus* duly), although it should be pointed out that the owner of the Frilford intaglio would have been very much lower in the social scale than the magnate who lived at Woodchester.⁶ The gem is also earlier in date, being in general comparable in style to cornelian intaglios showing the god from the mid 2nd-century jewellery cache found at Snettisham, Norfolk. *Bonus Eventus* together with Ceres, *Fortuna* and *Abundantia* dominate the figured subjects amongst these gems which were the stock-in-trade of a jeweller evidently selling his wares

¹ R. Hingley, 'Location, Function and Status: a Romano-British "Religious Complex" at the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford (Oxfordshire)', *Oxf. Jnl. of Archaeol.* 4 (1985), 201-14; B.C. Burnham and J. Wachter, *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain* (1990), 178-83.

² M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (BAR Brit. Ser. 8, 2nd edn., 1978), 209-12 nos. 185-221. For the Frilford type see nos. 203-19.

³ *Ibid.* 217-19 nos. 259-74.

⁴ *Ibid.* 77; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVI, 23 mentions a Triptolemos and Ceres by Praxiteles in the Gardens of Servilius in Rome (the most likely pair to have served as models) but also images of *Bonus Eventus* and *Fortuna* on the Capitol.

⁵ Henig, *op. cit.* note 2, p. 218 no. 262; see also *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 341, pl. xvii(a).

⁶ R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, II: Instrumentum Domesticum fascicule 4* (ed. S.S. Frere and R.S.O. Tomlin, 1992), 83 no. 2448.2.



Fig. 1. Broken cornelian intaglio from Frilford showing *Bonus Eventus*. Scale 4:1. (Photo: R. Wilkins FSA)



Fig. 2. Bloodstone intaglio from London, now in British Museum (Henig, *Corpus*, no. 204) showing a complete example of the type. Scale 4:1. (Photo: M. Henig FSA)

to local farmers.⁷ The Frilford intaglio does not seem to have been cut by any of the engravers recognised at Snettisham by Marianne Kleibrink but, like them, it fits comfortably into a rural farming context.

Although broken, the gem is quite a significant find and not only because of the relative rarity of Roman sealstones from Oxfordshire. Its subject surely brings us close to the aspirations of the local agricultural population, providing an agricultural pendant to the recently published pastoral vignette from Asthall, an intaglio showing a herdsman milking his goat.⁸ It is of particular interest that several contemporary sculptures amongst the rather modest tally of Roman stone carvings from Oxfordshire represent the *Genius Loci* (Genius of the Place) with which *Bonus Eventus* was often equated.⁹

We are most grateful to Mr. Cumber for bringing this intaglio to our attention and to Mr. Robert Wilkins FSA of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford for providing a photograph.

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⁷ C. John, *The Snettisham Roman Jeweller's Hoard* (British Museum, 1997), 85-90 nos. 112-67 for these subjects. Nos. 112-33 show *Bonus Eventus*. See M. Henig in the same work, pp. 20-4 for a discussion of the iconography, and M. Kleibrink, pp. 25-33 for style and technique.

⁸ M. Henig, 'The Intaglio', in P.M. Booth, *Asthal, Oxfordshire: Excavations in a Roman 'Small Town'* (1997), 99-100.

⁹ M. Henig, *Roman Sculpture from the Cotswold Region* (*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Great Britain, I, fascicule 7, 1993), 14-15 nos. 35 (Bablock Hythe), 36 (Ducklington) are both *Genii*; 16-17 no. 42 (Stonesfield) shows a similar *Genius* with ?*Fortuna*.

NEVILLE, BABTHORPE AND THE SERJEANTS: THREE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FEAST MENUS

Feasts in the Middle Ages were extravagant occasions, and the interest in them led to the preservation of a certain number of menus for specific ceremonies. Such menus seem indeed to have been 'collected' in the 15th century, and, apart from odd memos such as the subjects of the present note appear to be,¹ one finds also formal lists of menus each entitled with the occasion on which it was served or simply with the name of the host,² as well as menus included in books of household management.³ Modern interest continues, publications on the subject ranging from scholarly articles and books to popular guides to cooking your own medieval feast.⁴ The three menus that form the subject of this note can add material to both ends of this spectrum, and the title given to one supplies some evidence previously missing concerning the biography of a notable member of the Neville family.

