Notes

PALAEOLITHIC ARTEFACTS FROM STANTON HARCOURT

Finds of Old Stone Age implements in the upper Thames valley have greatly increased in the past decade. An assemblage of more than 200 palaeolithic handaxes and other tools from gravel pits at Berinsfield was published in this journal in 1982.[1] Since those pits closed the writer has recovered 30 handaxes and flakes from the extensive Stanton Harcourt gravel complex. The total, and the technological diversity of the implements, far exceeded expectation, as until a few years ago only two Acheulian handaxes had been recorded from that area.

The finds were mostly made on the floor debris of the working pits at the rate of about ten a year – not the most instantly rewarding branch of archaeology, as each implement, on average, involved eight hours of searching. They came from in or under the deposits of the Summertown/Radley terrace near the confluence of the Thames and the Windrush at the edge of the floodplain. While all are attributable to Acheulian traditions, their varying types may represent, as at Berinsfield, the losses or discards of small hunting bands whose occasional visits to the upper Thames valley might be separated by immense stretches of time. If the artefacts existed before any massive deposits of the Stanton Harcourt 'cold' gravels were laid down this might place them in the Hoxnian interglacial; but some may be earlier. The palaeo-chronology of the valley is a formidably complex study, and Acheulian handaxes of the kinds recovered might be dated anywhere between 250,000 and 100,000 years BP.[2] They could be associated with an ancient land surface before it was overwhelmed by successive depositions of gravel and may then have been moved, perhaps not very far, by periglacial processes or meltwater floods. Some tools are blunted by natural abrasion, others are almost sharp.

Most unexpectedly, late in 1986, a 'giant' flint handaxe of elegant proportions (Fig. 1) turned up at SU 4005 2552. It was found by the dragline operator, Mr. Vic Griffin. At 269mm. long, 127mm. wide and 54mm. thick it is the third largest Lower Palaeolithic handaxe ever found in Britain among the 40,000 recorded. Among the flint bifaces are two outstandingly well-flaked specimens. Both are large, 160mm. × 90mm. and 150mm. × 70mm., and have the attractive yellow staining associated with flints from this part of the valley. There are also smaller bifaces, some crude, some quite symmetrical.

Unusual discoveries at this site include ten handaxes made from quartzite cobbles. Flint of a suitable size and quality for implements is rare in the region and was probably brought as raw material or in rough-out form from the chalk hills 20km. to the SE. Acheulian man in Oxfordshire had to fashion his tools from available materials and there were, as now, an abundance of Bunter pebbles. This rock, tough and difficult to flake, was nevertheless used. The non-flint artefacts confirm the belief that because quartzite

[1] R.J. MacRae, 'Palaeolithic Artefacts from Berinsfield, Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, xlvii (1982), 1–11.

[2] R.J. MacRae in D.J. Briggs et al. (eds.), *The Chronology and Environmental Framework of Early Man in the Upper Thames Valley* (B.A.R. British Series 137, Oxford, 1985).

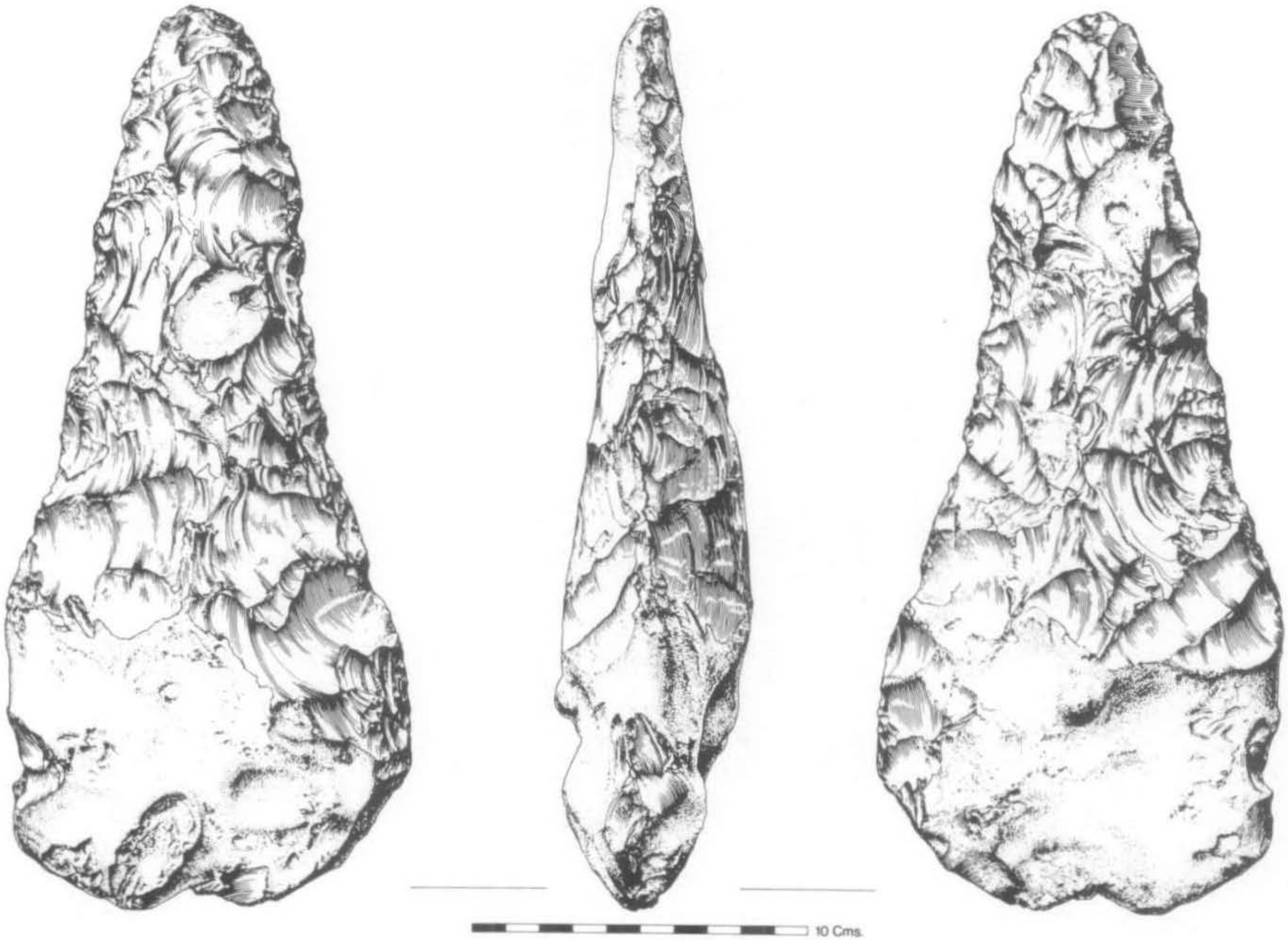


Fig. 1. Palaeolithic handaxe from Stanton Harcourt (drawing by Jeffrey Wallis). *Scale 1:2.*

implements are difficult to detect in mixed gravel spreads, the record of finds in the county does not reflect the true flint/quartzite ratio. One of these quartzite handaxes, a twisted ovate, shows more refined workmanship than any yet known in the upper Thames.

R.J. MACRAE

SECTIONS ACROSS THE ROMAN ROAD SOUTH OF ALCHESTER, OXON., 1967

The Roman main road (Margary 160b)[3] which passes south from the deserted Roman town at Alchester to Dorchester-on-Thames was twice sectioned 0.6km. south of Alchester (at SP 5725 1944). The road, which was surfaced with gravel, appeared to have been constructed entirely with material quarried from the side ditches. Pottery suggested that the road was maintained and repaired until sometime in the 4th century. The precise construction date was not established.

In 1967 the Roman road still survived as a low, linear earthwork 0.5m.–0.9m. high.[4] In June of that year Mr. Ernest Greenfield excavated two sections across the road for the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works because of a threat to level the earthworks. The present summary has been commissioned by English Heritage.[5] Greenfield excavated two trenches, each 26m. long and 1.2m. wide. No plans have survived, and the sections alone form the basis of the site record. The distance between the two recorded sections is not known, but both trenches revealed a similar stratigraphic sequence.

The original roadside ditches were set some 16m. apart (Fig.3). The upcast topsoil, laid on the existing topsoil to form the basic cambered profile of the road, appeared both in Trench 1 and, less obviously, in Trench 2. The clean sandy gravel subsoil from the bottom of each ditch then formed the first road surface. A substantial limestone rubble patching *A*, which filled a shallow depression in this first metalled surface, may represent reused building stone gathered nearby rather than newly quarried stone, which does not occur within 0.5km. of the site. Several pot sherds suggested that the road was not substantially re-metalled until the 4th century, when a second compact gravel surface was laid to a width of *c.* 12m. A substantial layer of gravelly soil, *C*, suggests a subsequent widening of the road later trimmed by the recutting of the roadside ditch.

As recorded by Greenfield, each ditch section suggested a minimum of three cleanings or recuttings which are most clearly defined in the western ditch. The upcast from these cleanings would have been chiefly fine silts, presumably spread over the surrounding land either side of the road. The recuttings progressively reduced the overall width between the ditches by 4m.

In neither section was the construction uniform over the whole width of the road. The variation of the ditch profiles may reflect the varying styles of working and abilities of the work gangs employed. Beneath the road a small depression *B* may have been of natural origin. No environmental information was recovered from either this feature, the pre-Roman ground surface or the ditch fillings.

Although the road make-up contained some pot sherds, none came from primary levels. The cropmarks shown in Fig. 2 suggest a series of pre-existing fields and tracks over which the Roman road and contemporary enclosures were superimposed.[6] Occasional

[3] I.D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (1937), 163.

[4] Previously recorded by the Ordnance Survey on 1:25,000 sheet SP51 and 1:10,560 sheet SP51NE.

[5] The original site records by Mr. Ernest Greenfield, and an archive report, will be deposited with the Oxfordshire County Museum (Accession No. 87.26).

[6] Oxfordshire County Museum, Sites and Monuments Record, PRN 5727.

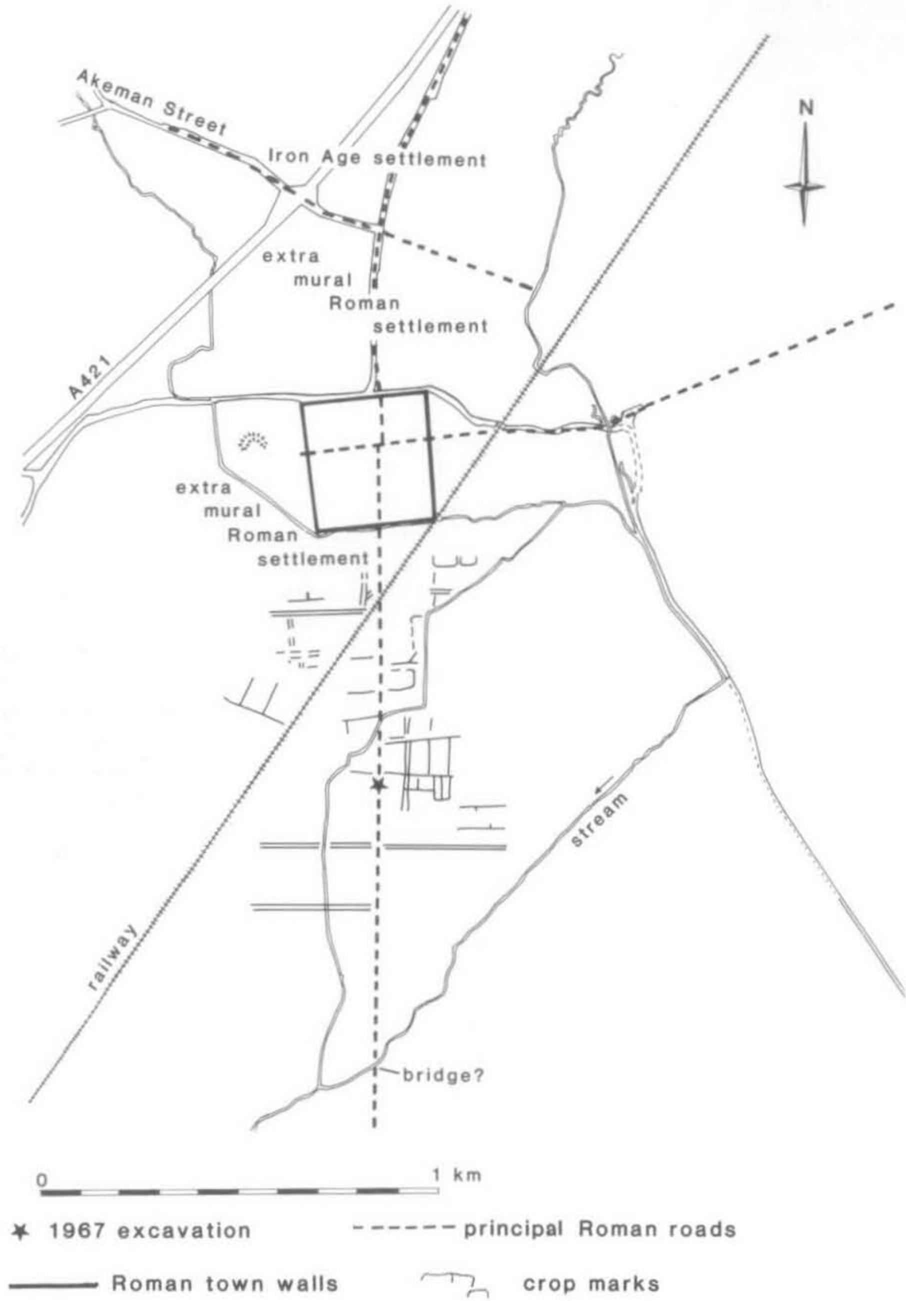


Fig. 2. The location of E. Greenfield's excavations in 1967 to the south of Roman Alchester.

