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IN THE ART COLLECTION of the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation is a coloured map of late mediaeval date (Plate 1). In diagrammatic form it depicts an area of heath and woodland which can be identified as part of the manor or lordship of Shaw some two miles to the north of the town of Newbury, Berkshire, England; the manor was a part of the endowments of Winchester College, the 'first public school in England,' founded by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in 1382. The map was probably made for production in a lawsuit of 1528-30, by the Revd John Hasard (ca. 1493-1540), a fellow of Winchester College and later Rector of Shaw from 1533.

THE MAP
The map is drawn in brown ink (varying to black or faded grey) on a single sheet of laid handmade paper, slightly irregular but measuring approximately 19½ x 14 inches (495 x 357 mm; the variations are from 505 to 490, and from 365 to 355 mm). It is orientated with East at the top, the longer dimension running from North to South. To the north and east of the map are conventionalized oak trees bearing recognizable leaves and acorns; to the southwest are smaller shrubs and plants indicating open heath land. Green watercolour (verdigris?) was used on the trees and also, filling double ink lines, to indicate ditches or boundaries; use was also made of bright red (presumably vermilion) to mark two boundary crosses, and for berries and flowers on some plants. A paler green (sap green?) and a brownish pink were used to colour the smaller plants, flowers and berries. On the reverse there is one early endorsement (16th century) reading 'The platt off Shaw' (i.e., The plan of Shaw), and a much later (probably 18th century) 'Shaw'; there is also, in modern pencil on one corner, the number '28'. The endorsements probably imply that the map formed one of a group of documents relating to Shaw in a large estate which included also properties in other parishes.

The map is inscribed in detail to elucidate the topographical features, boundaries, and land ownerships.

THE INSCRIPTIONS
I. North My lorde off/Suff. grounde
II. Este Thabbot of Wauerleys grounde
III. South The holle lordscip of Shawe
IV. Weste Theabbot of Abbendons grounde
V. (reading from West to East along a boundary parallel with the north end of the map:)
Thys lynde ledeth the true way by boundes marked for the warden Longe Roger and Edyngton by graunt of ye warden of Winchester fellyd & hadde all the vnderwodds in this wode tyll they came to this brode Ooke and were neuer denied therof
(the boundary turns southwards and is inscribed.)

The crokyd diche

VI. (reading from North to South along a boundary marked parallel to the eastern edge of the map:)

Hitherto extendith the lordship of Shawe and soo rennyth Southward a longe as this lyne ledith which is ye bounde of Thabbot of wauerleys grounde & is a common high way ledyng toward ye village of Shawe* and soo forth to Newbury

VII. (along a diagonal boundary running south-east from a red cross marked at the west end of the northern boundary:)

Thys lynde ledyth by boundes as folowith by the informacion of Baynton & after ye view that he hathe gyffen soo in to the wodde and after reueryng backward as apperith by bounds withyn returnyng to the croked diche

VIII. (from a second red cross, marked on the diagonal boundary, another west-east boundary is shewn, with sketches of the stumps of four large oak trees:)

Robert Sawey fyllde thes .iiiij. Ooks which by baynton were marked for bounders and hadde theym of the wardenis gifte & was not** denied thereof

IX. (in the centre of the map, south of the boundary marked with stumps, and east of the diagonal boundary:)

The warden of winchester Tenants haue vseyd allwayes to take tymber in this wodde as well for ther new buylldyng of ther houses as for reparacions of the same without denies of any manne vntyll thys tyme

X. (inside a square enclosure near the south-east corner of the map:)

This grounde diked rounde about belongith to thabbot of wauerley

XI. (immediately to the west of the square enclosure is a parallel boundary marked, linked by a short section running from East to West to the southern end of the diagonal boundary; by this is written:)

The brede of this bounde in the hedde thereof viewed for my lord of Suff. conteyneth but .iiiij. perches & di. or therabout

In modern English the sense of the inscriptions is as follows:

