

Investigations at Cogges, Oxfordshire, 1978–81: The Priory and Parish Church

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SUMMARY

Cogges Priory was founded shortly before 1103 as a daughter house of Fécamp Abbey. Manasses Arsic, the founder and lord of the manor, apparently gave the old manor house of Cogges for this purpose and built himself a new house or castle nearby. The Priory may have been substantial in the early 12th century, but after dereliction during Stephen's reign it was rebuilt modestly as a non-conventual cell. Dissolved with the other alien priories, it was granted in 1441 to Eton College; in 1859 the building became the vicarage house.

Excavations during 1980–81 revealed one Neolithic feature, residual mid Saxon pottery, and traces of 10th- to 11th-century timber structures preceding the main Priory phases. A stone chamber-block was built c. 1150–80, apparently within a rectilinear walled enclosure which may have been the remains of an earlier and larger Priory building. About 1230–50 the chamber-block was enlarged by the addition of a hall and services; much of this work, including the hall roof and a timber screen, survives within the standing building. About 1600–20 the Priory was reduced and adapted to serve as a farmhouse with accommodation for the parochial chaplain. The excavation produced a good pottery sequence and finds including a small late Saxon bell.

The simple Saxo-Norman parish church acquired one or both aisles c. 1180, and a spacious chancel with a crypt c. 1240. By the 13th century it may have served both the Priory and the parish, and the crypt probably had monastic functions. The sumptuously decorated north chapel was probably built during the 1340s by John, Lord Grey, to house the tomb of his mother Lady Margaret. The north aisle and unusual angle tower were added shortly afterwards in a matching style, perhaps by Prior William Hamon.

INTRODUCTION

This is the first report on a research project which stems from the purchase of Manor Farm, Cogges, by Oxfordshire County Council in 1974. The initial aim, now achieved, was to create a museum of farming and rural life in the medieval house and its fine post-medieval farm buildings. A research group was set up to investigate the history of Manor Farm for purposes of interpretation and display. The medieval remains at Cogges, which include a church, three manorial sites and an alien priory, are of unusual and more than local interest: research clearly needed to extend beyond the boundaries of the County Council property.

The Priory (now the vicarage) was chosen as the first subject for detailed study when the Church Commissioners announced plans to carry out alterations there during 1979–80. These involved dividing off the Victorian (east) wing as a separate house, enlarging

the medieval (west) wing, and landscaping the courtyard to the north. Excavation of the threatened area (Fig. 5) began in spring 1980 under the direction of the County Museums Service and with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment. The standing medieval structures were surveyed during the alterations and analysed in relation to the excavated remains. A survey of the parish church was carried out at the same time in view of its long and close association with the Priory.

A pipe-trench dug in 1978 through the orchard of Manor Farm (Fig. 2) produced 64 late Neolithic flint flakes and a large quantity of unstratified pottery including several mid to late Saxon sherds. The flints are closely similar to material from the Priory site and it seemed appropriate to publish both assemblages together; they are therefore described and discussed in Appendix D. Examination of the pottery is in progress.

The excavation was directed by John Steane, who is responsible for the excavation report and Appendices E and F. John Blair surveyed the standing buildings, and is responsible for the historical introduction, the analysis of building phases, the account of the church, the conclusion, and Appendices A, B and C.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our foremost thanks are to the Revd. and Mrs. Robin Leaver, who co-operated with excavations in their kitchen garden and investigations in their house over a period of more than a year. For help and support of various kinds we are much indebted to the Oxfordshire County Council Department of Museum Services, especially Messrs. C.J. Bond, J.G. Rhodes and A. Shishtawi; to Messrs. A.J. Fleming, P. Gosling and J.J. West of H.M. Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments; to Mrs. D. Aylwin, West Oxfordshire District Conservation Officer; and to Professor S.S. Frere. We are also very grateful to Mr. T.G. Hassall and the staff of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit, especially Miss M. Mellor (pottery report), and Mr. Bob Wilson (bone report); to Ms. J.P. Gardiner for the flint report; to Mr M.J. Heaton for his very substantial contribution to the excavation; to Dr. D. Brown, Miss G. Oakley and Messrs. M. Farley and R.W. Sanderson for comments on individual items among the pottery and small finds; to Mr. C. Blair for his excellent photographs of the church; to Messrs. R. Ainslie, C. Bradford, J. de Buriatt, D. Hunt, G. Nelson and R. Steane for help with the excavation; to Miss E.J. Gue for help in surveying the Priory house; to Dr J.M. Fletcher for comments on the Priory roof; to Messrs. A. Aspinall, B. Gormley and R. Walker of the School of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, for mounting a resistivity survey; to the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, and to Mr P.L. Strong their archivist, for access to the estate records in their custody; to Mrs Evelyn Baker for providing valuable comparisons with Grove Priory; to the staff of the Victoria History of the County of Oxford, the staff of the Bodleian Library and Professor D.J.A. Matthew for help with the historical evidence; and to Dr Janet Cooper for several comments which have improved the text. The material in Appendix A is printed by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College; that in Appendix B by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT

Cogges lies in West Oxfordshire, on the east bank of the River Windrush facing Witney across the floodplain (Fig. 1). At this point the river emerges from the limestones of the Cotswold hills and enters the low, flat vale of Oxford clay. Witney lies between two channels, one to the west along 'Emma's Dyke', and the other to the east beside Cogges;

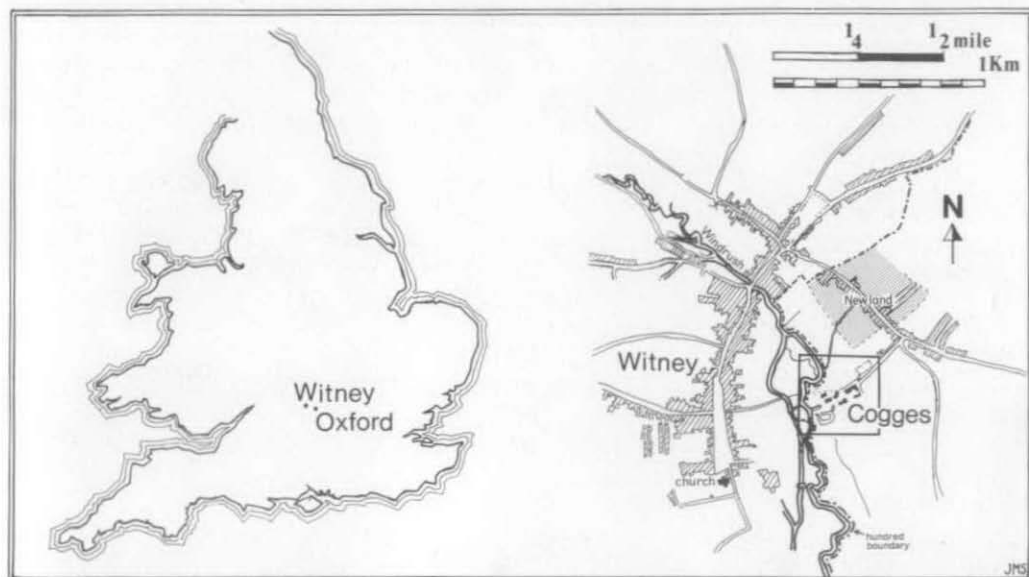


Fig. 1. The location of Cogges. The inset square on the right-hand map corresponds with the area of Fig. 2.