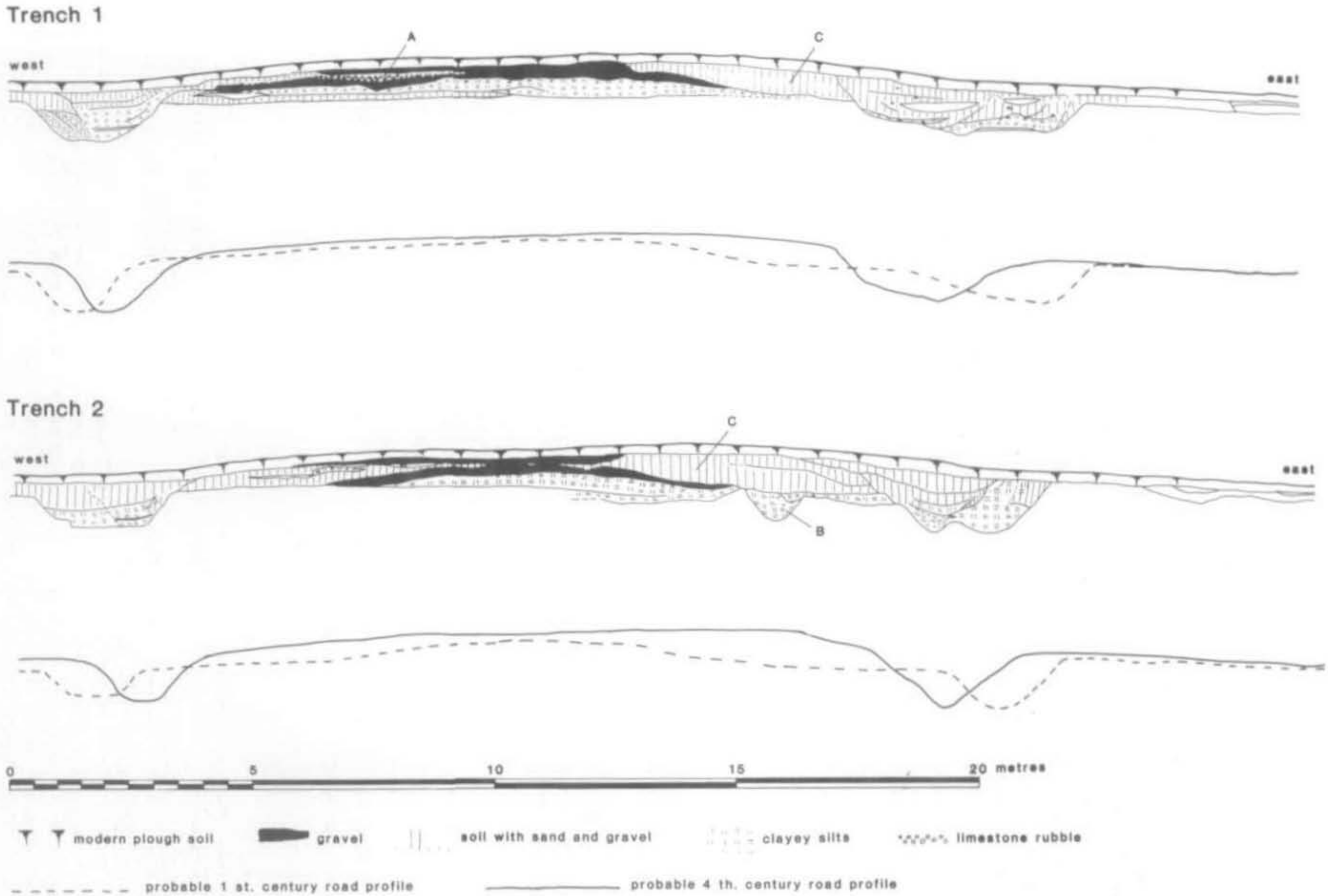


Fig. 3. Two sections across the Roman road (after E. Greenfield).

finds of metal and pottery suggest that at least some of these enclosures contained domestic structures for at least part of the Roman period, possibly buildings fronting onto the road. Although some of the pottery within the road make-up may have come from this occupation, noticeably little came from the roadside ditches.

Accumulating archaeological evidence suggests that the construction and maintenance of the principal roads in the Oxford region was generally similar to that in the rest of the province[7] but varied considerably in detail. At each of three places along the 26km. (16 miles) of road between Alchester and Dorchester the construction reflected the local geology, with earth and gravel on the gravel terraces[8] and limestone metalling on the Corrallian Ridge.[9] There was a considerable variation in width even in the approach to towns. Whereas in the 4th century the road south of Alchester was *c.* 16m. wide, the same road just north of Dorchester was only *c.* 9m. wide even though both sections crossed similar gravel terraces.

Although excavation often produces some pottery, a precise date for the construction of both this road and Roman roads in general will probably only be obtained from dendrochronological dating of timber bridge piles. Such remains may exist 0.7km. to the south, where approach embankments suggesting a bridge were recorded either side of the stream in 1973.[10]

The Society is grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for a grant towards the publication of this note.

R.A. CHAMBERS

AN ANGLO-SAXON GILT-BRONZE LOZENGE-SHAPED MOUNT FROM CULHAM, NOW IN ABINGDON MUSEUM.

This object (Fig. 4) was found in 1986 in a field at Culham, centred on SU 507 955. The field contains a cropmark which might be part of a trackway, and a nearby field at Hill Farm (SU 503 956) contains a few cropmarks indicating a possible continuation of the trackway and part of an enclosure.[11] The field is about 500m. north of the lock at Culham Cut, and 2km. east of the riverside boundary of Abingdon Abbey. The temptation to link the find with Viking raids on the Abbey and its 9th-century spoliation is strong in view of the 8th-century date suggested for its manufacture and decoration. The mount could have been part of a book-binding, a casket or reliquary fitting, and many such objects were carried off by the Vikings to be found in 9th- and 10th-century Scandinavian graves adapted as brooches and ornaments.[12]

[7] C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (1979), 66–69.

[8] R.A. Chambers, 'A Section across the Roman Road North of Dorchester-on-Thames, 1981'. *Oxoniensia*, li (1986), 193.

[9] Pers. Comm. A.W.F. Boarder and G.H. Parker, who excavated a section across the line of the Roman road at Beckley in 1986, centred NGR SP 566 114.

[10] The stream to the N. of the present excavation appears to have been straightened annd canalised to conform with the existing field-system, whilst the stream to the S. appears to have maintained its original meandering course. (Note by M. Aston on Sites and Monuments Record map SP51NE).

[11] D. Benson and D. Miles, *The Upper Thames Valley, an Archaeological Survey of the River Gravels* (1974), Map 34 and p.63; Oxfordshire County Museum PRN 8477.

[12] J. Petersen, *British Antiquities of the Viking Period found in Norway: Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Haaken Shetelig, V (Oslo, 1940) 7, 8, 54 Fig. 57.

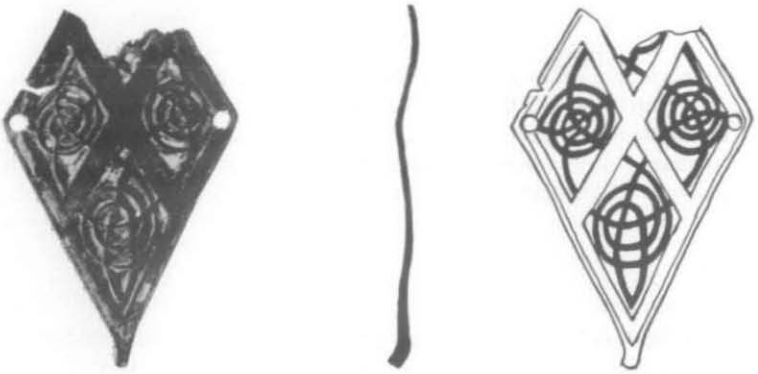


Fig. 4. Anglo-Saxon mount from Culham. *Actual size.*

This fragmentary lozenge-shaped mount of cast copper alloy is decorated with gilt chip-carved ornament on its upper face. In its surviving condition the mount has a length of 48mm. and a width of 31mm. The thickness of the copper alloy is 1mm., increasing to 2mm. at its longitudinal tip. The mount was originally secured to some support, as evidenced by two pierced holes, 2mm. in diameter, positioned opposite each other at the widest section.

Although the object is damaged, with a section missing and showing traces of wear, it was clearly a piece of high-quality Anglo-Saxon metalwork. Much of the gilding on the raised surfaces has now been abraded, revealing the underlying copper alloy. In places the metal has become so thin that there are several perforations at the base of the chip-carved ornament. Its longitudinal terminal originally extended further, for the trace of a fracture is clearly visible at its tip, which is now bent downwards. The underside of the mount is plain and shows signs of copper corrosion.

The decoration consists of a clearly co-ordinated scheme of fine-lined, non-zoomorphic, interlace arranged within four lozenge-shaped panels created by the divisions of a broad-banded diagonal cross. The three surviving panels are of unequal size, the panel on the longitudinal axis being larger than the two opposing panels, but the interlace enters and exits from each panel forming a symmetrical arrangement of loops and coils. Although this lozenge arrangement cannot be closely paralleled, the character of the ornament is sufficiently close to other schemes of fine-interlace in metalwork and Northumbrian manuscript art to suggest an 8th-century date for its manufacture. It lacks the tautness and density of the interlace schemes in the Lindisfarne Gospels, and is more closely reminiscent of some of the infill panels of interlacing in the Durham Cassidorus, supposedly executed within the lifetime of Bede.[13]

The mount is registered as Oxfordshire County Museum PRN 3035, and Accession Number 86.323.1; it will be displayed in Abingdon Museum. We are grateful to Leslie Webster and David Brown for their comments, and to Bob Wilkins for his photograph.

NANCY HOOD and GEORGE SPEAKE

[13] D. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1984) Plate 31, and p. 61.

THE HOOK NORTON HOARD OF 1848: A VIKING BURIAL FROM OXFORDSHIRE?

The Hook Norton hoard of Anglo-Saxon silver pennies, discovered in 1848, is reasonably well known to numismatists, but has passed almost unnoticed in Oxfordshire.[14] The purpose of this note is to set out what has so far been learnt about the discovery and contents of the hoard, and to say something of its significance in terms of both the local and the national history of the later 9th century.

Discovery

The discovery of the hoard was first reported by Samuel Davis of Swerford Park in a letter of 19 July 1848 to the British Museum enclosing two of the coins.[15] Although rather obscurely phrased, the letter seems to suggest that the finder was one William Colegrave and it was to him that the Secretary of the Museum addressed a reply the following day requesting that 'the whole of the coins' and 'an account of the exact place and circumstances in which [they] were found' should be sent to Edward Hawkins of the Medal Room. Colegrave replied on 21 July 1848 sending three more of the coins. His letter together with five coins was placed before the Trustees' Standing Committee on 22 July, at which it was ordered that 'the five coins before the Board [should] be purchased for £8. 5 – and as many more of those discovered as, at reasonable prices, could be had for £11. 15 –', Samuel Birch having recommended that 'it would be desirable to secure all the specimens of this find by offering five shillings for each Burgred and two pounds for each Alfred with his portrait'. The five coins are now in the Department of Coins and Medals, but no more were purchased, the Trustees on 5 August 1848 directing 'attention to the fact, that the purchases had already exceeded the funds at the disposal of the Trustees down to next Christmas'.