I. North My lord [the duke] of Suffolk's ground²

II. East The abbot of Waverley's ground³

III. South The whole lordship of Shaw

IV. West The abbot of Abingdon’s ground⁴

V. This line leads the true way by bounds marked for the warden (of Winchester College). Long, Roger and Edyngton, by grant of the warden of Winchester, felled and had all the underwoods in this wood until they came to this broad Oak, and were never denied thereof. The crooked ditch

VI. This far extends the lordship of Shaw and so runs southward along as this line leads, which is the boundary of the abbot of Waverley's ground and is a common highway leading toward the village of Shaw and so on to Newbury

VII. This line leads by bounds as follows by the information of Baynton and according to the view (survey) that he has given, so into the wood and, after turning backward as appears by bounds within (the wood), returning to the crooked ditch

VIII. Robert Sawey fylled these 4. Oaks which by Baynton were marked for boundaries, and had them of the
Warden’s gift, and was not denied thereof (i.e., nobody contradicted the right of the warden to give the timber of the four trees to Sawey)

IX. The warden of Winchester’s tenants have been used always to take timber in this wood both for the new building of their houses and for repairs of the same, without being denied by any man until this (present) time

X. This ground, ditched round about, belongs to the abbot of Waverley

XI. The breadth of this boundary, at its head, as surveyed for my lord of Suffolk, contains only 4½ perches (74 feet 3 inches; 22.0312 metres) or thereabouts

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Topographically the inscriptions identify the area as comprising the northernmost part of the lordship of Shaw in the county of Berkshire, a small manor adjoining on its southern side to the parish of Newbury. The manor of Shaw was acquired as part of the foundation endowments of Winchester College on behalf of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in 1404. The college held the property until 12 July 1543, when it was surrendered to King Henry VIII as part of an exchange of estates. Most of the records relating to Shaw were then handed over to the Crown, and fortunately most of the court rolls of the manor (1406-1518) and annual accounts (1404-1546) have survived. There is also a survey taken in 1547, besides a few scattered documents remaining among the muniments of Winchester College.

The date of the map is fairly closely fixed by the reference of some of its inscriptions to a dispute over the right to timber belonging to Winchester College (in the name of the warden) and by custom allowed to tenants of the college estate. This refers to a lawsuit between Winchester College and the duke of Suffolk in progress in 1528-29 and determined in 1530, referred to in the annual account rolls for those years kept by the bursars of the college. The relevant entries read:

1528-29
(Necessary expenses):


(And paid for expenses of the lord warden and others with him riding to Shaw in December [1528] concerning the lands and woods in Shaw Heath 12s. 11½d. And for expenses of the lord warden, Master Lane, and others riding to London to the lord Lisle and the duke of Suffolk 41s. 7d. . . . And paid for expenses of the lord warden, Master Roberts, and others riding to Shaw and to London for determining the case between the college and the duke of Suffolk, with 5s. given to one of the lord duke’s council 54s. 1d. . . . And for expenses of the lord warden riding to Shaw and London in June [1529] 52s. 5½d.)

(Costs of Lawsuits):

In regardo dato Magistro Coke clerico Winton. pro labore suo in causa collegij contra ducem de Suffolke iiij.s. iiijd. (In an honorarium given to Master Coke,
Town Clerk of Winchester, for his efforts in the case of the college against the duke of Suffolk 35. 4d.)

1529-30
(Costs of Lawsuits):
In regardis datis Judicibus & diuersis generosis pro lite determinanda inter dominum ducem de Suffolke et Collegium pro silua in Schawe hethe In primis Magistro Holmys secretario ducis iiij.s. iiij.d. & hoc pro litteris ad Judices Item Magistro Phetiplace pro consilio et auxilio xxxijij.s. ix.d. Item Magistro Carter pro diploide de satyn xxijj.s. vj.d. Item Magistro Wyneckfylede pro consilio suo x.s. Item pro diuersis piscibus datis Judicibus post post (sic) determinacionem cause vs. lxxiiiij.s. viij.d.