this leaves Witney on a 'meander core' of Cornbrash surrounded by alluvium. Cogges itself is sited at the junction of limestone and clay, where a promontory of Forest Marble and Cornbrash comes to the surface and provides a firm flood-free site within a stone's throw of the Windrush. The fields on either side of the river make rich meadowland or pasture, and to the east a gently rising limestone slope provides an area of fairly easily worked arable soils. At the top of the hill is Cogges Wood, probably a remnant of a once more extensive forest.

Witney and Cogges were both on a west-east trackway, the shortest and driest crossing of the sodden alluvial valley-bottom: the floodplain is here little more than 100 metres wide. The line is perpetuated in the town plan of Witney as Corn Street and Crown Lane, continuing as a footpath across the river and through Cogges. Strong evidence for the antiquity of this route is provided by the Witney charter bounds ascribed to 969, which mention a ford near the present river crossing.¹ There were settlements on both sides of the river by the late Anglo-Saxon period. Before the Conquest Witney was an important manor centring on the church and bishop's residence; in the early 13th century a town was laid out north of the church with a funnel-shaped market place.² At Cogges, mid- to late-Saxon occupation is attested both by timber structures and pottery on the Priory site (described below) and by the sherds found in the orchard of Manor Farm. The little nucleus beside the Windrush was evidently the manorial centre from at least the 10th century onwards. Whether there was ever a village here is uncertain, but half a mile away a planned settlement called Newland was founded in 1212-13 by the lord of Cogges, in emulation of nearby Witney.³

¹ 'Tidreding ford'; see G.B. Grundy, *Saxon Oxfordshire* (Oxon. Record Soc XV), 79.

² See K. Rodwell (ed.), *Historic towns in Oxfordshire* (Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit, 1975), 179-90.

³ L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton (eds.), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (1950), no. 114 and note.

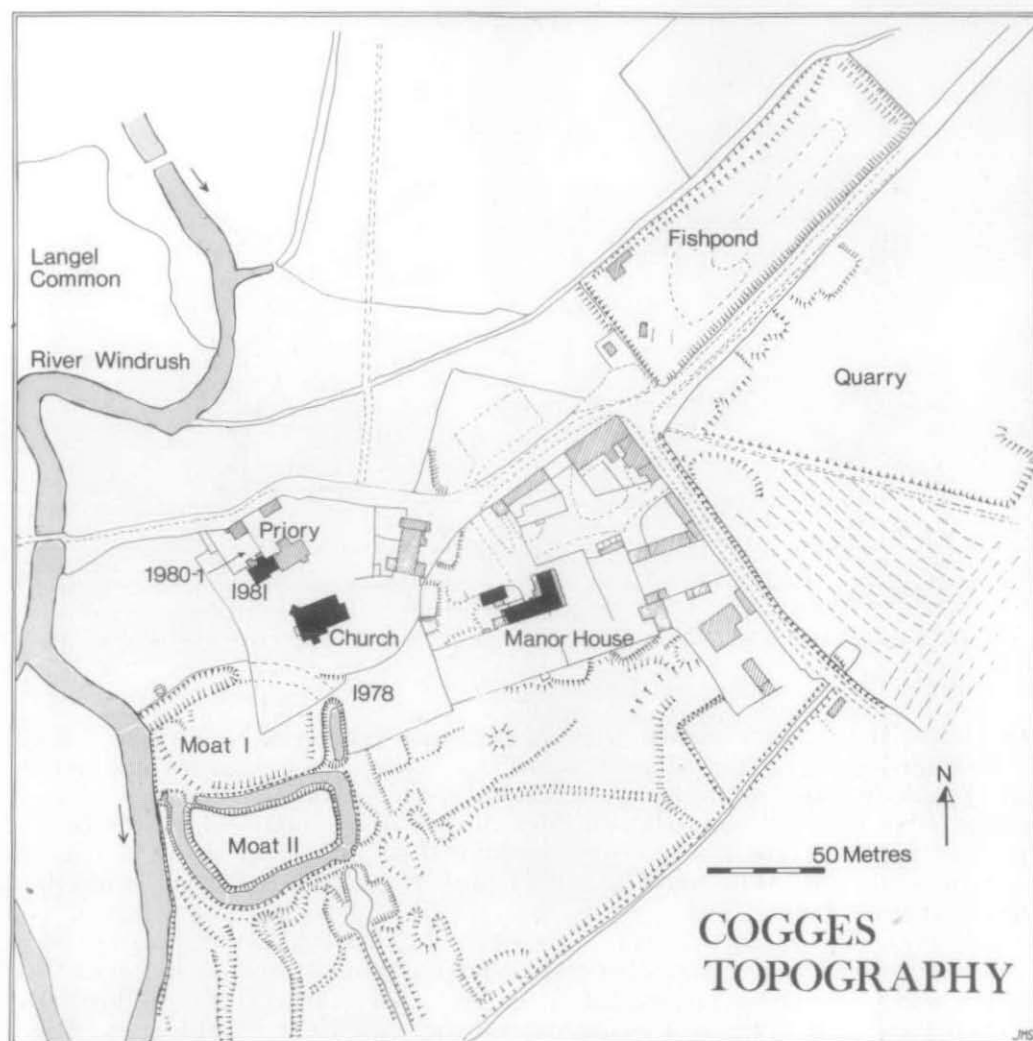


Fig. 2. The topography of the manorial centre of Cogges, with earthworks as visible in 1976. Standing medieval buildings are shown in solid black. The dates mark the sites of excavations in Manor Farm orchard (1978) and around the Priory (1980-1).