William Colegrave was an employee of Samuel Davis at Swerford Park, appearing as a manservant in the 1841 census at the age of 18 and as butler in the census of 1851.[16] He was

[14] C.E. Blunt and R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Hoard Evidence for the Coins of Alfred', *British Numismatic Journal*, xxix (1959), 220–47, at p.221. The Hook Norton Hoard is No. 75 in Mark Blackburn and Hugh Pagan, 'A Revised Check-list of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, *c.*500–1100' in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (1986), 291–313. The discovery of the hoard and its probable character were first examined in detail by Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle in 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Period from Repton, Derbyshire: II', *British Numismatic Journal*, lvi (1986), 16–33, at pp.26–7, n.37. Miss Marion Archibald, Mr. James Graham-Campbell, Mr. Ival Hornbrook of the Oxford County Museum at Woodstock, and Mr. Andrew Sherratt of the Ashmolean Museum, have been most helpful in establishing the details of the Hook Norton hoard. The site now has the Primary Record Number 1616 in the Oxfordshire Sites and Monuments Record.

[15] Miss Marion Archibald most kindly made available copies of the papers relating to the Hook Norton hoard in the Minutes of the Department of Coins and Medals, Vol. 1, 1838–1856, and in the Coin Catalogues 1848, and has been indefatigable in her prompt response to enquiries and further queries. The remainder of the papers are now in the Central Archives of the Museum and transcripts of these were very helpfully provided by the archivist, Miss K.J. Wallace. They consist of (1) an entry in the Minutes of the Trustees' Standing Committee, p.7562, of 22 July 1848; (2) William Colegrave's letter to Edward Hawkins of 21 July 1848; (3) a hurried note from Hawkins to the Rev. Josiah Forshall, Secretary to the Trustees, undated but by inference the note of 22 July 1848 which is mentioned in (1); and (4) a report made by Samuel Birch on the offer of the coins, and dated 22 July 1848. (2) and (3) are in vol. XL of the class known as 'Original Papers', comprising papers laid on the table at meetings of the Trustees, and (4) is among the class of 'Officers' Reports', vol. 41.

[16] 1841 census: P.R.O., HO 107/879/6, fol. 5; 1851 census: P.R.O., HO 107/1733, fol. 7 (Householders

unmarried and the censuses show that he lived at Swerford Park, where in 1851 a Temperance Colegrave, aged 23, also unmarried and perhaps his sister, was employed as a housemaid. These facts help to explain why Samuel Davis came to write to the British Museum on his employee's behalf.

In his letter Davis wrote that 'a person [Davis seems to imply this was Colegrave] in digging a cottage garden in the Parish of Stooknorton [*sic*; copyist's error] – Oxon – found two human skeletons of very large size – also several coins'. Colegrave's letter two days later describing the discovery makes it clear that he was not the actual finder:

Swerford Park
July 21st

Sir,

I recd. your letter this morng. I herein send you three more coins — which are all I have — twenty three were found — some have been broken — and others have been given to different persons, who are now unwilling to part with them, excepting at a high price — having been told they are valuable I therefore do not choose to buy them — for as I do not understand coins, I might not be able to make my money again, and I cannot afford to keep them. I hope you will receive these three safely but as we live at a distance from a post office, and Mr. Davis, my Master — has company to-day — I cannot be allowed to go to a post town ['office' crossed out] to register this letter. The coins were found all sticking together, *under, or* beside two human skeletons — I was not present when they were first dug up — but saw them a few hours afterwards — it was in a cottage garden, or orchard, in the village of Hook Norton — Oxon — they were about a yard deep in the ground I measured a leg bone, it was 22 inches long from the ankle to the knee. The arms and other bones — were very perfect, and of a very large size; they were very perfect till they had been exposed to the air for some time; the skulls were ['was' crossed out] very large, and the teeth sound — the bones have since been broken by being dug up again to show other persons — the man who has the ground talks of digging the rest over, when he has time — but as he is a poor man, that may be some time first — several curious things have been dug up at different times, at and near Hook Norton — but have been lost or detroyed, as no one cared about them.

I am etc etc
yours respectfully
Wm Colegrave

I should think the mound, that the largest skeleton belonged to must have been 8 or 9 feet high.

[On separate sheet, in Colegrave's handwriting] P.S. I have been looking at the other coins (some of them) they don't appear to me very different to those of mine I have sent you — perhaps a few of the little marks are not quite the same

To
Edward Hawkins Esq.

These appear to be the only contemporary references to the circumstances of the discovery. The location of the cottage garden or orchard is not given, other than that it lay in Hook Norton village. This presumably implies the built-up area of the village, rather than some outlying part of the parish to which a farm or other name might have been attached. There is unfortunately no other indication who the finder was or where the cottage lay, but there are the unexplained circumstances that Colegrave was in possession of five of the coins, while the finder, 'a poor man . . . who has the ground' is not mentioned as retaining any. The coins may of course have been given to Colegrave as to the other 'different persons', but there seems the possibility that the discovery was made in a friend's or relative's garden and most of the coins given away before William got to hear of the find and could warn of its possible cash value.

schedule 23, 'The Park'); both consulted on microfilm in the Local History Library, Oxfordshire County Library, Westgate Centre, Oxford.

There were *Colegroves* in the parish at Hook Norton Mill, immediately east of Swerford Park,[17] but the only other *Colegraves* were William, aged 69, and his wife Sarah, aged 74, who in 1851 occupied their own house in that part of the parish which formed the enumerator's district lying between the Sibford road and the Milcombe road, i.e. in or about Hook Norton village proper, rather than in the township of Southrop south of the brook.[18] In the 1841 census William and Sarah were living, probably in the same house, in that part of Hook Norton parish which then specifically excluded Southrop.[19] William Colegrave junior, the recorder of the hoard, was born in Hook Norton *c.*1823. William Colegrave senior would then have been about 41 and his wife Sarah about 46. They were born in Sibford and Banbury respectively and since they were by 1841 the only Colegraves in Hook Norton, it must seem probable that they were the parents of William junior born there about 1823. They would have been rather elderly parents, especially if Temperance, born about 1828, was also their daughter, but there is a discrepancy of four years between their ages as given in the census of 1841 and that of 1851. If the younger ages indicated by the census of 1841 were to be accepted, William and Sarah would have been 37 and 42 respectively in 1823, and 42 and 47 in 1828, still relatively elderly, but not impossibly so.

It seems not impossible therefore that the coins were found in digging the garden of William Colegrave's parents' house. This would explain his possession of five of the coins. If so, the hoard was found in a location not yet exactly identifiable, but in that part of Hook Norton village north of the brook. Against this view is William Colegrave's description of the finder as 'a poor man', for William Colegrave senior was described as of 'independent' status in the 1841 census, as 'proprietor' of his house in 1851, and even as 'gentry' in 1848.

There is, however, another more probable although not contemporary tradition. In the 'Local correspondence' file of the Department of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum, under 'Hook Norton', is the following transcript of a note:

Hook Norton. Southrup

About the year 1841 — A Quantity of Coines — with Skeletons were found in Southrup in a M^r^. Colgrave^s^ Garden or Orchard at That Time the Bones were verry Large and Some of the Teeth are about there now I was Told Some of the Coines were Large Silver ones with Raised Heads it was Kept Very Close and but Few Knew What became of them

The Farmer M^r^ Colgrave is Now Liveng at Little Tew

T.J.C.

Although 'T.J.C.' cannot at present be identified, the note can be dated to some period after 1887×1891 when William Colegrave, jr. moved to Little Tew Grounds farm.[20] This

17 Ibid.

18 P.R.O., HO 107/1733, fol. 50^{v} (Householders schedule 44).

19 P.R.O. HO 107/879/5, fol. 13. The reconstruction of the Colegrave family which follows is based on information in both censuses. The location of the Colegrave house could probably have been ascertained from the Tithe Award and its map, but this does not exist for Hook Norton parish. A detailed map of ?*c.*1820 in the Oxfordshire County Record Office, wrongly identified as a draft map for the Inclosure of 1774 (O.R.O., QSDA, F15, Stilgoe A25), might provide the answer if the Reference Book identifying the *c.*700 numbered parcels on the map could be found. A reference book relating to the Earl of Shrewsbury's Estate in Hook Norton and elsewhere (O.R.O., Shrew. VII/i/1) uses numbers which relate to a different plan, not in O.R.O. It is interesting to note that *Kelly's Oxfordshire Directory* of 1848 gives William Colegrave (i.e., senior) as 'gentry', while *Harrod's Royal County Directory of Oxfordshire* (1876) gives William Colegrave (i.e., junior) as 'farmer', showing, as we shall see, that the butler of 1851 had inherited and changed occupation.

20 Mr. Andrew Sherratt very kindly looked for and provided photocopies of this and the Manning note which follows, as well as of Percy Manning's OS 6-inch sheet. The details of William Colegrave's remarkable career

dating, the evident correspondences in phrasing, and the direct quotation of the words 'with Raised Heads' indicated by underlining, suggest that 'T.J.C.'s' note was the source of a second note in the Department of Antiquities, to be found among the Manning MSS. and stated to be based on 'Information from Hook Norton. 1895':

> About the year 1841 [*sic*] a quantity of skeletons together with some coins were found in a garden in Southrop, a hamlet of Hook Norton. Some of the coins are described as being large silver ones, *with raised heads*, and therefore presumably Roman [*sic*].[21] The garden in question is situate on the east side of the road from Southrop into Hook Norton, close to the bridge over the stream which separates the two parts of the village.

In this second note Percy Manning, presumably with the help of additional enquiries on the spot, even possibly of William Colegrave at Little Tew, identified the location of the 'Garden or Orchard at That Time' belonging to 'a Mr. Colgrave' (who can be identified as William Colegrave, jr. by the reference to Little Tew), and on his sheet of the Ordnance Survey 6-inch 1st edn. of Hook Norton, now in the Department of Antiquities, marked the site of the find with a large red dot. This dot effectively covers the whole of the property in question, but has its centre at the position shown on Fig. 5A, right, at NGR SP 3568 3299.[22]

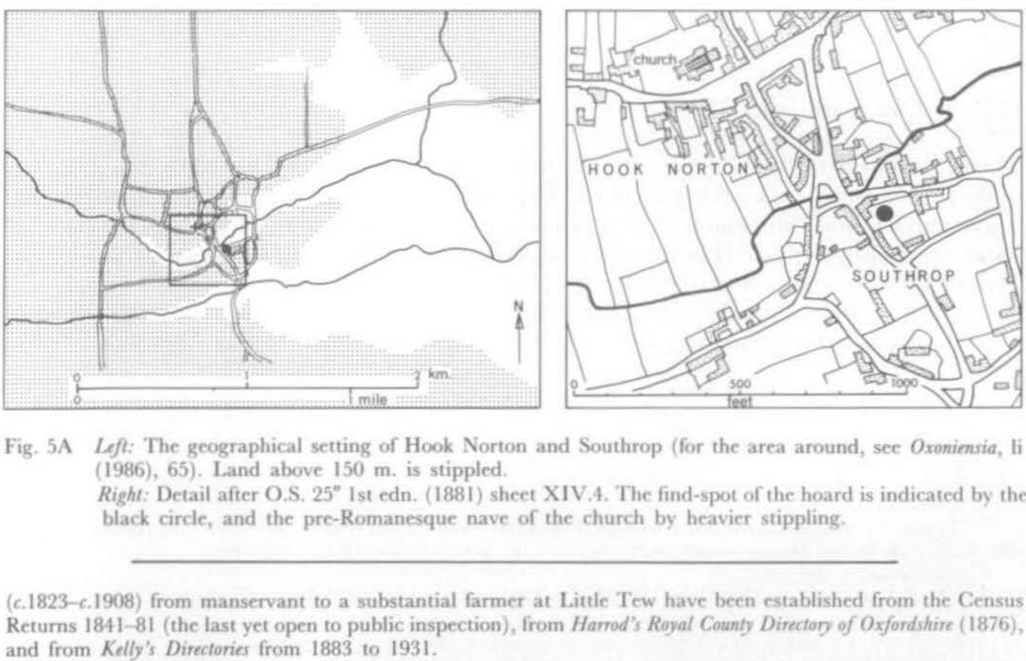


Fig. 5A *Left:* The geographical setting of Hook Norton and Southrop (for the area around, see *Oxoniensia*, li (1986), 65). Land above 150 m. is stippled.
Right: Detail after O.S. 25" 1st edn. (1881) sheet XIV.4. The find-spot of the hoard is indicated by the black circle, and the pre-Romanesque nave of the church by heavier stippling.