The three menus are written out on the last verso of a manuscript now in a private collection in America (Bibliotheca Schoenbergensis MS. 61) and are for two dinners which probably took place in Oxford in the early months of 1427, and one dinner held probably in London and dated to 6 Henry VI (1427-8). The menus were not intended, it would seem, to be any more than a private memo, and their survival is pure chance. They occur on the verso of the last page of the main text of a legal manuscript, a Register of Writs and Formulary from 28 January 13 Richard II (1390) to 28 April 8 Henry IV (1407).⁵ These registers of writs were handbooks of legal precedents, consisting of copies of original royal writs current in the English Chancery, collected together for the use of the Royal Chancery and for those officers at feudal manors, bishoprics, monasteries etc. with a need to know the common law of the land.⁶ The detail of the menu for the feast of the serjeants makes it

¹ Cf. the menus for George Neville's commencement feast mentioned below.

² E.g. B.L. MS. Harley 279, ff. 44-9. At the end of a cookery book providing recipes for a wide variety of dishes are appended the menus for the coronation and wedding feasts of Henry IV, the funeral feast for Nicholas Bubbewith and the enthronement feast of his successor as bishop of Bath and Wells, John Stafford, as well as various feasts given by named people.

³ The most famous of these is probably that of *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ed. G.E. Brereton and J.M. Ferrier (1981); see esp. pp. 174-90.

⁴ One that combines historical scholarship and the provision of recipes for today is M.P. Cosman, *Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony* (1976); see also T. Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (1995); R. Howe (ed.), *Mrs Groundes-Peace's Old Cookery Notebook* (1971); L.J. Sass, *To the King's Taste: Richard II's Book of Feasts and Recipes adapted for Modern Cooking* (1975); ch. III of J. Hampson, *The English at Table* (1944); M. Black, *The Medieval Cookbook* (1992).

⁵ It was recently on sale at Christies of London (see their catalogue of 26 June 1996), and was bought by Sam Fogg (see also *The Book Collector*, 45, no. 3 (Autumn 1996), 370). It was while cataloguing the manuscript for Sam Fogg that I found this menu on f. 214v.

⁶ Registers contain not only judicial matters, but also letters on matters of royal concern, including the elections of ecclesiastical dignitaries and lay officers, grants of land and all matters relating to customs and services, safe-conduct letters, pardons, exemptions, grants, etc. See the introduction to E. de Haas and G.D.G. Hall, *Early Registers of Writs* (Selden Soc. lxxxvii, 1970); F.W. Maitland, 'The History of the Register of Original Writs', *Harvard Law Review*, iii, 97-115, 167-79, 212-25, reprinted in H.A.L. Fisher (ed.), *The Collected Papers of Frederick William Maitland* (1911), ii, 110-73.

probable that this Register of Writs belonged to, and had perhaps been made for, one of the serjeants-at-law or king's serjeants of the early years of Henry VI's reign.

The menus are written out in three columns in an English court hand of the second quarter of the 15th century. The heading to the first column states: 'Le ffeft de la comensment / M' Robert Nevill Epi. Slez.' At the top of the next column is written: 'Le dyner monsire Robert Babthorpe'; and at the top of the third: 'La dyner as sergeantz io' A° vj H vj'. This dating of the third feast to 6 Henry VI (1427-8) cannot be taken as applying to all three, as will be seen below.

Robert Neville (1404-57), bishop of Salisbury 1427-38, and of Durham 1438-57, was the fifth son of Ralph, earl of Westmorland and Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and he was the brother of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury.⁷ Before becoming bishop of Salisbury at the age of 23 in 1427, Robert Neville had held various benefices, the chief of which was that of canon and later provost of St. John's, Beverley in Yorkshire. On 1 July 1420 he was granted licence of non-residence from his post of canon for three years in order to study. It has been presumed that his studies took place in Oxford but no proof of this exists. The letter from Pope Martin V appointing him bishop of Salisbury refers to Neville as a Master of Arts,⁸ and again it has been presumed that this was an Oxford degree. The connections of the Neville family with Oxford make the presumption high,⁹ and although Oxford is not mentioned by name on the menu for his *commensment* feast, the conjunction of Neville with Babthorpe makes the case if not proved at least nearly so.