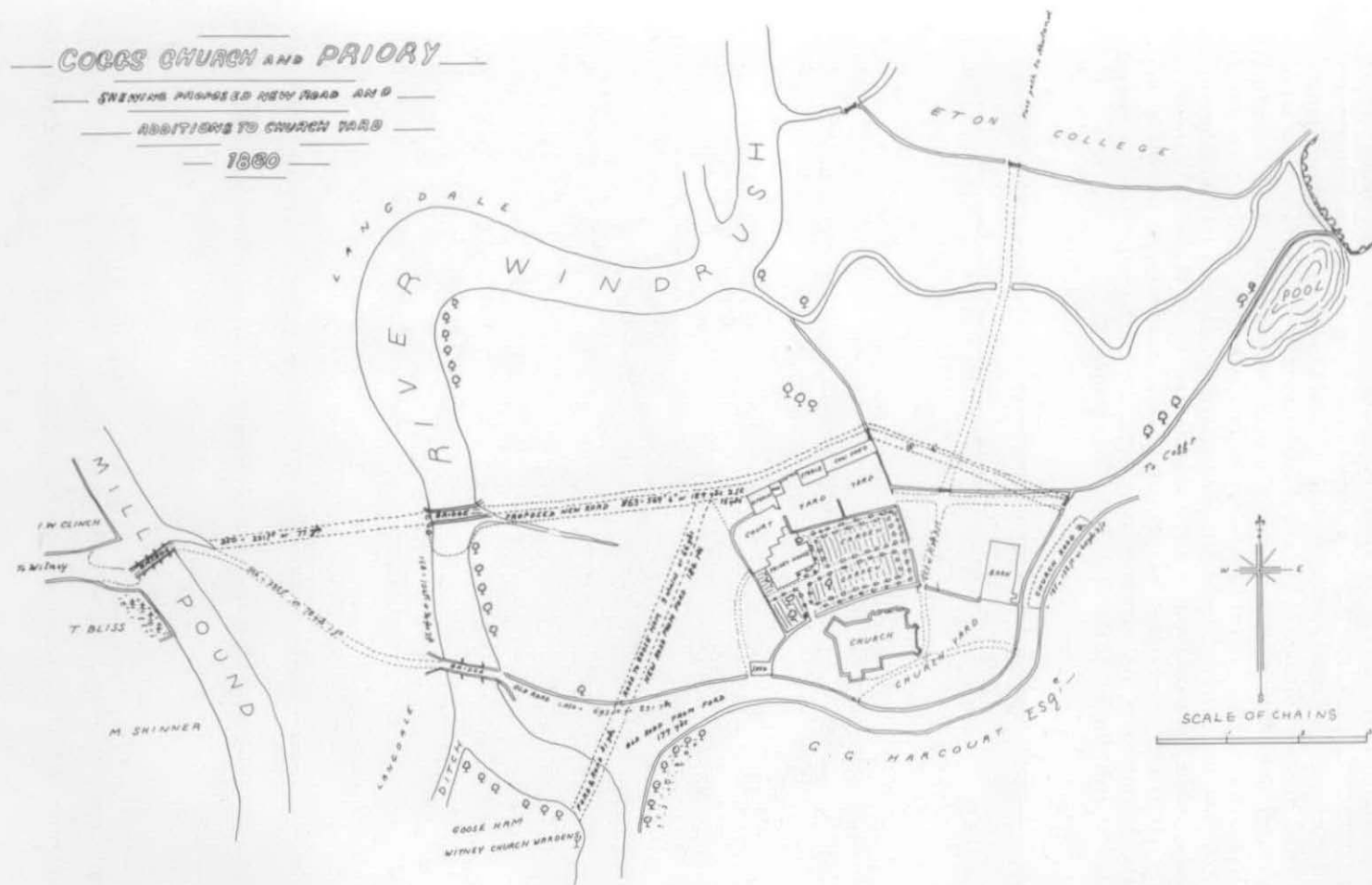


Fig. 3A. Plan of the church and Priory in 1859, showing both the road then existing and the proposed new road. (Tracing by C.J. Bond from original in possession of the vicar of Cogges.)

The centre of Cogges (Fig. 2) is remarkable for containing four significant medieval monuments: the church, the Priory, a double moated enclosure and Manor Farm. The moated site is now a simple earthwork with nothing to indicate its date and function. In about 1610, however, the herald Nicholas Charles referred to 'Cogges . . . whear sometime was a castell', and Anthony Wood, writing in 1658, mentions that 'on the S[outh] side of Cogges church is a ground called by the name of the Castle Yard, where are oftentimes great thick foundations dugg up'.⁴ These independent statements seem good evidence for large buildings within the moats and a genuine local tradition of a castle. There is nothing unlikely about this, for Cogges was the *caput* of the Arsic barony throughout the 12th century.⁵ Manor Farm, 100 metres away, is basically a 13th-century stone house with an open hall, much altered in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶

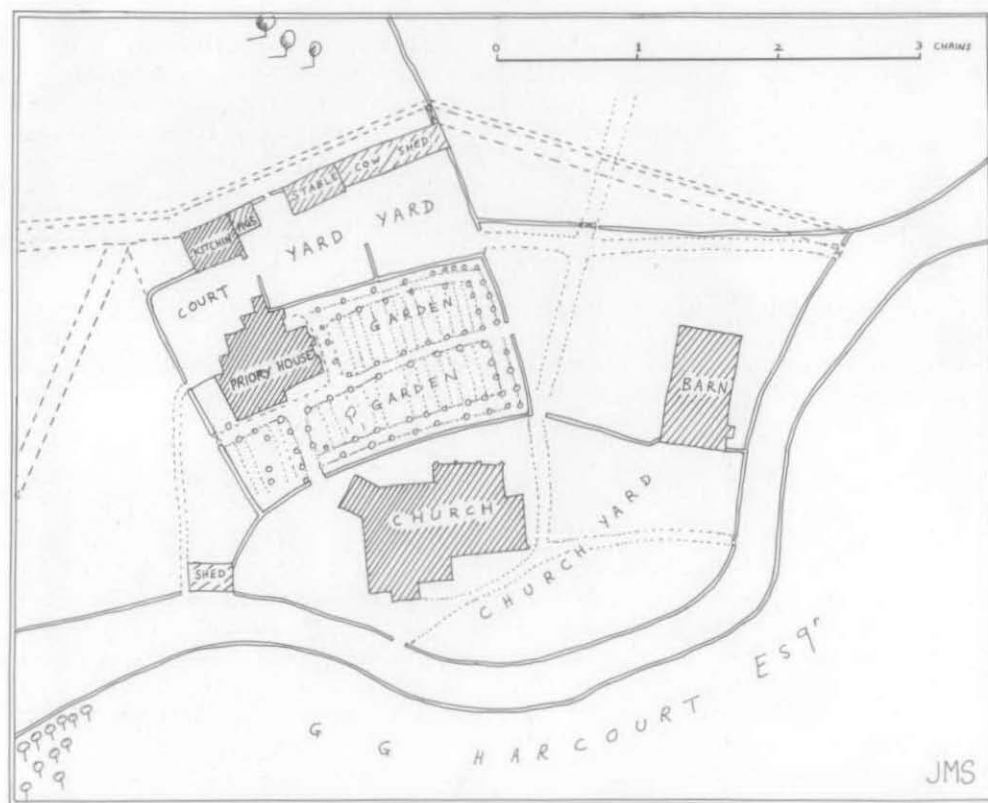


Fig. 3B. Detail of Fig. 3A, showing the Priory house and its curtilage in 1859. (Redrawn).

⁴ Brit. Lib., MS Cotton Lansdowne 874, f.141v.; Bodl. MS Wood E 1, f.47.

⁵ See G. Andrews Moriarty, 'The barony of Cogges', *Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Reports*, lxxxv (1930), 309-20.

⁶ M.E. Wood, *Thirteenth-century domestic architecture in England* (*Archaeological Journal*, cv supplement, 1950), 56-7.

The two manor houses probably co-existed for nearly a century. The division of Cogges dates from the purchase of extensive property there in 1241-2 by Archbishop Walter de Grey,⁷ who probably built the first house at Manor Farm. The manor descended as two moieties until it was reunited in the hands of the Greys in 1338,⁸ and it may have been soon after this that 'Cogges Castle' was abandoned. Since the 'castle' had itself replaced a still earlier manor house on the Priory site (see below), the nucleus contained three separate *curiae* in the course of the middle ages.

Since 1859-60, when Oxford diocese acquired the Priory, the footpath from Witney has followed the north boundary of the vicarage curtilage, leaving the whole complex on its south side. Previously the path had crossed the Windrush further south and followed the south boundary of the churchyard, as is clear from plans of 1859 which show both routes (Fig. 3A).⁹ Even the pre-1860 line was probably not very ancient, for part of its course seems to have been contained within the north arm of the moat. A grant of the western part of the Manor Farm curtilage in 1241 describes its north boundary as the 'street leading to the monastery' and its west boundary as the 'street leading from the monastery to the township meadow'.¹⁰ This suggests that the roadway on the north side of Manor Farm continued westwards in a straight line and was joined by a lost north-south route somewhere in the eastern part of the present churchyard.¹¹ It seems a natural assumption that the road ran on between the church and Priory and across the river, though the choice in 1241 of the phrase 'leading to the monastery' rather than 'leading to Witney' tells against this. Possibly the thoroughfare had been closed to divert traffic onto the more northerly route through Newland; it may be relevant that in 1228 the monks had prosecuted Robert Arsic for blocking up a road at Cogges.¹²

It will be clear from this brief survey that the layout of Cogges changed greatly during the Middle Ages, and can only be elucidated by means of an excavation programme involving sectioning of roads and boundaries. Until this is done, the immediate environs of the church and Priory must remain rather ill-defined.

COGGES PRIORY: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

THE ANTECEDENTS AND FOUNDATION OF THE PRIORY

The Anglo-Norman 'alien priories' were founded in the context of local secular lordship and remained closely associated with it. For the mother houses abroad their function was to become essentially that of estate offices, from each of which a proctor with one or two companions could oversee English endowments. The Norman families who founded them so enthusiastically were motivated along rather different lines. By patronising Benedictine houses in their homeland, new nobility and gentry could establish small communities of monks to enhance the status of their English *capita baroniae*.¹³ In one sense these were appropriate successors to the 'private' monasteries of the recent past, now quickly

⁷ *Cal. Charter R.* i. 265, 270, 285; *Cal. Oxon. Fines 1195-1291* (Oxon. Record Soc. xii), 115, 121, 124, 126.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1338-40, 101; Cf. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.) ii. 867-8.

⁹ Plan in possession of the vicar, and another in Bodl. MS Oxf. Dioc. Papers c 1779.

¹⁰ P.R.O. C 53/35, m.7 (summarised *Cal. Charter R.* i. 265).

¹¹ If such a layout ever existed it must have been changed by c.1700, for the line is blocked by the post-medieval barn of the Priory estate (now the schoolhouse).

¹² *Cal. Pat. R.* 1225-32, 217.

¹³ For a convincing argument along these lines see D.J.A. Matthew, *The Norman monasteries and their English possessions* (Oxford, 1962), 51-65.

becoming unacceptable in the century of Gregorian reform. Fécamp Abbey's cell at Cogges was no exception, founded on the head manor of a substantial barony whose lord as late as the 1160s could describe the inmates as 'monachos meos apud Cog[ges] degentes'.¹⁴

The estate later known as the barony of Cogges is first recognisable in Domesday Book (Fig. 4). In 1086 thirty-seven widely dispersed manors were held of Odo of Bayeux by his man Wadard, notable for his depiction on the Bayeux Tapestry under the label *Hic est Wadard*.¹⁵ The stated annual values of his lands amount to £113 11s. 4d., of which 57 per cent lay in Oxfordshire, 20 per cent in Kent, 9 per cent in Lincolnshire and the remaining 14 per cent in Dorset, Wiltshire, Surrey and Warwickshire. Despite his lord's Kentish focus, the thirteen Oxfordshire manors, a scatter extending some twenty miles north-eastwards from Cogges across the Cherwell valley, formed the hard core of Wadard's estate. In 1086 only Cogges (£10 p.a.), Fringford (£10) and Somerton (£12) were particularly valuable, and twenty years previously Cogges had been worth slightly more than the other two (£10 as against £8 and £9 respectively). Thus Wadard's *caput*, like his successors', may well have been sited at Cogges.

Deficiencies in the T.R.E. data make it impossible to say whether the portion of Odo's Oxfordshire fief subinfeudated to Wadard represents a pre-Conquest estate. Cogges parish was probably the westernmost part of the original *parochia* of Eynsham minster: in the 12th and 13th centuries a mother-daughter relationship existed between Eynsham Abbey and Cogges church, the Abbey receiving the crop of 4 demesne acres at Cogges for permitting burial there.¹⁶ It is at least a very odd coincidence that when the wealthy local landowner Æthelmaer re-founded Eynsham Abbey in 1005, the endowments included a share in the port of Brede (Sussex), given by Æthelred II to Fécamp Abbey at about the same date, and Ditton (Surrey) where Wadard had his only Surrey land in 1086.¹⁷ These tantalising fragments of evidence suggest that the future barony of Cogges was connected in some ill-defined way with Æthelmaer's estate, and possibly also with pre-Conquest patronage of Fécamp.