(*c.*1823–*c.*1908) from manservant to a substantial farmer at Little Tew have been established from the Census Returns 1841–81 (the last yet open to public inspection), from *Harrod's Royal County Directory of Oxfordshire* (1876), and from *Kelly's Directories* from 1883 to 1931.

[21] Miss M.V. Taylor in her account of Roman Oxfordshire in *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 338, was careful to note that the find 'may or may not be Roman'. In fact the description of the heads as raised is a not inappropriate memory (especially after a lapse of nearly fifty years) of the busts on the portrait pennies of Burgred and Alfred which comprise the known coins of this hoard.

[22] When the spot on Manning's map was recorded for the Archaeology Branch of the Ordnance Survey in 1949, the grid reference was worked out as SP 3571 3298, placing the spot some 32m. too far to the south-east, in the adjacent property to the south. When this grid-reference was replotted for the Oxfordshire Sites and Monuments Record, this error was naturally perpetuated. The site of P.R.N. 1616 should now be relocated as shown on Fig. 5A.

The revelation that the property 'at That Time' belonged to William Colegrave finally explains his part in the discovery, his concern to recover the coins (he 'saw them a few hours afterwards', but those who had been given some were 'now unwilling to part with them'), and his ability to sell those he had to the British Museum. It also suggests that the 'poor man' 'who has the ground' was Colegrave's tenant. The phrase 'It was Kept Very Close' provides not only a graphic explanation for the remarkable lack of local knowledge of the find,[23] but also a context for the possibility that at least one substantial valuable object other than the coins was recovered.[24]

Although recorded nearly fifty years later, the information contained in the Ashmolean notes provides so clear an explanation of the circumstances of the original discovery that it can probably be accepted as a reliable record of the location of the find. The matter could be settled if the ownership of the property in question could be traced, but this has so far proved impossible, either by following back from the present, or by finding a contemporary record of William Colegrave's ownership of it. Until that can be done, the identification must rest on 'Information from Hook Norton. 1895'.[25]

As Fig. 5A shows, the probable site lies just below the crest of a narrow ridge, facing north down into the small valley through which runs the nameless brook dividing Southrop from Hook Norton. In the last few years the property forming the north-west quarter of the block has been much subdivided, but there are still apple trees to show that the now separate gardens were formerly an orchard, as William Colegrave described the site of the discovery in 1848.

Content of the hoard (Fig. 5B)

There seem to have been 23 coins, five of which were purchased by the Museum. The note of 26 July in the Coin Catalogues of the Department of Coins and Medals recording that 'these and 8 others were found' is presumably an erroneous memory of William Colegrave's letter of 21 July, which Hawkins had passed on in great haste to the Secretary of the Museum the moment it arrived on the 22nd.

The five coins now in the Department of Coins and Medals all have the appearance of a silvery wash, with distinctive patches of brown 'rust'. They may be described as follows:[26]

[23] It was, for example, unknown to Margaret Dickins, whose *History of Hook Norton 912–1928* (Banbury, 1928) was written in Bridge House, immediately opposite the probable site of the discovery.

[24] See below, p.193.

[25] Mr. E.A. Colegrave of The Barn, Shutford, whose god-parents were William Colegrave's eldest daughter Edith (born *c.*1858) and elder son William H. (born *c.*1870, later Lt. Cmdr. R.N.R., and captain of H.M.S. Vivid in 1914), has very kindly helped with his detailed memory of William Colegrave's family. All William Colegrave's five children died without issue and it is extremely unlikely that any of his papers now survive. Mrs. Jane George, who now lives in part of the property which seems to have beeen the site of the find, and Mrs. Eddershaw, who lives in another part, kindly recalled their knowledge of its history and its possession for at least seventy years (i.e. back to *c.*1920) by the French family, latterly Miss Kate French. Mrs. George recalled that Miss French's papers had been found badly damaged by rodents and had been discarded. The Rate Books for Hook Norton are not in the Oxfordshire Record Office, and probably therefore do not survive.

[26] Blunt and Dolley op.cit. note 14, p.221. The coins have been re-examined for this note through the kindness of Miss Marion Archibald, who took the polaroid photographs of nos. 1–5 reproduced by permission in Fig. 5B.

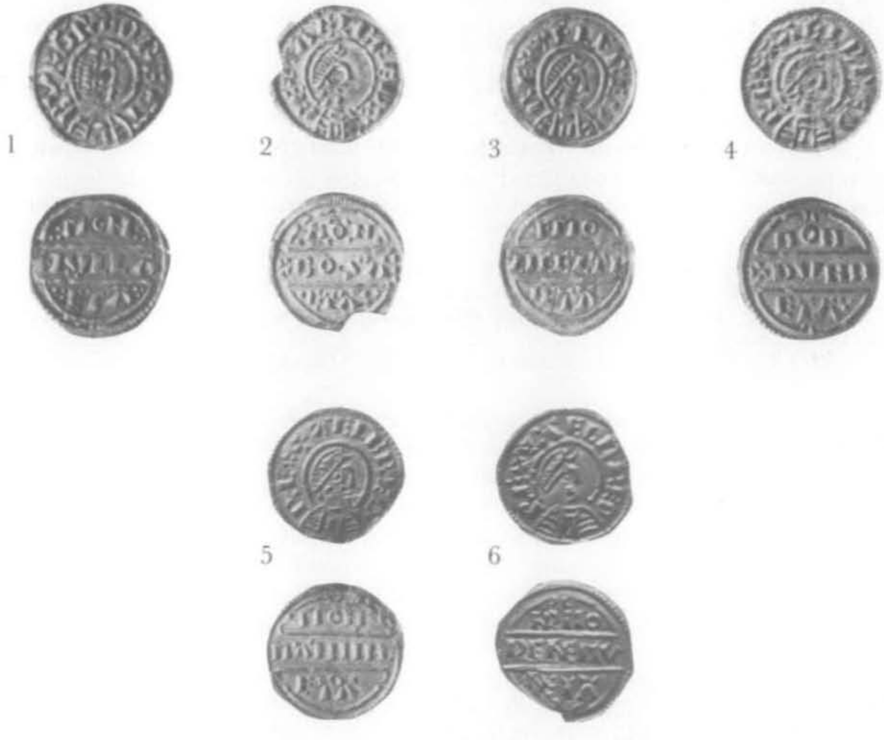


Fig. 5B. The surviving coins from the Hook Norton hoard, 1848. 1, Burgred; 2–6, Alfred. *Actual size.*

Mercia

Burgred (852–74)

1. *BMC* type A. Moneyer Lulla.
   Obv. BVRGRED. REX ‾ M Bust r.
   Rev. + LVLLA/ ∴MON∴/∵ETA∵ in three lines, MON and ETA within whole lunettes.
   Die-axis: 90°→ Wt: 1.32g. This coin is *BMC* 361.

Wessex

Alfred (871–99)

2. *BMC* type i. Moneyer Bosa.
   Obv. + AELBRED ∵ RE+ Bust r. dividing legend.
   Rev. + BO.SA⁝/.M×N./ETA∵ in three lines, MON and ETA within whole lunettes.
   Die-axis: 270°← Wt: 1.00g. (chipped). This coin is *BMC* 160.
3. *BMC* type i. Moneyer Sigestef.
   Obv. + ELFRED RE+ Bust r. dividing legend.
   Rev. ZIGEZTE/F MO/NETA (NE ligatured) in three lines, F MO and NETA in whole lunettes.
   Die-axis: 180°↓ Wt:0.97g. This coin is *BMC* 168.
4. *BMC* type i*a*. Moneyer Dunn.
   Obv. + AELBRED REX Bust r. dividing legend.

Rev. + DVNN/MON/ETA∵ in three lines, MON and ETA within lunettes broken at top and bottom.
Die-axis: 90°→ Wt: 0.94g. This coin is *BMC* 174.

5. *BMC* type i*b*. Moneyer Manninc.
Obv. + AELBRED. REX Bust r. dividing legend.
Rev. MANNINC/MON/ETA (NN and NC ligatured) in three lines within lunettes broken at the corners.
Die-axis: 180° ↓ Wt: 0.95g. This coin is *BMC* 176.

A coin of Alfred, 'from the Oxford trouvaille of 1848', sold at Sotheby's the following year, probably represents another piece from the Hook Norton hoard and may be identical with the following:

6. *BMC* type i*a*. Moneyer Denemund.
Obv. + AELBRED RE+ Bust r. dividing legend.
Rev. DENEMV/ND MO/NETA (NE, ND and NE ligatured) in three lines, ND MO and NETA within lunettes broken at top and bottom.
Die-axis: 90°→ Wt: 0.87g. This coin is now in the National Museum of Wales, E 223.[27]

The National Museum of Wales coin was presumably one of the 'others . . . given to different persons' mentioned in Colegrave's letter. These, like the five purchased, were probably 'three-line' pennies (i.e. had their reverse legend arranged in three lines), for Colegrave commented in a P.S. to his letter that 'looking at the other coins (some of them) they don't appear to me very different to those of mine I have sent you – perhaps a few of the little marks are not quite the same'. This is presumably the source of the note in the Department's Minutes, on the page following the entry of Samuel Davis's letter of 19 July, which records that 'many coins were found but there appears to be a slight difference in all of them'.

There is, however, the possibility that another coin-type was in fact present, perhaps among the coins Colegrave did not look at. More than a decade after his original find, William Colegrave wrote again to the British Museum enclosing three coins recently 'dug & ploughed up in the Parish of Swerford & Hook Norton thinking they might be desireable for the B.M. Cabinet'. Towards the end of his letter, he recalled, 'I sent some years ago Some Saxon coins which turned out uncommonly well I beleive they were of the Reigns of Alfred & Ethelbert'.[28] If this refers, as surely it must, to the 1848 find, it implies that that find also contained one or more coins of the second of Alfred's older brothers, Æthelberht, king of Kent 858–60 and of Wessex from 860 to 865. If so, these were of either the 'open cross' or the 'floreate cross' type, both quite unlike the 'three-line' ('lunettes') type of which the rest of the 1848 find was composed, and not at all to be described as showing only 'a slight difference'. There seem to be several possibilities. Colegrave may simply have misremembered the unusual Old English names, substituting 'Ethelbert' for 'Ethelred', the third of Alfred's older brothers, king of Wessex 865–71, who issued 'three-line' pennies very

[27] Mr. James Graham-Campbell kindly provided the reference to the Sotheby Sale Catalogue for 23 May 1849, lot 101. For the subsequent pedigree of this coin, which tentatively identifies it with the coin in the National Museum of Wales, see Hugh Pagan, 'A Second Parcel of Pennies of the 870s from a Grave at Repton', *British Numismatic Journal* lvi (1986), 16–19, at p.19. The coin is reproduced here by permission of the National Museum of Wales, through the kindness of Mr. E.M. Besly (Fig. 5B, no. 6).

[28] Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, Correspondence 1826–67, Vol. 3 (New Series), 1086, of 5 August, endorsed 'Coins returned by a registered letter 8/8/59 S B[irch]'. Dr. Julian Reade of the Department very kindly located and supplied copies of this and a second letter from Colegrave which are in his department as an inheritance from the old undivided Department of Antiquities. Colegrave's second letter (WAA, Correspondence, 1826–60, Vol. 4, 1116) dated 23 August, year not given, offered two further coins 'picked up in the parish of Swerford'.

similar to the others in the 1848 hoard. Or Colegrave may be recalling the identification of coins which he had never seen and which are thus not to be grouped with those which 'don't appear to me very different'. It is impossible to be sure, but the date of deposition of the hoard, established on the latest coins in it, is not affected.

There is no mention in the surviving records of any items other than coins and human bones discovered at the same time, but in 1857 an elaborately stamped Hiberno-Viking silver arm-ring, 'affirmed to have been found near Oxford', was displayed to a meeting of the British Archaeological Association with a number of others from the collection of W.H. Forman.[29] This arm-ring later acquired a false provenance in the great Viking-age hoard from Cuerdale, Lancashire, but Mr. James Graham-Campbell has recently discovered its Oxfordshire provenance and has tentatively suggested that it may have formed part of the Hook Norton hoard, since there is 'no other Viking-age hoard on record from the Oxford region, found in the 1840s or 1850s, to which this ring might otherwise be attributed'. The significance of the possible attribution of a Hiberno-Viking arm-ring to the Hook Norton hoard will become apparent in the next section.