'Commencement', the term used for the conferment of the degree of Master of Arts, was an event that both in medieval and later times necessitated a feast. Robert Neville, the beginning of whose studies can be dated to 1420, would have taken seven years to reach the degree of Master of Arts, if his academic career had followed the usual pattern of the time.¹⁰ However, if this was in 1427 it must have been during the early months of that year, for by 9 July he was being referred to as a Master of Arts in the papal letters appointing him bishop of Salisbury. This was by special provision requested of the Pope by Neville's uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, in view of the fact that Neville was only 23 years old. Neville's promotion to Salisbury had been pending since July 1426,¹¹ and an early achievement of the status of M.A. (which would have had to be helped by a grace from Congregation) might well have been thought desirable. It would seem that his commencement feast must be dated to between July 1426 and perhaps no later than May 1427, allowing due space of time for Beaufort to hear of the degree,¹² inform the Pope, and for the latter to respond. The evidence about Babthorpe's dinner however pushes a possible date back to before 30 April 1427 (see below).

Whatever the date, we have here certainly the menu for the commencement feast of Robert Neville, and a grand dinner it was. The tradition of commencement and inception feasts at Oxford in the Middle Ages is fairly well documented, mostly because of the large

⁷ D.N.B. xiv, 300-2; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, ii (1958), 1350.

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 494; a copy of the original is preserved in Neville's episcopal register in the diocesan archives kept at Wiltshire County Record Office, Trowbridge (D.1/2/9).

⁹ See e.g. the long list of Nevilles in Emden, *Biog. Register*, ii, 1346-52.

¹⁰ See J.M. Fletcher, 'Developments in the Faculty of Arts, 1370-1520', in J.I. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *History of the University of Oxford*, ii (1992), 329.

¹¹ G.L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (1988), 173.

¹² Beaufort was out of England from just before 25 March that year, but could perhaps have had letters sent to him with information about his nephew's degree; see Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, 175.

expenses entailed.¹³ All students, however poor, were required to give a dinner to entertain and thank those who had taught them and aided their lives in Oxford.¹⁴ The cost of this appears not infrequently to have been the subject of begging letters, and was also allowed for in the monies granted by religious orders to students they sponsored.¹⁵ Attempts were made (unsuccessfully) to limit the amount spent,¹⁶ a 1387 text for instance reporting that 'by a statute of the universite of Oxenford, when eny man is i-congyed there to commence in eny faculte, he schal swere that he schal not spende at his comencement passynge thre thowsand of grootes turonens'.¹⁷

This generous sum was nevertheless exceeded by George Neville (nephew to Robert, chancellor of Oxford University 1453-7, bishop of Exeter 1458-65 and later York 1465-75 and Chancellor of England 1460-7 and 1470-1) in 1452 to celebrate his *commencement*, at which he feasted a vast number of academics and others. Nine hundred dishes were served up over the course of two days. The menu for this feast has survived,¹⁸ as has that of George Neville's later extravaganza upon the occasion of his enthronement as archbishop of York in 1465,¹⁹ and many of the same dishes were served at both these feasts, as at the earlier feast given by Robert Neville.²⁰ Conspicuous consumption provided for others seems to have been a family tradition among the Nevilles,²¹ for Holinshed reports of Richard Neville, the 'Kingmaker' earl of Warwick, that when in London 'he held such an house that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every taverne was full of his meat, for who that had anie acquaintance in that house, he should have had as much sod and rost as he might carry on a long dagger'.²²

The second menu is for a far more modest occasion, and one notes in particular that no 'subtleties' were served. It is headed 'le dyner monsire Robert Babthorpe', but the most probable Babthorpe at this period is a Richard. A confusion over the two names in a jotted memo such as this is very possible, especially since the writer has in the parallel column been referring to Robert Neville. In addition, the Richard Babthorpe who is known was a figure

¹³ For several sets of detailed accounts listing every item of the expenditure involved at inception see W.A. Pantin (ed.), *Canterbury College, Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. n.s. vi-viii), iii, 54-6, 63-7, 84-7, 132-4; see also H.E. Salter, W.A. Pantin and H.G. Richardson (eds.), *Formularies which Bear on the History of Oxford, c. 1204-1420* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. n.s. iv-v), ii, 291ff., 306-7, 311ff., 390; G.F. Lytle, 'Oxford Students and English Society, c. 1300-c. 1510' (Princeton Univ. unpublished D. Phil. thesis, 1975), 12.

¹⁴ The earlier ceremony of determination, which qualified a Bachelor to proceed to a Master's degree, also involved the giving of a feast. The menu for one extravagant example survives in a document in Merton College Archives, that of Thomas Holland (a nephew of Richard II) in 1395; see U. Aylmer (ed.), *Oxford Food, an Anthology* (1995), 75.