In 1088 Odo of Bayeux forfeited his English lands. His tenant Wadard probably fell with him, for within a few years the barony had passed almost in its entirety to the Arsics. Except that they probably came from the Boulonnais the origins of this minor Norman family are obscure, and the late 11th-century William Arsic remains a shadowy, perhaps apocryphal figure.¹⁸ There is clear evidence that by c. 1100 one Manasses Arsic was established on Wadard's former barony, assessed at 18½ fees owing castle-ward service to Dover Castle.¹⁹ Manasses held some further Kentish property which had not been

¹⁴ *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20*, ed. J.C. Davies (Pipe Roll Soc. n.s. xxxiii), no. 548. For the date and context of this document see Matthew, *Norman monasteries*, 51n.

¹⁵ Sir F. Stenton (ed.), *The Bayeux Tapestry* (1957), Pl. 47. For Wadard before the Conquest see C. Prentout, 'Essai d'identification des personnages inconnus de la tapisserie de Bayeux', *Revue Historique*, clxxvi (1935), 21-3.

¹⁶ *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H.E. Salter (Oxf.Hist.Soc. xlix), pp.4, 13; ii, pp.xxxviii-xxxix, 94. In 1239 the Abbey held this right 'ab antiquo', and the fact that the sheaves were owing from the lord's rather than from Fécamp's land suggests that the burial concession had been negotiated before 1103.

¹⁷ For Æthelmaer and his gifts to Eynsham see *Eynsham Cartulary*, pp. 19-28, and P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters: an annotated list and bibliography* (London, 1968), no. 911; for the Brede connection with Fécamp see Matthew, *Norman monasteries*, 19-20, and Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters*, nos. 949, 982.

¹⁸ Moriarty, 'Barony of Cogges', 309-12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 313-15. Manasses first appears as one of the hostages named in the treaty of 1101 between Henry I and the Count of Flanders (*Cal. Diplomatic Docs.* i, no. 1).

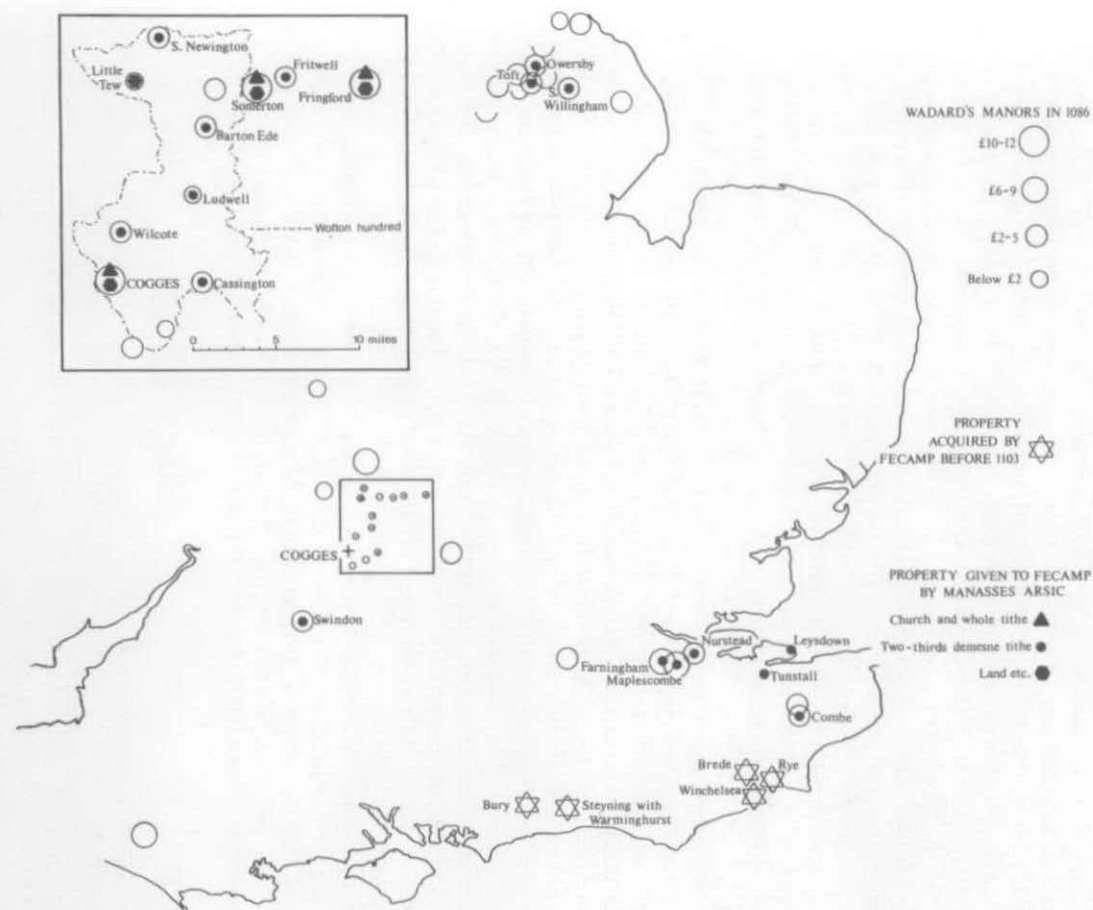


Fig. 4. The 'barony of Cogges' in 1086 and the foundation endowments of Cogges Priory.

Wadard's,²⁰ but his main focus of interests lay in Oxfordshire, and Cogges was his *caput*.

By the 1070s Fécamp Abbey had valuable estates in Sussex, the product of contracts extending as far back as Æthelred II's reign.²¹ Why Manasses Arsic chose to patronise Fécamp is, however, unclear, unless some shadowy tenurial link did indeed exist between the Abbey's earlier acquisitions and the barony which he had recently inherited. At all events, by a charter²² probably executed c. 1100, and solemnly ratified at Cogges in the abbot of Fécamp's presence on 3 November 1103, Manasses bestowed on Fécamp a group of endowments (Fig. 4) conforming to a familiar early Norman pattern: on the one hand churches and substantial property on a few large manors, and on the other a more limited entitlement to two-thirds tithe portions from about half the remaining Arsic demesnes.