Date and content of the hoard

It is dangerous to interpret the date of any small hoard, and doubly so when only part of the hoard is known. The coins may not be representative of those in circulation at the time of deposit, and the identification of even one more coin as belonging to the hoard may change the picture. But even so, in so far as the five coins in the British Museum can provide a fair indication, the coins of Alfred's *BMC* types i*a* and i*b* show that the Hook Norton hoard was not deposited before *c.* 874. It may well have been buried later in the 870s, the evidence of other hoards indicating that coins of Alfred's *BMC* type i*a* were 'struck late within the lunette coinage'.[30] A date of deposition *c.*875 or even a year or two later seems acceptable in the present state of knowledge.

The discovery of the coins 'all sticking together *under*, *or* beside two human skeletons', as Colegrave records, brings the Hook Norton hoard into a group of four other late 9th-century deposits, all found in graves.[31]

St. Mary's Churchyard, Reading, Berks. 11 (?) coins, deposited *c.* 870–1, 'in a coffin'.

Repton, Derbyshire, 1982. 5 coins, deposited 873–4, in a mass burial of at least 249 bodies.

Repton, Derbyshire, 1985. 5 coins and a gold ring, deposited *c.* 873–7, on the floor of a grave on the south (right) side of the head and shoulders.

[29] H. Syer Cuming, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* xiii (1857), 340–1. Mr. Graham-Campbell generously brought this discovery to our attention in advance of his own publication of it in his forthcoming study (from which the subsequent quotation is taken) *The Cuerdale Hoard and Related Viking-Age Silver from Britain and Ireland in the British Museum.* The arm-ring is now in the Liverpool Museum (ex Nelson ex Grantley ex Forman) and is illustrated in Haakon Shetelig (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* vi (Oslo, 1954), Fig. 85, lower, extreme right, cf. p.243. In was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1930: *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Art in the Dark Ages in Europe (circa 400–1000 AD)*, illustrated edn. (1930), p.57, No. 1.

[30] This dating of Alfred's types is that proposed by Mr. Hugh Pagan, 'Coinage in Southern England, 796–874' in Blackburn (ed.), op.cit. note 14, pp.45–65, esp. pp.62–3; and cf. idem, as in note 27 above, p.18. Two of the Hook Norton coins of Alfred have been analysed. *BMC* 176 has a silver content of 15.70 per cent, and NMW E223 of only 10.04 per cent, both values being amongst the lowest yet recorded in the 'lunette' series, and the coins are therefore *ex argumento* among the latest in date: D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, 'Debasement of the Coinage in Southern England in the Age of King Alfred', *Numismatic Chronicle*, cxlv (1985), 150–76, Analyses 99 (*BMC* 176) and 101 (NMW 223, *not* 225) (pp.174–5), and cf. the discussion on pp.164–5.

[31] Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, op.cit. note 14, pp.25–8, with further references to the four deposits listed here.

Leigh-on-Sea, Essex. 23+ (?27+) coins, deposited *c*. 893, 'in a hollow of the left shoulder of a skeleton which had been buried with horse and sword.'

All four finds have been associated by their dates with Viking activity: the wintering at Reading in 870–1, the wintering at Repton in 873–4, and the campaigning bases in Essex in 892–5.[32] Moreover, the practice of depositing small parcels of coins in graves has recently been shown to be specifically a Scandinavian practice at this date.[33] In this context, Mr. Graham-Campbell's tentative suggestion that the Hiberno-Viking silver arm-ring, 'affirmed to have been found near Oxford', may have come from the Hook Norton hoard takes on an added significance.

The Hook Norton hoard, buried *c*. 875 or slightly later, should probably therefore be seen as part of a Viking-age burial of Scandinavian type. The presence of at least one other skeleton – Davis reported that the coins were found with 'two human skeletons of very large size' – suggests that the find comes from a cemetery distinct from that around the church (which is nowhere mentioned in the admittedly sparse accounts of the discovery and which, if the location of the find as shown in Fig. 5A is correct, lies beyond the brook and some 220m. to the north-west). This was probably the case at Leigh-on-Sea, where more than one burial seems also to have been found.[34]

A note at the end of Colegrave's letter adds another element to the discovery: 'I should think the mound, that the largest skeleton belonged to must have been 8 or 9 feet high'. If one of the two skeletons was perhaps in or under a barrow, it was probably not very close to the second skeleton. Since the coins were found 'about a yard deep in the ground', they were probably with this second skeleton, rather than with the largest skeleton under a mound '8 or 9 feet high'. It seems therefore that there were possibly two burials of Scandinavian type in the garden or orchard at Hook Norton, one with coins, the other under a mound.

General historical implications

If the Hook Norton hoard is looked at in the context of the other datable silver-hoards from the time of the movements of the Viking great army in England in 865–79, it fits in well with the movement of Guthrum's half of the army south-west from Cambridge to Dorset in 875–6 or with his movements up to and after the battle of Edington in 878.[35] There are silver-hoards from Gloucester (877), Chippenham (878) and Cirencester (878–9), all west of Hook Norton, which provide a good context for the later date, but the earlier occasion cannot be excluded.

[32] Ibid. 27, and cf. (with their caveats), N.P. Brooks and J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on the Viking-Age Silver Hoard from Croydon, Surrey', in Blackburn (ed.), op.cit. note 14, pp.91–110, at pp.107–10 with Fig. 6.3.

[33] Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, op.cit. note 14, pp.25–6 with note 31 (p.25).

[34] The Leigh-on-Sea find presents many problems: two parcels of coins are involved and they may come from two separate (almost simultaneous) discoveries, either of two hoards or of two parts of the same hoard. For 'several burials', see *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 328; and for very different accounts suggesting two separate burials with coins, see *Essex Review*, ii (1893), 187, and G.C. Brooke, 'Treasure Trove', *British Numismatic Journal*, xx (1930), 279–87, at p.283, note 1.

[35] Brooks and Graham-Campbell, op.cit. note 32, pp.107–10 and Fig. 6.3.

Local historical implications

A note in the last issue of *Oxoniensia*[36] suggested that the Anglo-Saxon royal vill of Hook Norton was not near the modern village, but lay some two miles to its north-east beside the Iron Age hillfort of Tadmarton Camp. Two considerations prompted this view: (i) the likelihood, on topographical grounds, that the hillfort was the scene of the skirmish in 913 between English and Vikings *in regia villa Hokernetune*; and (ii) the fact that the hide of land which constituted the original glebe of the parish church lay immediately west of the hillfort, well away from the village. By analogy with other cases, it was suggested that an ancient church near the hillfort may have been replaced in the Anglo-Norman period by a new one on a convenient village-centre site.

During the last year, two further pieces of evidence have emerged. The first, revealed by work on the exterior of the parish church in January 1987, is the existence of large, well-squared long-and-short quoins on the eastern angles of the nave.[37] These need be no earlier than the 11th century, but they represent a substantial church built in the late Anglo-Saxon tradition. Thus the migration proposed above must have happened, if it happened at all, rather earlier than the documented 12th-century parallels. The second, and much more important, factor is the Viking coin-hoard, which suggests that there was a place of some significance in the neighbourhood of the present village some forty years before the recorded skirmish of 913. The previous argument thus needs modification to the extent that, while a 9th- and 10th-century military stronghold could indeed have occupied the hill, there is now a strong hint of a contemporary central place in the valley. Some attention might now be given to the topography of the village plan, which is notably larger and more complex than its neighbours.

The Reading and Repton hoards were deposited in the graveyards of ancient minster churches. The Hook Norton graves were not, however, in the churchyard: they were found at Southrop some 220m. away, and are not evidence for the antiquity of the parish church. The hypothesis that it migrated may therefore still be valid, though in a modified form: there were separate royal and ecclesiastical foci, the latter being abandoned in the 11th century and its functions transferred to the former. Such duality would not be unusual: royal vills and their accompanying minster churches frequently lay two or three miles apart, with the church often sited in or near a prehistoric or Romano-British enclosure.[38] Thus at Aylesbury (Bucks.) the minster was in the hillfort, the royal vill at Quarrendon over a mile away; a lost church called *Cadanmynstre* adjoined the hillfort of Willersey (Glos.); and at Hanbury (Staffs.) the minister was established in a hillfort 2 miles from the royal centre of Wychbold.[39] The possibility therefore still remains that the hide of Hook Norton glebeland on the ridge near Tadmarton Camp is a reflection of the mid-Saxon ecclesiastical geography.

MARTIN BIDDLE and JOHN BLAIR

[36] J. Blair, 'Hook Norton, *Regia villa*', *Oxoniensia*, li (1986), 63–7.

[37] Discovered by Mr. R.A. Chambers, who has a report in preparation.

[38] This phenomenon is reviewed by J. Blair, 'Minster Churches in the Landscape', in D. Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (forthcoming, 1988).

[39] Ibid.; D. Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (1985), 219, 91.

A 12TH-CENTURY CRESSET LAMP FROM OXFORD

An intricately carved stone cresset lamp (Fig. 6) found in digging the foundations of Oxford Town Hall in 1893 was briefly published at that time, but merits further consideration.[35] It is carved from a single block of oolitic limestone, and stands 26cm. high. It consists of three sections – plinth, columns and basin. Part of the basin and one column are missing. The square plinth has a pair of boxed saltire crosses carved into each face. Recessed into each corner of the plinth are the base mouldings of four free-standing columns. The corner columns are alternately carved with chevron and cable mouldings. A broad cylindrical column rises from the centre of the plinth. At the top of each face is a round-headed arch, supported on the corner columns; the mouldings around the arches are continued horizontally to the corners, forming abaci for the columns. The arches support a square basin, which has an 11cm. diameter bowl recessed into its top and surrounded by a raised moulding. A dark carbon deposit stains part of this lip.

Whilst impossible to match closely, the Oxford cresset is clearly allied to a small number of fine pedestalled stone cresset lamps known from 12th-century contexts.[36] Characterised by shallow bowls supported on sturdy but ornate stems which rise from square plinths, these correspond to the basic features of the Oxford piece, although the Oxford cresset is somewhat larger than the others. It incorporates several elements derived from 12th-century Romanesque architecture. The sunk saltire cross was frequently used as a decorative device, usually in bands, particularly in the period *c.* 1130–1160.[37] The arches, base and column decoration are standard 12th-century features. The Oxford cresset has affinities with a type of church font which was becoming current during the third quarter of the 12th century. Fonts of Tournai marble, a black limestone, are known from at least nine sites in South-East England and are widespread in Belgium and North-East France.[38] These fonts are characterised by intricately carved figural scenes on the faces of the square basins, and are almost invariably supported on a plain, broad central column and decorated corner columns. As with the Oxford cresset, the decoration of the four corner columns frequently alternates. In this country the basic form of the Tournai font was adapted by masons working in different stones at various regional workshops.[39]

The source of the stone used for the Oxford cresset has been identified as Burford, one of several important medieval quarry sites which stretch along the Windrush Valley some 20 miles west of Oxford.[40] That the Burford masons were in touch with the style of font which seemingly inspired the Oxford cresset is demonstrated by the font in Iffley church (*c.* 1160), 2 miles south of Oxford. Here a massive square bowl is carved from a block of black limestone, Tournai or an analogous stone. The undecorated bowl is supported on a broad plain central column and on spirally decorated corner columns, all of Burford stone.[41] The

[35] Anon, 'Notes on a Discovery of a Small Stone Object at Oxford' *J.B.A.A.* 1 (1984), 57. The cresset is now in the Museum of Oxford (Acc. No. 6344).

[36] B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949–60*, i (1964), 152 No. 4, Fig. 51 No. 4, Pl. IX; B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle*, iii (1977), 209 Fig. 112, No. 93.

[37] Various applications of the saltire cross as a decorative device can for example be found in the following churches: North Cerney (Gloucs.), tympanum; Haddiscoe (Norfolk), *c.* 1130–40, outer jambs on S. doorway; Kilpeck (Herefs.) *c.* 1145, abaci of S. doorway; Fincham (Norfolk), font.

[38] G.C. Dunning, 'The Distribution of Black Tournai Fonts', *Antiq. J.* xxiv (1944) 66–68.