¹⁵ D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (1950-9), ii, 24.

¹⁶ Fletcher, op cit. note 10, pp. 332-3; H. Anstey (ed.), *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Ser. 1868), i, 308ff; ii, 684ff.

¹⁷ Trevisa cited in J.R. Lumby (ed.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden* (Rolls Ser. 1876), vi, 259. The passage is followed by a detailed exposition of exchange rates and the worth of the 'groot turoney'.

¹⁸ B.L. MS. Cotton Titus B. XI, f. 21v., published in T. Wright and J.O. Halliwell (eds.), *Reliquiae Antiquae* (1841-3), i, 88: "This was the service at the coman... of maister Nevell, the sone of the [erle] of Saresbury, which commenced a[t] Oxenford the ... day of Oct... the yere of our Lord MI CCCC liij and the y[ere] of Kyng H. vj^{the} xxxj^{the}."

¹⁹ R. Warner (ed.), *Antiquitates Culinariae ...* (1791), 93-106.

²⁰ E.g. frumenty with venison (served as one of the dishes of the first course at all three feasts); leche damask and leche lumbarde; 'Fryed mete in past' (*viande en pastez*); and the large selection of birds – bitterns, heronsew, cranes, quayles etc. On menus for some other 15th-century feasts see T. Austin (ed.), *Two Fifteenth-century Cookery Books* (E.E.T.S. 91, 1888; repr. 1964), 57-64.

²¹ On the family see e.g. D. Rowland, *An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Noble Family of Nevill* (1830).

²² Cited by Warner, op. cit. note 19, p. xxxvii.

of note in Oxford at the right time and has further possibilities of connection to Neville in that he moved from Oxford to the post of canon and prebendary of Norton, Durham,²³ Durham being a Neville stronghold and Neville himself translated to its see in 1438.²⁴ Richard Babthorpe was Rector of St. Michael's at the Northgate in Oxford in 1422, Junior Proctor of the University of Oxford from April 1427-8 and 1428-9, and Senior Proctor April 1429-30.²⁵ He must have been an M.A. before becoming Proctor, his first appointment dating from 30 April 1427. If this is the correct man, and his feast was held on the same day as Neville's, then they must both have been before this latter date.

The 'sergeantz' to whom the third dinner was served must have been the serjeants-at-law or king's serjeants.²⁶ Surely the best description of one of these²⁷ was written by Chaucer in his Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*:

A Sergeant of the Lawe, war and wys,
That often hadde been at the Parvys,
Ther was also, ful rich of excellence.
Discreet he was and of greet reverence –
He semed swich, his wordes weren so wise.
Justice he was ful often in assise,
By patente and by pleyn commissioun.
For his science and for his heigh renoun
Of fees and robes hadde he many oon.
So greet a purchasour was nowhere noon:
Al was fee symple to hym in effect;
His purchasyng myghte nat been infect.
Nowher so bisy a man as he ther nas,
And yet he semed bisier than he was.
In termes hadde he caas and doomes alle
That from the tyme of kyng William were falle.
Therto he koude endite and make a thyng,
Ther coude no wight pynche at his writyng;
And every statut koude he pleyn by rote.
He rood but hoornly in a medlee cote,
Girt with a ceint of silk, with barres smale;
Of his array telle I no lenger tale.²⁸

The assizes mentioned by Chaucer, or some other business, might have brought one of the serjeants to Oxford in 1427, but not all of them, and it seems far more probable that this dinner was served in London. We cannot know on what occasion, but the date given makes it unlikely that this, like the Neville and Babthorpe dinners, was to celebrate the taking of a degree. When the ceremonies were held after a summons to take the degree of serjeant-at-law, a formal and very expensive feast was certainly an expected part of the ritual,²⁹ and it is known that in the 14th century a number of serjeants did not, when summoned by the

²³ He died there sometime before March 1432.

²⁴ Babthorpe seems also to be a family name associated with Durham: a William Babthorpe was at Durham College, Oxford, nominated by Durham Cathedral Priory on 31 December 1426.

²⁵ See Emden, *Biog. Register*, i, 86.

²⁶ See J.H. Baker, *The Order of Serjeants at Law* (Selden Soc. 1984); E. Foss, *The Judges of England* (1848-64), i, 23-6; iii, 368-73; iv, 20-2, 138-40, 195-7, 240-8.