(In honoraria given to the judges and divers gentlemen for the judgment in the suit between the lord duke of Suffolk and the college concerning the wood at Shaw Heath. Firstly to Master Holmys the duke’s secretary 3s. 4d. and this for letters to the judges. Also to Master Phetiplace for his counsel and assistance 33s. 9d. Also to Master Carter for a satin doublet 22s. 6d. Also to Master Wyneckfylede for his counsel 16s. Also for divers fishes given to the judges after the determination of the suit 5s. (total) £3 14s. 7d.)

It has not been possible to discover records of the lawsuit owing to the lack of indexes to the proceedings of many of the courts in which it might have been heard. It is, however, reasonably certain that the map was intended for production in evidence. It would have been retained among the college muniments until 1543 and then have passed to the Crown. Its subsequent history is unknown: even the immediate provenance and date of acquisition (ca. 1920-1950) are not recorded, but the map was already in Mrs. Hunt’s collection by 1951 when it was listed and illustrated in her exhibition catalogue Botanical books, prints & drawings . . . (Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1952; 2.A., pl. I).

THE PERSONS NAMED
The warden of Winchester College at the time was Edward More (ca. 1479-1541), B.D., Headmaster of the college in 1508-17 and Warden from 1526 until his death. He was also a canon of Chichester Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Lewes from 1527. His companions Master Lane and Master Roberts were fellows of the College: Ralph Lane (ca. 1495-1555), M.A., Fellow in 1522; and Robert Roberts (ca. 1498-1553), B.A., admitted Fellow in 1524.

Charles Brandon (ca. 1484-1545), Duke of Suffolk from 1514, was a close friend of Henry VIII and married to the king’s sister Mary Tudor, widow of Louis XII, King of France. Suffolk was lord of the manor of Donnington, adjacent to Shaw on the west, and of other lands in the neighbourhood. As far back as 1490 it had been presented at a court of the manor of Shaw that ‘the Bailiff of the Duke of Suffolk has unjustly appropriated to himself 5 acres of land, once of the tenure of the Manor of Shaw, on the west side of the way leading towards Oxford called Flexhull, by what title is unknown.’

Thomas Edyntong was the college tenant of Shaw Mills by 1481 and had a new lease for 30 years on 12 September 1488, but surrendered it at Michaelmas 1493 in favour of Robert Sandreson. Robert Sewey, a clothman of Newbury, took a lease of the mills for 30 years on 29 September 1503 but had given it up at Michaelmas 1528. The references to Edyntong and to Sewey (‘Sawey’) show that they had been regularly allowed timber for the repair of the mills by the college as landlord.

John Roger esq., of Newbury, was a trustee for properties in Newbury held by
Winchester College as far back as 1454 and 1472, and may have been the 'Roger' referred to; Long and Baynton have not been found mentioned in any of the surviving records of Shaw or other local documents inspected.

THE ARTIST

Until after 1550 there were no land surveyors in the modern sense, and most maps and plans were inaccurate approximations or rough diagrams, prepared by amateurs with some knowledge of estate management and of draughtsmanship. It is obvious that the map of Shaw belongs to this category of explanatory sketch. It is, none the less, a work of some artistic distinction, and it is correspondingly fortunate that the artist can be identified without difficulty. The yearly account rolls of Winchester College, giving the particulars of expenses quoted above, were kept by two of the fellows each year. Between 1520-21 and 1538-39, one of these two bursars was on nine occasions a fellow named John Hasard or Hasarde. Precisely the rolls for these years, and no others, are decorated with handsome initial letters, drawn in pen-and-ink and ornamented with plants, leaves, acorns, vines and flowers. In one case an initial bears upon it the surnames of the bursars: 'Haserd, Robertys, Burs.' (Fig. 1) and, more specifically, another includes the initials 'J. H.' in fantastic form (Fig. 2). Since the other bursar's position was held by no less than seven different fellows in these nine years, there can be no doubt that Hasard provides the common factor. He was doubtless one of the others from the college who rode with the warden to Shaw in 1528 and 1529, and the production of the map by him in his capacity of a fellow accounts for the fact that no entry of its cost occurs in the rolls.