[39] G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140–1210* (1953), 17.

[40] Burford stone from the Taynton Limestone Formation (Great Oolite, Middle Jurassic). Identification by Mr. H.P. Powell, University Museum, Oxford.

[41] One corner column had subsequently been replaced with an odd column in Headington stone. Identifications by Mr. H.P. Powell.

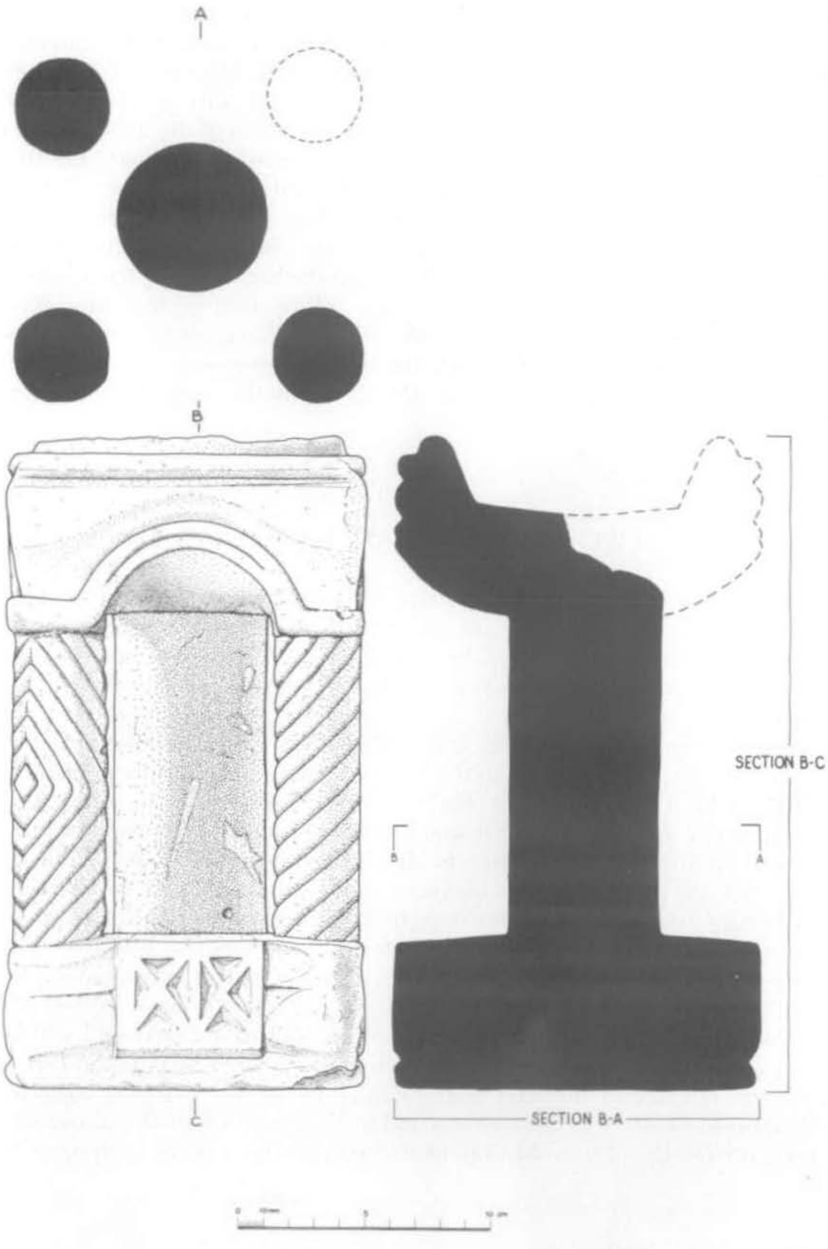


Fig. 6. Stone cresset lamp from the site of Oxford Town Hall. *Scale 1:3.*

manufacture of the cresset in the period *c.* 1160–1180 emphasises that the products of masons working with Burford stone were not restricted to architectural items.

Herbert Hurst, who made copious notes of antiquarian discoveries in Oxford during *c.* 1890–1900, made a detailed plan of the Town Hall site with various archaeological discoveries located on it.[42] The cresset was found at the north of the Town Hall site at the bottom of a 20ft.-deep cesspit.[43] As an unsuccessful search was made for the missing portions of the cresset it appears that it had been discarded in its broken state.[44] The pit was located under offices behind the Old Savings Bank which had been demolished to make way for the extended Town Hall. This was the site of the medieval Knap Hall, occupied *c.* 1175–1180 by Hugh Salarius.[45] Although the form of the Oxford cresset echoes the pattern of contemporary fonts, it need not follow that it had any ecclesiastical significance. In the late 12th century the north end of St. Aldates was one of the wealthiest areas of Oxford, the property from which the cresset originated lying just outside the Oxford Jewry.[46] It is quite possible to see this lamp as the accoutrement of a wealthy household.

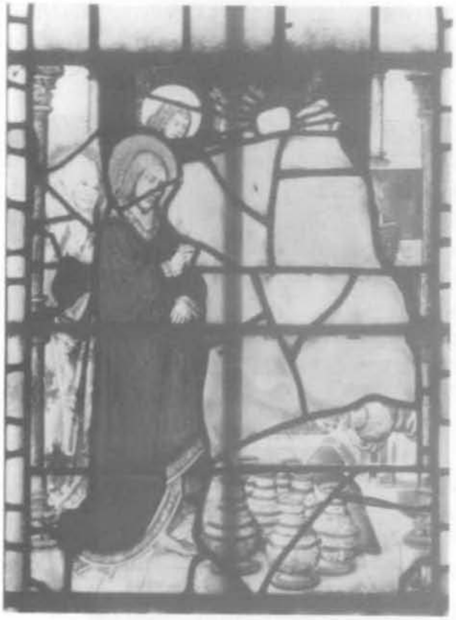
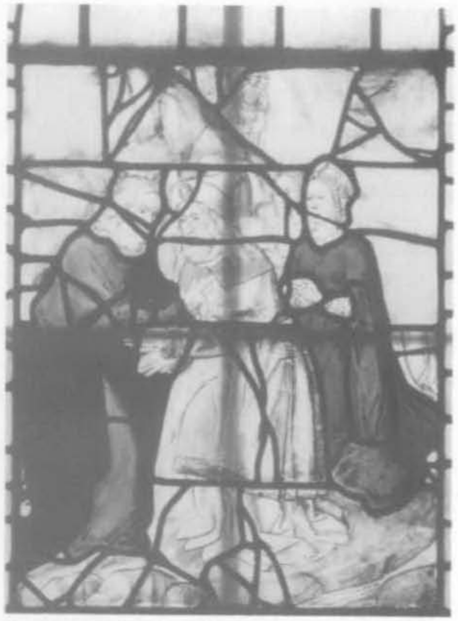
STEPHEN PENNEY

THE TWO STAINED GLASS PANELS AT BIX

In the northern nave windows of the Victorian church of St. James at Bix are two panels of almost identical dimensions which are described by both Greening Lamborn[47] and Newton[48] as French; Pevsner identifies them as Flemish.[49] Both were brought from the old church of St. James, which was abandoned in 1875; in both about a third of the area has been replaced by plain glass.

The more westerly of the two (Fig. 7; n.V, 63 x 48cm.) clearly represents the *Marriage at Cana* (John 2: 1–12). Christ stands in the left foreground blessing the pots of water, with Mary and John behind him. The other (Fig. 8; n.IV, 63 x 47cm.) shows a middle-aged man on the left greeting a rather older man who is followed by a young woman in a splendid headdress, with another girl behind her; in the distance are two men walking, and others erecting or letting down a tent. 'Their identity,' says Greening Lamborn, 'has so far defied rational conjecture.' Newton rejects his description of the central figure as a merchant or pilgrim, and suggests that the panel may represent Joseph meeting his father Jacob (Gen. 46: 29–30); but in this scene, which is not uncommon, Jacob is accompanied in the first place by his other sons. Both Greening Lamborn and Newton have missed the distinguishing attribute of the left-hand figure, two golden horns, painted and yellow-stained, which are placed, rather unusually, on the back of his head. The panel in fact represents Moses, after the passage of the Red Sea, meeting Jethro the priest of Midian with his daughter Zipporah; Moses was already married to Zipporah and had had two sons by her, but after his return to Egypt from Midian he had sent her back home with them.[50] The tent

42 Bodl. MS Top Oxon c.313 p.578.
43 *Archaeologia Oxoniensis 1892–1895* (1985), 243.
44 Ibid.
45 *Oseney Cartulary* ii, 553.
46 C. Roth, *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* (1951), 86.
47 'The Churches of Bix', *Oxoniensia*, i (1936), 129–39.
48 *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain I, The County of Oxford* (1979), 37–8.
49 *The Buildings of Oxfordshire* (1974) p. 174.
50 Exod. 2:15–22, 4:18–26, 18:1–7.

Figs. 7–8. Bix: the Marriage at Cana; Moses's Reunion with Jethro and Zapporah.

Fig. 9. Prittlewell: St. John the Baptist's Recognition of Christ.

seen in the background corresponds with the tent into which Moses takes Jethro to give him his news (Exod. 18:7–8). Zapporah's chaplet and pearled headdress are no doubt intended to suggest that the reunion is a renewal of marriage, and the scene may perhaps have served as a type of the New Testament wedding in the other panel.

This is all the more likely when the probable origin of the two pieces is considered. They both belong to a large corpus of panels having roughly the same dimensions which have been plausibly conjectured to come from the Great Cloister of the Charterhouse of St. Mary Magdalene at Louvain in Brabant.[51] This had no less than a hundred bays, of which ninety-six were available for glazing with four rectangular panels apiece, making a possible total of three hundred and eighty-four panels. The glass is described as follows in an 18th-century guide, just before the dissolution of the monastery: 'Les vitrages qui sont dans le contour, sont peints avec la dernière délicatesse et représentent différentes histoires de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, avec des couleurs aussi vives que naturelles.'[52] The scheme in fact included at least one hagiographical series, on the life of St. Nicholas, which survives almost intact,[53] and also donor panels;[54] but it must have been largely typological. A scheme comprising such a large range of panels (which will have been planned from the beginning) must inevitably include a number of rare subjects which for lack of an evolving iconographical tradition follow closely the biblical text.

The Bix panels, like the bulk of the corpus, seem to date from the middle of the third decade of the 16th century.[55] The *Marriage at Cana* is by the same glass-painter as a panel (Fig. 9) in Prittlewell Church, Essex, representing John the Baptist's recognition of Christ (John 1:29), which is signed CORNELIU ME FE . . .; unfortunately the identity of this Cornelis is not known.[56] He must, however, have had connections of some kind with both Haarlem and Mechlin. His figure of Christ reproduces exactly that of Albert van Ouwater in his *Raising of Lazarus* now in Berlin-Dahlem;[57] at the same time the colonettes framing the panel, with their median sockets[58] and gadrooned collars, which are similar to those seen in the St. Nicholas panels,[59] derive from Mechlin, and there are a number of other pointers to this city on the border of Brabant, which must have been the source of at least some of the designs.[60] Other panels, including the *Marriage of Cana*, may well have been designed in Louvain, which through the Bouts family had strong links with the art of Haarlem.

[51] Jessie McNab, *Flemish Renaissance Stained Glass from the Great Cloister of the Carthusian Monastery in Louvain, Belgium* (exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982); cf. Y. Vanden Bemden and J. Kerr, 'A Group of 16th century panels from the Low Countries now in British churches', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, xviii.1 (1983–4), 32–9. see also Chapter 11 of the Introduction to my forthcoming book, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge: the Side-Chapel Windows*.

[52] *Le guide fidèle contenant la description de la ville de Louvain, tant ancienne que moderne* (Brussels, 1762).

[53] P.V. Maes, 'Nicolaas Ruterius en de Brandglassuite met de Geschiedenis van Sint-Nicolaas', *Arca Lovaniensis* ii (1973), 181–208.

[54] E.g. Nicholas de Ruytere's coat of arms in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and also probably the figure of Prior Dierick Persyn (1525–32), presented by the Blessed Bruno, at Bramley.

[55] The dated panels are those of Prior Persyn (1525) and of Martha De Nausnydere at St. Mary's Shrewsbury (1526). Two later panels at St. Mary's, and two at Cholmondeley Chapel, Cheshire, are dated 1550; but there are not many pieces of this period which belong to the group.