²⁷ The portrait may be that of Thomas Pinchbeck: see the introduction, p. 6, to the edition by L.D. Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (1987).

²⁸ *Ibid.* ll. 309-30.

²⁹ Baker, *op. cit.* note 26, pp. 99-101; Foss, *op. cit.* note 26, iv, 241.

king's writ to do so, take this degree, the high expenses involved being one probable cause.³⁰ By the 15th century it had become the custom to summon seven or eight serjeants at one time; this diminished the cost to each one, which nevertheless remained high. However, it was not every year that this happened, and while in 1425 eight men were called upon to take their degrees, no further such writs seem to have been issued until 1438.³¹ If therefore we believe the date of 6 Henry VI appended to the third menu, the dinner must have been for some other occasion between 1 September 1427 and 31 August 1428; the presence of 'martinettis' and 'egrettes' in the menu would argue for a date during the summer months; and the royal theme running through the subtleties would lead one to suppose that the feast was for the king's serjeants rather than the body of serjeants-at-law.

One hypothesis may be tentatively put forward that could explain the link between these three menus: a William Babthorpe was appointed King's Attorney in 1420 and re-appointed at the beginning of Henry VI's reign in 1422;³² he might have been a relative of Richard/Robert Babthorpe, he might have known Neville, and the Register of Writs in which the three menus is written is certainly the sort of book he should have owned.

Whoever wrote them down must have been interested in menus, perhaps not only as fond memories but more practically as models for future occasions.³³ Each of the three menus is presented as a series of three courses, a number of separate dishes being served at each course. This structure for the meal is typical of surviving English medieval feast menus, as is the placing of certain dishes at certain points.³⁴ Frumenty with venison, a *potage*,³⁵ is served at Robert Neville's table as the first dish of the first course, as it was, for instance, at George Neville's enthronement feast in 1465,³⁶ and the feast for Richard II held in London on 22 September 1387.³⁷ Capons (*chapons de haut gres rostez*) are served during the first course and roast venison during the second, these being the regular placings found in English medieval menus.³⁸ No mention is made of what wines or other beverages were served, although other such menus do sometimes give this information.

The subtleties listed as the last dishes for each course of the dinner tables of Neville and the serjeants were served only on splendid occasions,³⁹ and consisted of elaborately-concocted showpiece dishes, made usually of sugar-paste and jelly, and often representing a theme relevant to the feast at which they were served. At Bishop Neville's feast for instance we find St. John of Beverley represented in one subtlety,⁴⁰ in clear reference to the fact that Neville had been first a canon and then provost of St. John's in Beverley, Yorks.;⁴¹ the seven liberal arts represented are obviously highly appropriate and relevant to an M.A. degree-

³⁰ Foss, iv, 195-6.

³¹ Baker, 161-2; Foss, iv, 244.

³² Foss, iv, 240.

³³ See e.g. the importance given to this by *Le Ménagier de Paris* (op. cit. note 4).

³⁴ See J.-L. Flandrin, 'Structure des menus français et anglais aux XIVe et XVe siècles', in C. Lambert (ed.), *Du Manuscrit à la Table: Essais sur la cuisine au moyen âge et répertoire des manuscrits médiévaux contenant des recettes culinaires*, ed. C. Lambert (1992), 173-92.

³⁵ 'Un "potage" ne se définit pas seulement comme un type de préparation culinaire, mais aussi comme un plat ayant une place précise dans la structure d'un repas': Flandrin, 188, n. 40.

³⁶ Warner, op. cit. note 19, p. 97.

³⁷ Austin, op. cit. note 20, p. 67.

³⁸ Flandrin, op. cit. note 34, p. 185.

³⁹ Ibid. 189-90; A. Lafortune-Martel, 'De l'entremets culinaire aux pièces montées d'un menu de propagande', in Lambert, op. cit. note 34, pp. 121-9; Cosman, op. cit. note 4, p. 33; Hampson, op. cit. note 4, p. 18; Black, op. cit. note 4, pp. 16, 112.

⁴⁰ D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 259.

⁴¹ *D.N.B.* xiv, 300-2; Emden, *Biog. Register*, ii, 1350.

taking ceremony. The two set-pieces with a legal theme served up at the serjeants' feast, those representing Numa and Theodosius, are entirely apt, and the royal theme running through all these subtleties makes it highly probable that the feast was for the king's serjeants-at-law. The precise choice of Perseus, on the other hand, and the sea-battle of the fishes, may have been just a personal preference of hero and a dramatic way of serving up fish.