John Hasard was one of the three chaplains of Winchester College in priest's orders, holding that position from 1514 until 21 April 1520, when he was admitted to a fellowship as 'Dom. Johannes Hasard de Brydport in comitu Dorsett, capellanus.' He acted as junior bursar in 1520-21, 1521-22 and 1522-23, and as senior bursar in 1523-24, 1527-28, 1528-29, 1530-31, 1536-37, and 1538-39. On 19 April 1533 he was presented to the Rectory of Shaw, Berkshire, and died shortly before 30 August 1540, when his fellowship was filled on its becoming vacant by his decease. He was buried in the college cloisters, and bequeathed to each fellow and chaplain of the college a silver spoon, and to the college itself two diaper cloths for the high altar.

Since Hasard was born at Bridport, Dorset (the entry of his fellowship being required by statute to record his birthplace), he was probably of kin to the founder, William of Wykeham. A 15th-century pedigree shows the descent of three boys of the Reson family (admitted Scholars under the privileges of Founder's Kin in 1461, 1471 and 1476) from Wykeham's niece, with their sister Joan Reson, who married a John Hasard of Bridport. Our John Hasard was presumably their son.

THE ARTIST AND HIS WORK

Information on English artists at the end of the Middle Ages is exceedingly slight, and we have no means of discovering how John Hasard learned to draw. He was certainly exceptional among those fellows of Winchester College who engrossed the accounts rolls (a job frequently left to hired clerks) in being able to decorate them with miniatures that went beyond mere penmanship. The initial C. of the account for 1522-23 (Fig. 3) includes the kneeling figure of a tonsured priest which we may take to be
a self-portrait, and the enrichments already show his interest in botany. From a vase rises a stem bearing leaves, flowers of different kinds, bunches of grapes and an acorn; another plant emerging from the capital letter also bears an acorn, grapes, a rose, a pomegranate (?) and other buds and leaves.

The 1527-28 initial (Fig. 4) includes a stem of white lilies rising from a tankard, with several minor decorations including (top left) what seems to be a flower of the Bee Orchid (Ophrys apifera Huds.). Several of his smaller initials display stylized leaves like those of the Shaw map (Figs. 5, 6), while that in the 1527-28 roll, recording the names of the bursars (Fig. 1), also has recognizable Dog Roses (Rosa canina L.). The ambitious initial C. of 1529-30 is of quite a different character, depicting the Instruments of the Passion, but the letter itself has leaf-terminals similar to some on the map (Fig. 7). Finally, the J. H. initial of 1530-31 (Fig. 2) again uses the acorn, the grape-vine, typical leaves and a Tudor Rose, together with a sketch of the Founder’s Arms as used by Winchester College.

Turning to the map, it cannot be said that Hasard’s portrayal of plants is outstanding for naturalism. Only his oaks are clearly recognizable, by their leaves and acorns, the latter markedly pedunculate and so indicating Quercus robur L. as the species growing at Shaw. None of the other plants shows specific characteristics, though the bush towards the south end of the west side is probably meant for Gorse (Ulex europaeus L.) and the plant farther north bearing a four-petalled flower might be the Great Willow Herb (Epilobium hirsutum L.). At the southern edge of the Heath is a flattened plant of four leaves and smaller tendrils, with a red flower at the centre, quite possibly intended for the Ground Thistle (Cirsium acaule (L.) Scop.).

Slight as the botanical value of these sketches may be, they are of outstanding aesthetic quality in English work of the time. There is, after all, no reason why the diagrammatic map should bear accurate drawings of the local flora, and Hasard’s energetic line sketches entitle him to a place of some distinction among England’s pre-Renaissance artists.

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NOTES
1. Accession number 1773.
2. The dukes of Suffolk of the De la Pole family had held the adjacent manor of Donnington until the attainder of Edmund, Duke of Suffolk, for treason in 1503. The estate was re-granted to Charles Brandon in 1514, when he was created first Duke of Suffolk, of the second dukedom, by Henry VIII.
Plate 1. The map of Shaw Heath.
3. The Abbey of Waverley in Surrey held Grange Farm in Shaw from 1199 until the surrender of the abbey in 1536 (Victoria County History, Berkshire, 1906-27, IV, 90; English Place-Name Society, XLIIX, 264).