This latter group was as widely dispersed as the barony itself, comprising seven portions in Oxfordshire (Barton Ede in Steeple Barton, Cassington, Fritwell, Ludwell in Wootton, South Newington, Somerton, Wilcote), six in Kent (Combe, Farningham, Leysdown, Maplescombe, Nurstead, Tunstall), three in Lincolnshire (Owersby, Toft, South Willingham) and one in Wiltshire (Swindon). As so often with this popular type of benefaction, a product of new lords' freedom to alienate the two-thirds of their demesne tithes which had previously been reserved to decaying 'minster' churches, the demesnes thus burdened seem to have been selected arbitrarily or from purely secular motives. The difficulty of collecting these modest revenues must have severely lessened their value to the monks.

More important were the big endowments, near at hand in the Oxfordshire heartland of the barony. At Cogges itself Manasses gave his house to build a church, the church of the vill and its land, 2 ploughlands, wood for burning and for all works of the monks, his garden (*viridarium*), 40 a. meadow, William of Wilcote's meadow and all tithes.²³ At Fringford he gave the church with its land, 2 ploughlands, 2 mills and all tithe, and at Little Tew 'everything he had' (a small manor valued at £1 p.a. in 1086).²⁴ Finally, on visiting Fécamp in 1107, he added Somerton church with William the priest's land and all tithes.²⁵ This reveals a consistent policy. Wadard's biggest manors had been Cogges, Somerton and Fringford, and it was here that Manasses concentrated the monks' resources in the form of churches, land and full tithes. Thus far Cogges Priory fits the typical pattern: a body of monks based on the lord's *caput* and entrusted with his main demesne churches.

Far from typical, however, is the first item in the list of endowments, 'concessit domum suam de Cog[ges] ad ecclesiam fabricandam'. Here *ecclesia* clearly cannot refer to the manorial church, which is mentioned in the same sentence: it implies an intention to found a second, monastic, church nearby. The archaeological evidence for 10th- or 11th-century timber structures preceding the Priory building (see below) supports a literal

²⁰ Leysdown and Tunstall, which appear in the 1103 grant to Fécamp, and the land at Ripple and West Langton which the Abbot of St Augustine's successfully claimed against Manasses in 1110 (*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, no. 944) had not been held by Wadard.

²¹ Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 19–22; *Cal. Docs. France* nos. 114–119; C.H. Haskins, 'A charter of Canute for Fécamp', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii (1918), 342–4.

²² The extant text is in fact a narrative compilation based on several charters; this is printed in H.E. Salter, 'Cogges Priory', *Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Reports* lxxv (1930), 321–2, and *Cartae Antiquae Rolls* 11–20, no. 549.

²³ This follows the interpretation, which the sense demands, that the clause 'Dedit et decimas . . . supradictarum villarum' refers only to Cogges and Fringford.

²⁴ Pace Salter, 'Cogges Priory', 321–2, it is clear from later evidence that Little Tew, not Duns Tew, is intended.

²⁵ *Cartae Antiquae Rolls* 11–20, no. 549.

interpretation: Manasses gave his old manor house to the monks, building elsewhere a new baronial residence which may well be identifiable with the moats of 'Cogges Castle'. The circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Priory provide an unusual glimpse of Norman patronage operating in its local context.

THE PRIORY 1103-1441

The first half-century of the Priory's existence is entirely undocumented. The earliest piece of evidence is a remarkable letter, apparently written by a mid 12th-century monk of Fécamp to his abbot, which describes the Priory's lamentable state in the aftermath of the Anarchy. With the omission of some purely rhetorical passages, it may be translated as follows:²⁶

... 'I have come down from Jerusalem to Jericho,²⁷ where I have found almost nothing except neglect; and I might have been able to tolerate this almost nothing if it were not fast becoming nothing whatever. For when I arrived at Cogges I found the house empty of goods and full of filth. On entering I was so stupefied and aghast that if fear of ridicule and shame of precipitate flight had not forced me to stay, I should have returned immediately to Fécamp. There has certainly been more dishonour here than wealth, more misery than prosperity. I was most dispirited by the devastation of the place, the shame of dishonour, the scarcity of things and the ruin of the house. . . . Then I travelled into Kent to seek the rents which we have there in full abundance; and just as our farmed tithes were committed by nobody to nobody for keeping or collecting, so assuredly I have recovered them from nobody. 'One woe is past.'²⁸ Then I returned thence; and on the night when I arrived back (that is 12 December), when our pigs and horses were lying next the wall (*paries*) of our dormitory, 'a whirlwind swept across the desert and struck the four corners of the house, and it fell'²⁹ killing two horses and twenty-one pigs, 'and I am the only one to escape and tell the tale'.³⁰ 'The second woe.' Next day the oxen were ploughing, and death struck them so suddenly that in all no more than four were then left alive to us, and now no more than two, one ox and one cow. 'The third woe is past; behold the fourth woe.' We used to have forty-nine sheep at Fringford, but after the general pestilence which has swept the whole area scarcely eight remain alive. 'Now the fifth woe, greater' and heavier than the rest; for through the flooding of excessive rains it has been impossible either to break up our land with the plough (*aratrum*) or furrow it with the share (*vomer*). . . . But all these things would be trivial, and as though in no way marks of affliction, if they were not crowned by an insufferable weight of debts. I have set out these debts as concisely as possible in a memorandum for your excellency and your holy convent, so that the imminent [ruin?] of the house may be attributed not (which God forbid) to me, who have let nothing slip, but to the public shame of afflictions, to ready makers of debts, to lazy builders, or rather no builders at all. . . . For now your compassion must rescue this place, or else without a doubt it will be reduced (which God forbid) to a complete wilderness. Manasses Arsic's whole design longs for it to be reduced to nothing, so that his predecessor's whole inheritance may revert to him. . . . This place is subject to as many lords as it has neighbours. Worst of all is to pay tribute where

²⁶ Full Latin text printed in 'Epistulae Fiscannenses', ed. J. Laporte, *Revue Mabillon*, xliii (1953), 29-31.

²⁷ Luke x. 30.

²⁸ Rev. ix. 12 etc.

²⁹ Job i. 19.