One of the most interesting aspects of these menus is the language used. All three of the languages of medieval England (English, French and Latin) are deployed, and the admixture is such that one cannot always be sure whether one should count a word as English or French (*blamange, flampayn, jussell*). French, or rather Anglo-French, is the basic language, and is employed for almost all culinary terms (*endoré, enarmez, en comfyt*). English words have been gallicized (*rostez, bakez*), and French word-order is preserved (*chykyn farsé*) except in a few instances ('j cold bakemetz'). The small connecting words of a phrase are also usually French (*ové, de, en*), with one exception (*chapon in counsey*). Most however of the names for animals and birds are purely English ('kydde', 'rabett', 'heronsew'), as are the 'bakemetz' and the 'brewes'. Latin appears in the abbreviated 'Epi. Slez' and 'A° vj', and in the interjected *vel* (*bakemet raylis roiall vel doucetes*).

The glossary below provides a guide to all the main dishes listed in the menus, but it should be remembered that among the cookery books and recipes that have survived from the Middle Ages, the same dish by name is frequently given cooking instructions that differ in both ingredients and cooking methods.⁴² In a few cases I have been unable to find a clear guide to what the dish may have been, and have had to guess.

The three scribbled menus on the empty last verso of a Register of Writs may have appeared insignificant to subsequent owners of the manuscript, but they have been able to provide us today with additional information on the life-history of Robert Neville, with valuable evidence about the interweaving uses of the French, English and Latin languages in England in the 15th century, and with a further mouth-watering glimpse of the extravagant foods served up at ceremonial feasts.

EDITION OF TEXT

The usual editorial conventions have been followed including the addition of acute and cedilla accents, punctuation, and the expansion of abbreviations; however, when a word has a flourish on the last letter that might or might not indicate an abbreviation, this has been shown as an apostrophe, e.g. mustard' and lumbard', which might have a final 'e', but might not, the problem to some extent depending on whether one thinks of the word as English or French, but arising more from scribal habits of the time.

⁴² A recent article examining, *inter alia*, the origins of names given to certain dishes is that by S. Wolf, 'Lexikologisches in den kulinarischen Rezepten aus der Handschrift B.L. Royal 12.C.XII', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 110 (1994), 37-63.

⁴³ Subtleties were not infrequently made to include an inscription (a label, a motto, a quotation etc.), and this and the next one listed evidently had several ('*divers scriptures*').

⁴⁴ The parchment is very worn and rubbed and the writing somewhat illegible in this corner, making it impossible to read which of the feasts of the Virgin was depicted.

⁴⁵ This word, an abbreviated '*jour*' (day), makes no sense on its own and one presumes that the scribe should have erased it.

⁴⁶ Numa, the first inventor of laws for the Romans'.

⁴⁷ 'King Perseus riding through the sea on a magical horse against whom all the fish in the sea were making a great battle'.

⁴⁸ The parchment is rubbed here.

⁴⁹ 'Theodosius, Emperor of Rome, conferring laws on the Romans'.

**Le ffest de la comensement
M' Robert Nevill Episcopi
Salisberiensis**

primer cours:

Frumentez ové
venesoun }
Rosey } potage
Graund' charez ové mustard'
Porcell pestez largez
Chapons de haut gres rostez
Signetz ové chaudevyn
Pomes endoré
j leche lumbard'
Flampayn
Swanne henarmez
j sotilté ové divers scriptures

[ij] cours

Bruet }
Blamange } potage
Kydde
Cranettes
Pecok enarmez
Heronsew
Muton
j ffrytour blank
Venesoun bakez hote
Custard' roial enformé bakez
Viande en paste
J leche
J sotilté ové vij liberal science
ové diverse scriptures⁴³

[iij] cours

Creem de ij colures
Maumenné
Costez de venesoun rostez
Fesantz rostez
Rabett'
Bytours
Curloux
Partrikes
Couayle
Gressez oselx
Jely ambre
Chiewetes riall'
Doucettes
j fritour appellé hagays de
Almayn
j leche roiall
j cold bakemetz
Payn puffez
j sotilté de Seint Johan
Beverley ové ... scriptures
j autre sotilté de la ... Nostre
Dame ové ...⁴⁴