[56] Vanden Bemden and Kerr, op.cit. note 51, p. 38. Other panels by the same glazier are the *Temptation of Christ* and *Elisha raising the Shunammite's son* at Prittlewell, and *Jesus curing Peter's brother-in-law* at Llanwenllwyfo, Anglesey; the last two may have formed a typological pair. *Noah's Sacrifice* at South Weald is also his.

[57] M. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leyden, 1967–75), iii, No. 34, pl. 52.

[58] The right-hand socket has been displaced by a restorer.

[59] Op.cit. note 53.

[60] The design of the *Temptation of Christ* (note 56) is clearly related to the *Temptation* in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, for which Adrian van den Houte of Mechlin (*c.* 1459–1521) probably drew the vidimus.

The painter of the Moses panel is also Brabantine. A similar style is to be found in numerous panels at Bramley, Hants,[61] and Malpas, Cheshire,[62] in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[63] at Earsham, Norfolk,[64] and at Sherborne St. John, Hants.[65] This style is characterised by solemn faces with rounded eyebrows, rather full lips, and jaws which tend to straighten towards a shortish chin; fingers stretched out, or occasionally folded over in perspective;[66] drapery inclining to the tubular, and often piling up in stiff parallel folds where it reaches the ground. A notable example is the *Visitation* at Bramley, which depends for its design on Van der Weyden.

The panels at Prittlewell, together with many others in the corpus which can conjecturally be referred to the Charterhouse at Louvain, derive from the Neave Collection; but this collection itself, as well as a number of similar panels unconnected with it, may have been bought on the Continent and brought over by J.C. Hampp (1750–1825), a Norwich merchant of German extraction who is known to have made at least two trips there during the lull in the Napoleonic wars which lasted from the autumn of 1801 until 1803. Greening Lamborn thought that the two panels at Bix might have been set up in the old church of St. James while the Rev. John Cooper was Rector, from 1785 to 1802; but it seems more likely that they were acquired during the incumbency of his successor, the Rev. Henry Heathcote, from 1802 to 1822. A date towards the end of this period may be indicated by the damaged state of both pieces; few of the numerous panels in the corpus are so severely damaged,[68] and they might well have remained for a long time unsold.

HILARY WAYMENT

EDWARD HUTCHINS AND THE CASE OF ELIZABETH I's GREEDY COURTIERS

Those responsible for the finances of the University of Oxford in 1592 could be forgiven for viewing the prospect of another visit by Elizabeth I to the University with trepidation. They would recall the problems that followed earlier efforts to entertain the Queen and her court, and would remember the Chancellor being obliged to intervene in order to persuade the colleges to share the expenses that had fallen more heavily on one than another.[69]

On 22 September 1592, the Queen and her retinue arrived in Oxford;[70] it had been 26

[61] *The Visitation, St. John on the Isle of Patmos, St. John and the Angel, Gideon and the Fleece, The Miracle of the Gold Stater.*

[62] *Circumcision of Christ, Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well.*

[63] *A Donor kneeling by a statue of St. Mary Magdalene* (6914–1860).

[64] The pendant of the preceding panel, a female figure with a coat combining the arms of two families known to have given benefactions to the Louvain Charterhouse, Pynnock and Absolons.

[65] *Zechariah and the Angel.*

[66] In the manner of Van der Weyden and Bouts.

[68] The only parallel known to me is the *Carrying of the Cross* at the Church of St. Saviour, Llandudno, which came from the Neave collection.

[69] See Leicester's letter to the University in Oxford University Archives, Register KK, f. 36v.

[70] A brief description of the visit of 1592 is given in C.E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford, ii. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1924), 150–4. See also P. Williams, 'Elizabethan Oxford: State, Church and University,' in J. McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford, iii. The Collegiate University* (1986), 399–400.

years since her last visit. Her motives in again honouring the University were mixed. No doubt she wished to communicate to the heads of houses her expectations that they and those in their charge would remain loyal to her government and its religious settlement: her speech to the University emphasised the duty of its members to accept and obey without question both divine and civil law.[71] The visit allowed the Queen and her administration a useful opportunity to associate with men of learning whose support for their policies was valuable. On a more mundane level, the royal exchequer would be relieved of much of the expense of maintaining the court while the visitors were accommodated at Oxford without charge. Until their departure on 28 September, the Queen and her courtiers could expect entertainment worthy of their status and the honour of the University.

It was certainly the expectation that the court would anticipate an expensive reception that troubled the masters. It was well known that Elizabeth's visits to her nobility had often been followed by the virtual bankruptcy of the unfortunate household she had chosen to honour, but any failure to provide properly for the Queen and her courtiers would not promote Oxford's cause. Clearly, both the University and the colleges had to be prepared for some heavy and unaccustomed expenditure.

Their fears were not unfounded. Merton College, for example, provided a splendid banquet – *epulas laute satis ac magnifice apparatas* – for sixty of Elizabeth's courtiers, including Lord Burghley, at a cost of £68 5*s.* 6*d.*[72] Magdalen College spent £15 18*s.* 1*d.* '*pro prandio exhibito consiliariis regiae Majestatis*'.[73] The lavish scale of this spending is clearly shown by a comparison with the *total* amount spent by the first bursar at Merton on meals in hall for the first seventeen weeks of the academic year 1592–3: £41 18*s.* 1*d.*[74] Such expenditure was expected from colleges not even graced by the royal presence. Other colleges paid to the University a levy proportionate to their estimated income, and this was used to defray the expenses of the visit.[75] Christ Church alone, where the Queen herself lodged, received some reimbursement from this fund.[76]

But the most outspoken accusation of excessive expenditure during the royal visit must surely be that of Reginald W. Jeffery, who, writing in 1909, asserted that 'a very heavy sum fell upon Brasenose'. He records 'a stupendous bill' presented by the bakers and brewers on the Queen's visit to the college; this charge could only be met by the college resorting to money-lenders.[77] The amount in question was indeed 'stupendous', being, as we shall note below, no less than £174 7*s.*, much more than that spent by Merton and Magdalen together on entertainment for the courtiers.

There are several puzzling features about this interpretation of events at Brasenose. Philip Stringer's contemporary account of the Queen's visit suggests that she entered no other college except that in which she was accommodated, Christ Church.[78] There seems

[71] The speech is described in the Merton College register as 'in suo ab academia discessu ad academicos'. J.M. Fletcher, *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567–1603* (O.H.S. n.s. xxiv, 1976), 289.

[72] J.M. Fletcher, *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567–1603* (O.H.S. n.s. xxiv, 1976), 288; Merton College, Oxford, Liber Rationarius Bursariorum, i. Account of Henry Wilkinson, 1st bursar, 1592.

[73] W.D. Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, iii (1901), 29.

[74] Liber Rat. Burs., i. Account of Henry Wilkinson, 1592.

[75] See, for example, the Bursar's Account of Brasenose College in 1591–2 which records a payment of £14 'pro impositione expensarum in adventu regine maiestatis'.

[76] Christ Church Archives, Disbursement Book 1592–3 (Christ Church MS. xxii. b. 35), f. 97.

[77] R.W. Jeffery, 'History of the College 1547–1603', *Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs*, ii.1 (O.H.S. liii,1909), 19.

[78] C. Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford* (O.H.S. viii, 1886), 49–61.

no reason why Brasenose should have been so honoured, especially as the Queen did not attend either of the banquets given at Merton or Magdalen. On a more cynical level, it would have been surprising if the Queen's entourage would have been happy with an entertainment that consisted of such quantities of basic fare as bread and beer! Even if the company had accepted this hospitality, it would seem to have been beyond the means even of Elizabeth's hungry courtiers to consume so much bread and ale in the few hours of a royal courtesy call.

The entry which Jeffery saw appears in the Brasenose bursar's acount for 1592–3,[79] and reads as follows:

> Item. Domini bursarii computant soluta ex mandato visitatorum per dictam dominam reginam ad visitandum hoc collegium deputatorum diversis pistoribus et brasiatoribus pro pane et potu per ipsos ministratis huic collegio ex anno quo dominus magister Edwardus Hutchens bursarius huius collegii fuit. Quam summam idem Edwardus cum certis fideiussoribus ad certos dies rependere tenetur dominis principali et scholaribus et eorum successoribus ut superius inter forinseca huius anni expressum est. . . clxxiiii*li*. vii*s*.

The story seems one of avarice, not one of gluttony; of the incompetence of a bursar rather than of the corruption of a court. Jeffery is guilty of a confusion between *visit* and *visitation*.

It would appear that the real culprit here was Edward Hutchins, junior bursar in 1588. It was the financial irregularities of his term of office and his failure to pay the bakers and brewers for bread and beer supplied in that year which finally came to the surface in 1592–3. That the sum of £174 7*s*. does cover what the college received in bread and beer for one year is strongly suggested by evidence from other colleges; the stewards' weekly accounts at Merton[80] show an expenditure of approximately £3 10*s*. on bread and beer, which gives an annual figure very close to that in the Brasenose records. Brasenose by 1612 was employing the services of ten bakers and three brewers, and was spending then about £8 a week on bread and the same amount on ale. By this date, however, the undergraduate element resident in college had probably increased; the junior bursar's book of 1612 indicates that some 87 undergraduates were fed in an average week.[81] If a similar number of suppliers had been employed in the early 1590s, these tradesmen would have presented a powerful lobby when united against the college. The wording of the 1592–3 entry indicates that the Queen had intervened to ensure a visitation, although, by the foundation statutes of the college, the visitor was the Bishop of Lincoln. Perhaps the group of aggrieved suppliers had taken the opportunity of the presence of the Queen and her court in the city to petition for action to be taken against the defaulting college.

Certainly Brasenose decided to clear the debt and to attempt to recover its losses from the culpable bursar. On 2 October 1592, Hutchins did repay £7 3*s*. 10¾*d*. to the college, and the bursars in 1593–4 paid 'diversis pistoribus' £73 10*s*. 11*d*. for debts that Hutchins had incurred, after instructions from visitors appointed by the Queen: 'ex mandato visitatorum per dominam reginam. . . deputatorum'.[82] Hutchins left the college, formally resigning his fellowship on his marriage. The college does not seem to have profited from this revelation of the extent of his inefficient control of its finances. Lady de Villiers, in 1954, traced the growing indebtedness of the college to local tradesmen, although without noting Jeffery's

79 Brasenose College Archives, Bursars' Rolls of Account. Vol. 15, 1579–94.

80 Preserved in the college sacristy.

81 Brasenose College Archives, A.8.1. Junior Bursar's Book, 1612.

82 Brasenose College Archives, A.1.1. Vice-principal's Register, 1592, f.61v; Bursars' Account of 36 Elizabeth I.

misunderstanding of the evidence and herself misreading the extent of the debt in 1592–3; she writes that by 1643 '£1,400 was owing to tradesmen and was the accumulation of years of mismanagement'.[83] The records of the Chancellor's Court, preserved in the University Archives, show the college involved in much litigation during this period.

If one inconsistency is, therefore, resolved, another, perhaps more important, problem emerges from these investigations: what further evidence is there for a royal visitation of Brasenose in the early 1590s? A preliminary search of contemporary records in Oxford has, so far, failed to produce anything to confirm the entry in the Brasenose bursars' accounts. However, amongst a collection of papers described as *Interpretationes et decreta episcoporum Lincolniensium et commissariorum suorum*,[84] now preserved in Lincolnshire Record Office, are references that appear to give support to the evidence of the college archives. These brief entries at Lincoln consist of notes relating to decisions made concerning the maintenance of order and discipline at Brasenose College and of actions taken to interpret disputed statutory details. They show that, as early as October 1578, the Bishop of Lincoln was concerned about laxity in the financial affairs of the college. He noted a decision by the Principal and six senior fellows that delays in the payment of debts due to the bursar would not be tolerated, and that the bursars should themselves ensure that their own debts to bakers, brewers and other creditors should be promptly paid. Again, in 1590, the bishop intervened to attempt to ensure the swift settlement of debts due to the college. However, of most value to us are two brief entries for 21 and 29 June 1593. The first is headed 'The Queens Commissioners Direction' and requires the removal of Master Colmer from his college fellowship for failure to take orders, as required by the statutes. The second notes Colmer's removal and adds 'quemadmodum exposuerunt dominae Regiae Maiestatis Commissionarii'. Although this action had no relevance to the financial problems of the college and the difficulties experienced by its bakers and brewers, it is at least confirmation of the existence of some royal commission investigating affairs at Brasenose College at this date.