³⁰ Job i. 15.

and whence you will receive nothing. Thus for deserts, as though for the best-tilled land, we are forced to render hidage, Danegeld, castle-guard (*uarscelue*), aids of sheriffs and the king's henchmen, and the other customs of royal revenue. The tyrannies of the archbishop, archdeacons and deans, to which it is insufferable to yield and ruinous not to yield, are the climax of our wrongs. Life itself would be shorter than the tale of woes if I were to recite all the misfortunes of Cogges. . . . Your generosity would alleviate them all if you were prepared to equip the house of Cogges with four, or three, or at least two ploughs (*carruce*). . . . For either you will raise up the place, which is desolate and reduced almost to nothing, by rehabilitating (*instaurando*) the house, or I shall abandon the burden of poverty and return to the paradise of the cloister. . . .

Probably we should not take this extraordinary document quite at face value. Its lamentations have the flavour of literary convention, and play with Biblical quotations to semi-humorous effect.³¹ Despite this the details are matter-of-fact enough, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity as a serious report from a monk sent to investigate conditions at Cogges. The writer's closing threat to return to Fécamp if the abbot refuses further aid suggests that his mission was to last for some time, so we may probably identify him as a new prior of Cogges taking up office after an incompetent predecessor or a long interregnum.

Clearly the Manasses Arsic mentioned here was not the founder but his grandson Manasses II, for he is stated to covet 'his predecessor's entire inheritance'.³² Thus the letter must date from after the early 1140s when Robert Arsic, son of the first Manasses and father of the second, was still alive.³³ On the other hand the writer complains of Danegeld, the last levies of which were in 1155-6 (when collection dragged on for several years) and 1162.³⁴ The 'cleaning up' operations following the Treaty of Westminster in 1153 seem a likely context for these investigations, which may well have been prompted by an extant writ of Archbishop Theobald ordering the abbot of Fécamp to recover English property alienated in the time of war.³⁵

No specific reason is known for Manasses II's hostility to his grandfather's foundation. Opposed loyalties in the dynastic conflict may have had some influence: the four royal charters witnessed by Robert Arsic are all Stephen's, whereas Fécamp Abbey had Angevin support and its abbot, Henry de Sully, was Henry II's cousin.³⁶ An order from Manasses II to his tenants that 'his' monks of Cogges are to have peaceful possession of their tithes, issued in compliance with a writ from Henry II, demonstrates royal support for Fécamp in this matter after 1154.³⁷ That relations between the monks of Cogges and their lay lord were not incurably bad is suggested by the respective appearance of Sampson prior of Cogges and Prior John, the earliest known holders of that office, as first witnesses in two charters of Manasses Arsic II.³⁸

Apart from the oppressions of Manasses and the officers of church and state, the

³¹ Cf. the editor's comments (*Rev. Mabillon*, xliii.16): 'Pauvre comme Job, l'infortuné prieur reprend les expressions de ce malheureux patriarche, auxquelles il joint celles de l'Apocalypse, pour faire des désastres de sa maison, et en marge de son rapport officiel, un tableau d'une drôlerie et d'un *humour* achevés.'

³² The editor (*Ibid.*), unaware of Manasses II's existence, implausibly dates the letter by this reference to c.1100, i.e. just before the 1103 confirmation.

³³ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii, no. 219.

³⁴ J.H. Ramsay, *The Angevin empire* (London, 1903), 252.

³⁵ *Cal. Docs. France* no. 128; A. Saltman, *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury* (1956), no. 109.

³⁶ For charters of Geoffrey Plantagenet for Fécamp see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii, nos. 303-4.

³⁷ *Cartae Antiquae Rolls* 11-20, no. 548.

³⁸ *Eynsham Cartulary*, i, no. 131; Oxon. R. O., Dash. XXIII ii/1a. The latter is a grant to Kenilworth Priory,

letter ascribes the monks' woes to a combination of natural disaster and maladministration. The low-lying arable of Cogges, so near the Windrush, had been made useless by heavy rain. The pattern of live-stock deaths suggests that pigs were kept at Cogges, rich in woodland and bordering Wychwood Forest, but sheep on the more open land near Fringford. The debts, the breakdown of arrangements for farming the Kentish tithes, the lack of farm equipment and the general dereliction point to years of neglect, though the reference to 'lazy builders, or rather no builders at all' suggests a recent abortive attempt to rebuild the ruined Priory house. This is strikingly consistent with the archaeological evidence (described below as Phase 3) for a stone-built chamber block of c. 1150-80. This must surely be interpreted as a product of the reconstruction which the writer urges his abbot to initiate, carried out in the settled years of Henry II's reign.

During the late 12th and 13th centuries references to the original endowments begin to reappear. Where spiritualities were concerned the losses had been grievous and often irreparable. The monks only retained substantial rights in one of the three churches given by the first Manasses Arsic. The vague early 'ownership' of churches, which many monasteries succeeded during the 12th century in converting into full-scale appropriation, had been reduced at Somerton and Fringford by c. 1200 to a mere *ius presentandi*, and all that remained to the Priory a century later were fixed pensions of £1 6s. 8d. from Fringford church and 2s. from Somerton.³⁹ This failure to exploit valuable resources during the mid 12th century, the formative period of parochial authority, is another sign that Fécamp's control over the Cogges endowments had been weak or negligent.

With Cogges church itself the Priory retained a closer involvement. The first Manasses had presumably expected his monks to find a secular priest for the manorial church, or possibly even to serve it themselves. The second practice would quickly have become unacceptable, but the continuing absence of a proper endowed rectory emphasises the essential informality of the arrangements: the church was served by a chaplain, but the *personatus* remained wholly with the monks.⁴⁰ This must have come about long before the first reference to a chaplain of Cogges in 1220,⁴¹ by which date the increasing definition of perpetual vicarages would have made such a system itself anomalous.⁴² It was, indeed, only some five years later that the bishop of Lincoln, Hugh de Welles (a noted pioneer of the formal vicarage system), instituted Benedict of St. Edmund, chaplain, as perpetual vicar of Cogges. His portion was to comprise rents of 4 cottars, altar-dues, small tithes and the tithe of sheaves from 3 villein hides.⁴³ When the prior presented Benedict's successor in 1232-3 the bishop insisted on a further augmentation (see below, Appendix A): the vicar was now to have 10 a. arable, 2 a. in the Priory meadow, and 'a suitable message between the prior's orchard and the fish-pond of the

but since no John appears among the priors of Kenilworth it seems likely that the witness was a prior of Cogges. Sampson also witnesses another deed of c. 1180 (*Thame Cartulary* (Oxon. Rec. Soc. xxvi) ii, 104), so his priorate may have been rather late in Manasses's life.