**Le dyner monsieur Robert
Babthorpe al unesque jour**

j

Braune ové mustard'
Brewes
Chapon in counsey
Grete ribbes de boef
Motoun
Pestell de pork en cressance
Capoun rost
Grene gose rost
Bytore
Custade
Braune leche

ij

Jussell
Blansorry
Pygge
Kydde
Veell'
Chykyn farsé
Pejons rost
Fesant
Flampayn
j leche
Fritours Samata

ijj

Jely
Heronsew
Partrik
Cok
Rabett'
Quayll'
Peres en comfyt
Payn puff'

**La dyner as sergeantz [io']⁴⁵
A² vj H vj**

*A heraud to proclayme the
worshipe of the fest*

j – Potage –

Piper vert ové venesoun saliz
Past roial losenge en
Borneve (?)
Fesant endorrez
Capoun de haut gres
Signetz rostez
Kidde rostez
Pecok ové la coue roiall
Heronceux
Fritour purpull roiall
Bakemet tarte roiall partie
A subtilté – Numa le primer
controvoir dez leys as
Romains⁴⁶

ij

Viande garnade – potage
Creme unie (?)
Crane roiall rostez
Bytores rostez
Pusin vel chikyn blanc et
endorrez
Faun rostez
Venesoun rostez
Leche damasch' roiall
Bakemet raylis roiall vel
doucetes
a subtilté – Le roy Percius
chivauchant par my le mier
sur un chivall fait par
enchantement devers qi
toutz lez peissons del mier
fesoient graunde bataille⁴⁷

ijj

Potage – Viande Rappey
Gellee
Roo reversé
Egrettes
Quayles
Rabettis
Curluwe
Doterell
Martinettis
Leche roiall vel quatre foiles
vel quynt ...
Leche roiall saunz f.⁴⁸
A subtilté – Theodosius
Emperour de Rome
conferr[ant] de leys as
Romainys⁴⁹

GLOSSARY

ambre – amber-coloured

bakemete – a meat pie

baker – to bake

bitor, bitour, bitore – bittern

blamange – blancmange (a dish of chopped chicken or fish boiled with rice)

blansorry – a dish of minced chicken or fish (probably including sorrel/saffron)

braune – the name for various cuts of meat, also for a meat dish

brewes – 'brewis', broth, soup; or sauce for meat; or strips of bread soaked in broth

bruet – brewet (a broth)

chapon, capoun – capon; *chapons de haut gres* – capons well-fattened, crammed

char ... graund' chares – usually beef, served boiled and before the roast meats

chaudevin – chawdron, a sauce containing chopped entrails

chiewete – chewet, chewette (a small meat pie)

comfit – a confit (fruit preserved in sugar); *en comfit* – in a fruit and wine syrup or a sweet sauce

couayle – quail

counsey – concy (a sauce for garnishing capons)

cranette – young crane

creme, creem – a creamy dish, a custard; *creme unie* – of one colour?

cressance – ?cress, a plant of the mustard family?

coue – tail; *pecok ové la coue roiall* – peacock served roasted and displayed on a dish with its tail mounted in full splendour

curlou – curlew

custard – any dish baked in a crust, a pie, patty

doucette – a sweet custard; or a sweetened meat pie

egrette – egret

enarmer – to garnish, lard

endorrer, endorer – to glaze (often = to baste with a mixture of saffron, egg-yolks and flour to give a gilded appearance)

enformer – to shape

farsir, farser – to stuff

faun – fawn

fesant – pheasant

flampayn – flaumpen (a sort of pork pie)

fritour – fritter; *fritour Samata* – a fritter made of flour, curds, eggs, cream and fat, served with sugar

frumentez, furmenté – frumenty, a 'potage' made of boiled hulled grain mixed with milk (or almond milk) and sweetened

garnade – a dish made with pomegranates? or 'garnished'?

gellee – jelly

gres / de haut gres – well-fattened, crammed

hagays – haggis (a dish cooked in a bag made of gut); *hagays de almayn* – a dish containing eggs, almonds, spices, etc., enclosed in batter

henarmé, see *enarmé*

heronsew – heronshaw (a young heron)