4. The Abbey of Abingdon held the manor of Chieveley and other lands adjoining (V.C.H., Berkshire, IV, 90).

5. Winchester College Muniments 11443, 11494; cf. T. F. Kirby, Annals of Winchester College (1892), 184-5, which is inaccurate in some particulars.

6. WCM 22993 (Register 'G'), f. 71, which gives a detailed terrier of the woods in Shaw.


8. Berkshire Record Office, D/ENN; and Newbury District Museum, which displays three of the accounts. For a discussion of these account rolls see L. Clare Latham, 'A Berkshire manor at the close of the Middle Ages', in Trans. Newbury Distri. Field Club, VI no. 2 (1931), 70-81.

9. P. R. O., LR2/187, ff. 101-4v. This describes 'a Common Pasture called Shaweheath (Shaw Heath) of 100 acres abutting on the demesne and on lands called Chesmans on South, (upon) Another Common called Herrington (Arlington) Hethe on North, and le Grangeferne on East and the lord's land called Golbury's on West . . . and is full of trees viz. Okes et Thorns'.

10. Lease of Shaw Mills and Shaw Manor are entered in WCM 22992 (Liber Albus) and 22993 (Reg. 'G'); WCM 11442-45 concern the acquisition of Shaw; WCM 11471 is an undated rental, ca. 1535; WCM 11471A-472 are documents regarding trespass in the woods, 1405-66.

11. WCM 22187 for 1528-29; 22188 for 1529-30.

12. The printed calendars to Early Chancery Proceedings, to Proceedings in the Court of Requests, and to Star Chamber Proceedings have been searched; and also the original docket rolls for the Court of Common Pleas (P. R. O., IND 5) and Court of King's Bench (IND 1332, 1333). Dictionary of national biography; A. B. Emden, A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, II (1958), 1302.


14. D. B.

15. P. R. O., SC2/154/54, court of 14 May 5 Henry VII.

16. B. R. O., D/ENN 1 M 42; WCM 22992, f. 137; WCM 22150, 22157.

17. WCM 22992, f. 164v; WCM 22186, 22187.

18. WCM 14641-2.


22. WCM 22179-82, 22186-87, 22189, 22195-96.

23. Note by Charles Blackstone printed by Chitty (note 22 above), 15.

24. WCM 21158.


26. A few years later, ca. 1536, in connection with another dispute, Winchester College was to employ a most remarkable watercolourist (possibly one William Waterman) to make a bird's-eye survey of property in Newnham, Hampshire (WCM 3233). The drawing is reproduced in J. Harvey, 'Early Tudor Draughtsman,' The Connoisseur coronation book 1933, 100-101 and pl. V.

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Figure 1. Initials by John Hasard from Winchester College annual account roll for 1527-28 (final totals).

Figure 2. Initial by John Hasard from account roll for 1530-31. Note his initials 'J. H.'

Figure 3. Initial by John Hasard from account roll for 1522-23, including his self-portrait.

Figure 4. Initial by John Hasard from account roll for 1527-28. Note 'Bee Orchid' at top left.
Figure 5. Initials from account roll for 1527-28. Note leaf-forms.

Figure 6. Initial from account roll for 1529-30 (a total).

Figure 7. Initial from account roll for 1529-30. Note cock (top left), grass at the foot of the Cross, leaf-forms as serifs of capital C.
Figure 8. A sketch-map showing the ancient parish of Shaw and its relation to the town of Newbury, together with the more important buildings and features mentioned in the text. The boundaries shown for the manor or lordship of Shaw, much smaller than the parish, are necessarily approximate and are based largely upon a map of the Shaw estate as it was ca. 1530. The position and area of Shaw Heath are based upon the information in the Survey of 1547 and upon fieldwork by Miss R. Leaman and Mrs. F. M. Weale, with their kind permission.