There is little doubt of the parlous state of the finances of Brasenose College in the late 16th century, but at least on this occasion, the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth can claim to have been unjustly maligned.[85]

JOHN M. FLETCHER and CHRISTOPHER A. UPTON

A WHIG PRINCIPAL OF JESUS

John Wynne, Principal of Jesus from 1712–1720, was for some years a highly controversial figure in Oxford politics, but his parentage and childhood remain a matter of doubt. Three authorities disagree over the identity of his father: R.T. Jenkins states that he was the son of Humphrey Wynne of Maes Y Coed, John Foster says that he was the son of a Mr. Wynne of Llangynhafel and Stephen Hyde Cassan claims that he was the son of John Wynne of

83 *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii, 210.

84 Lincolnshire Record Office, U/U/6/1/3.

85 We hope in the future to make a more detailed study of the Queen's visit of 1592 and its impact on the various colleges, but it seemed important initially to correct the wrong impression given by the received interpretation of the Brasenose evidence. We must express our gratitude to the authorities at many Oxford colleges and the Lincolnshire Record Office who have allowed us to examine documents in their care. The Assistant Librarian at Brasenose, Robin Peedell, encouraged us to write this short article. Our secretary, Mrs. Françoise Bannister, prepared the material for publicaton with her usual interest and care.

Caerwys.[86] Whatever the truth, Wynne's home life was sufficient to launch both himself and his brother into successful careers. (William Wynne, his brother was a lawyer, M.P. and judge.) John Wynne was educated at Northop and Ruthin schools in Flintshire before matriculating at Jesus College, Oxford in 1682, aged fifteen. In 1685 he graduated B.A. and in the same year was elected to a fellowship of Jesus.

It was the publication of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* in 1690 that first brought Wynne to prominence. Wynne introduced the work to Oxford and used it as a text when teaching philosophy. However, Locke's ideas were so revolutionary that the academic establishment was moved in 1703 to ban the use of the work in the University. It is clear that Wynne was largely responsible for producing this reaction. In January 1695 he wrote to Locke proposing that the *Essay* be abridged for use in the University, 'to bring it to vogue and credit and thereby into common and general use'. The abridgement would, suggested Wynne, cut out the incidental arguments and would be 'of excellent use to us in this place'.[87] Locke appears to have been flattered by the suggestion and, after an enquiry as to Wynne's character, he replied to Wynne inviting him to prepare the abridgement. 'You are, I see, as much a master of my notions as I myself and better able to put them together for the purposes you intend' wrote Locke.[88] Wynne had in fact made an abridgement of the work some years earlier and was able to produce a final version by April 1695, and after submitting it to Locke for his approval, the abridgement was published. Both Locke and Wynne were pleased with the result; Locke described Wynne as 'an ingenious man'[89] and the abridgement ran to four further editions (in 1700, 1731, 1752 and 1770) and was translated into French and Italian. In recognition of the achievement he was presented to the vicarage of Nantglyn, Denbighshire, by his College.

In the following months Wynne exploited his connection with Locke to the utmost. In December 1696 Wynne wrote to Locke asking him to use his influence with Lord Pembroke to gain him the post of chaplain to the embassy that was going to Holland to agree the Treaty of Augsburg. With support from two fellow Welshmen, Bishops Humphreys of Bangor and Lloyd of Lichfield and Coventry, Locke was able to secure the appointment for Wynne. The chaplaincy to Lord Pembroke's embassy was a major advance for Wynne, for it gave him unlimited contact with a wealthy and powerful patron who was to prove an invaluable supporter later in his career. Wynne was out of Oxford with the embassy for nine months, during which time the minimal duties of the chaplaincy allowed him to travel widely in Holland and to visit the book auctions at Leyden.[90] On Wynne's return from Holland he was presented by Lord Pembroke to the Rectory of Llangelynin and a canonry of St. Davids. More importantly, Wynne left Lord Pembroke with offers of help and service whenever required, and made it his business to maintain contact with Pembroke whenever he was in London.

Wynne also maintained contact with an old schoolfriend, Edward Lhuyd (or Llwyd), the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Both were natives of North Wales and both had a strong interest in botany. They often spent holidays in and around Snowdon collecting examples of the flora of the area. On one occasion Wynne made a trip to Snowdon and sent Lhuyd a list of twenty plants that were not previously known to grow there.[91] However, the

86 R.T. Jenkins, *A Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959), 1106. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1717* (1892) iv, 1694. S.H. Cassan, *The Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells* (Frome, 1829), ii, 162.

87 E.S. De Beer, *The Correspondence of John Locke* (Oxford, 1979) v, 260.

88 Ibid., 266.

89 Ibid., 350.

90 Ibid., 181 et seq.

91 Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1817B, ff.376–379.

friendship between Wynne and Lhuyd was soon to come to grief. In 1704 Lhuyd noticed that Wynne had become 'cold' toward him and referred to Wynne in a letter to their old headmaster, John Lloyd of Ruthin, as 'our frigid friend'. Things worsened when John Wynne objected to a David Parry, a friend of Lhuyd, receiving a scholarship at Jesus. At first Wynne claimed that Parry was a 'vile character' and would be unacceptable to Principal Edwardes; but when Edwardes approved Parry's candidature Wynne said that Parry was ineligible for the scholarship because he was holding a position at the Ashmolean. Perhaps the most interesting accusation by Lhuyd was that Wynne exercised undue influence over the fellows of Jesus: he made a practise of inviting them to a tavern and overawing them prior to important votes. In the case of Parry, not one fellow voted for him to receive the scholarship after Wynne had spoken to the fellows.[92] Wynne's friendship with Lhuyd finally broke down in 1708 with the publication of Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Brittanicus*. Lhuyd claimed that Wynne owed him some money and had not paid it back, which Wynne denied. As a result, in the preface to his book Lhuyd poured out his enmity for Wynne, attacking him for being 'a slave to ambition . . . a man of exorbitant projects that makes no scruple to injure . . . [anyone] that is suspected to be of contrary interests'. In a vitriolic and extremely lengthy reply Wynne wrote: 'upon what account . . . you thought fit to draw so monstrous a picture of me and to expose it to the world I am utterly at a loss to know . . . I have this satisfaction within, that I am not conscious to myself of any resemblance . . . with the original. . .'.[93] When Wynne became Principal of Jesus in 1713, his first act was to sell the manuscripts left by Lhuyd to the College on his death in 1709.[94]

Wynne was also observed by Thomas Hearne in the early years of the 18th century, and here too initial approbation deteriorated into enmity, although the cause was almost certainly political not personal. In 1705 Wynne offered himself for election as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in opposition to Dr. Barron. Hearne commented that Wynne was 'a man of singular modesty and humility, great prudence and in points of learning superior to the Dr.' To Hearne's approval he was elected to the post, and within a few months the diarist noted that Wynne's inaugural lecture was 'a good one'. However, by 1710 Hearne was writing of Wynne with distaste, attacking his lectures as substandard and describing Wynne as 'a man of republican principles and a great defender of them in coffee houses!' In 1715 he commented that Wynne was 'of no good character'.[95] Clearly Hearne found Wynne's strident Whiggery unpalatable, and may have felt a pang of envy toward the successful young clergyman.

The climax of Wynne's ambition at Oxford was reached in 1712 with the election as Principal of Jesus in succession to Principal Edwardes. However, in Tory Oxford the election of a new principal at such a crucial time in national politics was not to be achieved without a struggle, particularly since Atterbury, Dean of Christ Church, was determined to maintain Tory influence in preparation for the Jacobite succession. By 1712 John Wynne was Vice-Principal to Jonathon Edwardes, and had managed to wring from Edwardes a deathbed nomination as his successor. This immediately aroused suspicions, as Edwardes was known to be a Tory. However, Wynne moved to an election in which he polled seven votes and his opponent, Mr. Harcourt, one of the Tory fellows of Jesus and an ally of Atterbury, also polled seven votes.[96] The senior fellow of Jesus, Mr. Tremallier, gave his casting vote to Harcourt. Wynne, however, countered by depriving two of Harcourt's

[92] Printed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* v (1859), 253.
[93] Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1817B, f.375.
[94] J. Nichols, *Literary Ancedotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812–1815), i, 156.
[95] C.E. Double, *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne* (1886), i, 134.
[96] E.G. Hardy, *A History of Jesus College, Oxford* (1899), 163–165.

supporters of their fellowships (one for holding a living above the value permitted by the College statutes, and Tremallier himself for being married and for not proceeding to his doctor's degree) and declared himself elected.[97] At the installation ceremony both contenders appeared, both took the oath of office and in an extraordinary scene Wynne's supporters grabbed the register and entered his name in it and installed him in the Principal's seat, while Harcourt seized possession of the Principal's lodge.[98] Eventually the dispute was submitted to the Visitor. From September 1712 to March 1713 an impressive case was presented by Harcourt, who was able to marshall the Attorney-General, the Regius Professor of Law, the Recorder of Oxford, the Lord Keeper and Samuel Meade of Middle Temple in his support.[99] However, the hereditary Visitor of Jesus was Lord Pembroke, and in a storm of protest he declared Wynne, his former chaplain, the Principal. He did so not from any reason laid down in statute, but from what he called the 'general powers' of the Visitor.[100]

It was not surprising, then, that in 1713 the *Terrae Filius* (the undergraduate licensed to speak at the Public Act without fear of prosecution) hinted that Wynne's Whiggery gained him the Principalship: 'I shall leave him at the fagg end of the Heads of Houses, stiffly denying that he was a Whig or that he promised Lord P—— to be one. . .'[101] Wynne's election was a triumph for the Whigs and gave succour to other Whigs in the University. From his election onwards the Whig 'Constitution Club' became more and more forthright, and by 1714 violence was to spill over onto the streets of Oxford.

In 1714 George I nominated John Wynne as Bishop of St. Asaph: the first of the notoriously political episcopal appointments. George I wanted a strong Whig to go to Wales, and was keen on the idea of appointing a Welshman to a Welsh see, particularly since there was a threat of Jacobitism in Wales. Various magnates claimed that they were responsible for the appointment; probably Sir Roger Mostyn, the Flintshire grandee, and Lord Pembroke both bought Wynne to the King's attention.[102] To the surprise of his colleagues at Oxford he resigned his professorship, but not the Principalship of Jesus; a Whig college headship was such a rarity at Oxford that it was not to be dispensed with lightly. Moreover, Wynne still had valuable service to perform in the University for the Whigs. In 1717, when a disturbance in Oxford seemed likely to mark the King's return from Hanover, Wynne moved a loyal address to the King. The effect of this was to force the Tory heads of houses either to support the motion, against their principles, or to openly vote against a loyal address, which would discredit them with the King. Wynne also acted as a valuable source of information on the Hebdomadal Board of the University, leaking accounts of Tory plans to the Whig press.[103]

Despite the annoyance at Oxford at having a Bishop-Principal at Jesus, Wynne does not seem to have neglected his duties. In 1718, in a letter to Archbishop Wake, Wynne explained that he would be delayed in attending parliament as he had to attend to College business. Moreover, he seems to have based himself in Oxford as a convenient mid-way point between London and Wales.[104] In 1720 John Wynne resigned his Principalship on his

97 W.R. Ward, *Georgian Oxford* (1958), 97.

98 National Library of Wales, Bodewryd MSS, f.345.

99 Double. op. cit. note 95, iii, 431.

100 Christ Church Oxford, Wake MSS. Letters 16, f.189.

101 In fact the 1713 *Terrae filius* speech was so shocking that the Vice-Chancellor tried to ban its reading; as a result it was published instead: W. Willes, *The Speech that was to be said by Terrae Filius. . .* (London, 1713), 19.

102 W. Gibson, 'A Welsh Bishop For a Welsh See: John Wynne of St Asaph', *The Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, i (1984), 41.

103 Ward. op. cit. note 97, 65.

104 Christ Church Oxford, Wake MSS, Letters 21, f.58.

marriage to the wealthy heiress Ann Pugh; but he did not sever his connections with the College entirely. In 1725 he was asked to exercise his influence in the college to again ensure a Whig Principal was elected. By 1727 Bishop Wynne was translated to Bath and Wells as a reward for his political support, support which at Oxford had undermined the Tory control and had averted a clash with the Jacobites. Perhaps the author of an anonymous letter in 1721 had John Wynne in mind when he wrote: 'no one body of men in the Kingdom know better their own interest, or persue it closer, than the Whigs . . . we may entirely lose the University and in time a Whig may have as good a chance to succeed as a Tory.'[105]

W.T. GIBSON

[105] A.D. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century* (1908), 250.