- jussell* – a dish made of eggs (sometimes mixed with grated bread) cooked in a seasoned broth
kiddle – kid (young goat)
leche – a strip, slice: a dish prepared from various ingredients and cut into slices
losenge – diamond-shaped wafer or little cake, a dish composed with these
martinette – martin
maumenné – mawmeny (a dish composed of chopped meat, usually chicken or capon, spices, etc.)
osel – bird; *gresses oselx* – fattened birds
pain puffé – small loaves, buns (perhaps similar to brioches)
past, paste – pastry; *past roial* – a kind of sweet pastry
pejon – pigeon
pestell – leg (of pork or other animal)
pestez – cooked in pastry
piper – a pepper sauce, poivrade
porcel, porcell – a suckling-pig
potage – a thick soup or stew, pottage
pusin – chick, chicken
rappey – a sauce made of dried fruits boiled in wine, strained, spiced, thickened, and served with meat or fish
roial, riall – royal (used of a dish 'fit for a king, queen, prince to eat')
roo – roe-deer; *roo reversé* – ?served lying on its back?
rosey – rosee, a soup dish made using rose-petals
roster – to roast
signel – cygnet
sotillé, subtilté – a subtlety, sotelty (elaborately-concocted ceremonial showpiece dish, made of sugar-paste and jelly, often representing a theme relevant to the feast at which they were served)
viande – food

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LISA JEFFERSON

AN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LIST OF CHURCHYARD CROSSES IN OXFORDSHIRE

In Richard Rawlinson's Collections for Oxfordshire, held in the Bodleian Library, there is a list of churchyard crosses which precedes notes made by Rawlinson during a journey through the county with Edmund Curll in July and August 1718.¹ This list, which is not written in Rawlinson's own hand and to which there is no reference in the topographical card index to the quarto catalogues, is of considerable interest for its inclusion of a significant number of churchyard crosses of which there is apparently no mention elsewhere. The full list is therefore published here, retaining the original order and spelling.

The list is as follows, an asterisk by the name indicating that the cross no longer exists:²

Waterperry, Woodeaton, Oddington, Charlton, Warborough, Sherborne in the Town,³ Merton, Launton, Stratton Audley, Godington*, Wendlebury*, Begbroke, Yarnton, Cassington, Shifford, Brize Norton*, Middleton Stoney, Weston on the Green*, Salford, Chipping Norton, Bradwell, Asthole [Asthall]*, Taynton*, Burford*, Leyfield, Chesterton*, Bicester*, Bucknall, Cotesford, Fritwell, Souldern, Rousham*, Steeple Aston, Barford St. John*, Nether Worton*, Over Worton, Cropredy (demolished),⁴ Mollington*, South Newington, Rollrights, Chasleton, Dalesford*, Sarsden, Spelsbury*, Ascott*, Minster Lovel, Combe, Wooton*, Glympton*, Kiddington-upper in the Town, Sandford, Westcot Barton.

In the parish notes which follow the list, few of the crosses are described or even mentioned. A notable exception is the cross at Bampton (not included on the list, presumably because it had already gone) where Rawlinson records in his notes that 'in 1645 Lt. Wm. Waller demolished the Cross, which stood upon eight pillars was the third for beauty in England, the base stands now upon a neighbours house near adjoining'.⁵

In publishing a short note on the wayside cross at Sarsden in *Oxoniensia* in 1988,⁶ I stated that there is no early antiquarian reference to the cross. While a cross at Sarsden is mentioned in this list, the list is specifically one of churchyard crosses (except where otherwise stated) and the inclusion of Sarsden does not contradict the view that the existing wayside cross is an early 19th-century creation made up of medieval fragments. It also increases the possibility that these fragments came from a former churchyard cross at Sarsden.

NICHOLAS DOGGETT

¹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 400 F, no folio nos.

² For a list of surviving medieval crosses in Oxfordshire see B.J. Marples, 'The Medieval Crosses of Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 299-311.

³ A cross is shown standing in the village street at Shirburn on an undated estate map of c. 1730 belonging to the Beechwood Estate, Shirburn. A relocated fragment of this cross (not recorded by Marples) stands in a wood by the B4009. I am grateful to Graham Gaisburgh-Watkyn of the Estate for drawing this to my attention.

⁴ A cross at Cropredy is in fact referred to by Marples (op. cit. note 2, p. 306) but as this is a roadside cross it is probably not the same as that recorded in the list, which significantly is described as already demolished.

⁵ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 400 F, f. 220.

⁶ N. Doggett, 'The Wayside Cross at Sarsden: a 19th-century Folly?', *Oxoniensia*, liii (1988), 347-50.