³⁹ Fringford: *Cur. Reg. R.* xv, pp. 111-2; *Tax. Eccl. 1291* (Rec. Com.), 31b. Somerton: *Cur. Reg. R.* xiv, pp. 262-3; *Tax. Eccl. 1291*, 45b; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com) ii, 838. In both cases even the presentation had reverted to the lay lord by the end of the 13th century.

⁴⁰ Cf. Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 59-62. For a recent discussion of Professor Matthew's views, and of a critique by Mrs M. Chibnall, see B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the twelfth century', *Jnl. of Ecclesiastical History* xxxi(2), 144-5.

⁴¹ when Sir Henry chaplain of Cogges appears as first witness in an agreement between the Priory and Oseney Abbey (*Oseney Cartulary* iv, no. 144).

⁴² Cf. Kemp, *Jnl. Eccl. Hist.* xxxi(2), 148, 153-9.

⁴³ *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, i (Linc. Rec. Soc. iii), 183.

lords of Cogges, on which the prior shall build an adequate house'. The vicar was to minister in person, find a suitable clerk and altar lights, and pay synodals; all other burdens were to be borne by the prior.⁴⁴ Yet even these measures failed to establish the vicarage on a stable and independent footing: institutions of vicars soon cease to be recorded,⁴⁵ and by the end of the 13th century the full value of the church (£8 p.a.) was appropriated unreservedly to the monks.⁴⁶ No glebe distinct from the Priory lands existed at the Dissolution, and for long afterwards the vicar's status remained tenuous and ill-defined (below, p.54). Thus, while a secular priest had performed the due parochial functions, the monks' failure to go beyond this bare canonical necessity suggests a continuing relationship of exceptional closeness between Cogges Priory and its adjacent parish church.

Several of the original tithe-portions, including the whole Lincolnshire group, were irrevocably lost during the years of disruption; the remainder were now commuted to pensions. For the Fritwell tithes, which St Frideswide's Priory had annexed, the monks managed to recover a yearly payment of 2s. under an agreement of 1166.⁴⁷ Similar pensions were established for the tithes of Barton Ede in 1220 (10s. from Oseney Abbey) and for those of Cassington before 1294 (10s. from Eynsham Abbey).⁴⁸ The surviving Kentish tithes, at Maplescombe and Farningham, were commuted in 1195-6 into pensions of 2s. each, payable to the prior or his agent at Tunstall where some kind of estate office was perhaps maintained.⁴⁹

Temporalities survived somewhat better. In 1294 the demesne and tenant holdings at Cogges itself were extended at a total value of £3 5s. a year.⁵⁰ Later evidence, from which the property can be reconstructed in some detail (Appendix A), suggests that here the monks had preserved most of Manasses Arsic's original gift. At Fringford the Priory retained a small demesne, a few tenant holdings and a mill, valued in all at £2 3s. p.a. in 1291.⁵¹ Wadard's tiny Domesday manor of Little Tew emerges in the 14th century as a Cogges Priory farm, comprising a 60-acre demesne and 10 villein virgates, which were valued in 1291 at £4 13s. 10d.⁵² Thus the original small, moderately dispersed estate retained its basic character into the later Middle Ages.

By c. 1200, however, the real importance of Cogges Priory lay not in its own endowments but in its status as Fécamp's English outpost. At the end of the 13th century the land, churches and tithes given by Manasses Arsic can only have yielded some £21 a year, trivial beside the other Fécamp revenues at that date: at least £230 from churches and manors in Sussex,⁵³ and £54 4s. from Gloucestershire property for which the monks

⁴⁴ Ibid. ii (Linc.Rec.Soc. vi), 40. For the vicar's land see below, Appendix A.

⁴⁵ The last recorded presentation of a vicar is in 1240-1 (*Rotuli Roberti Grossteste* (Linc.Rec.Soc. xi), 464); thenceforth the Lincoln registers simply record the institution of new priors to the Priory and church on the presentation of the abbot of Fécamp.

⁴⁶ *Tax.Eccl.* 1291 (Rec.Com.), 31a; P.R.O. E 106/2/6, m.9.

⁴⁷ *St Frideswide's Cartulary*, ii (Oxf.Hist.Soc. xxxi), no. 974.

⁴⁸ *Oseney Cartulary*, iv, no. 144 (Bodl. MS Ch.Oxon.a.5, no.300); P.R.O. E 106/2/6,m.5; *V.C.H.Oxon.* ii. 162.

⁴⁹ *Cal.Docs.France*, nos. 141, 143.

⁵⁰ P.R.O. E 106/2/6,m.5.

⁵¹ *Tax.Eccl.* 1291, 45b. In 1324 this was extended as 8 a. arable worth 2d. a year per acre, four tenants owing 15s. 6d. rent, four cottagers owing 5s. 4d. rent, and a watermill worth 13s. 4d. a year (P.R.O. E 106/8/5, no.18.). Litigation of 1285 shows that Prior John de London (1227-38) and a subsequent Prior William had demised a watermill, 9 a. land and ½ a. meadow in Fringford on life tenancies (P.R.O. JUST 1/704,m. 1d.).

⁵² Successive extents of 1279, 1291, 1294, 1324 and 1387 are in *Rot.Hund.* (Rec.Com.), ii. 875; *Tax.Eccl.* 1291 (Rec.Com.), 43b; P.R.O. E 106/2/6,m.5; P.R.O. E 106/8/5,no 18; and *Ox.Arch.Soc.Rep.* 1910, 34. Deeds in *Oseney Cartulary*, iv, nos.168-9, 174 refer to Cogges Priory land in Little Tew.

⁵³ *Tax.Eccl.* 1291, 134a, 138b, 141b.

had exchanged Rye and Winchelsea in 1244.⁵⁴ The prior of Cogges was a much more significant figure as his abbot's deputy than as head of his own little house. The first evidence for this dual office comes in 1195, when Prior Michael de Argentie, the abbot of Fécamp's nephew, acted as the Abbey's English proctor in a dispute concerning Sussex property.⁵⁵ He performed the same function in 1197, 1200, 1201 and 1202,⁵⁶ and when in 1206-7 King John seized Fécamp's English property it was Michael who answered for the revenues.⁵⁷ The arrangement agrees with Professor Matthew's view that the Norman monasteries with very valuable English estates were precisely the ones which maintained non-conventual 'priors' rather than fully-fledged daughter houses: large profits were more usefully returned across the Channel than diverted to the support of self-sufficient communities in England.⁵⁸

There was no good practical reason for a French abbey to run its Sussex estates from an outpost on the edge of the Cotswolds: only its early importance can explain why Cogges Priory remained Fécamp's English base for so long. During the 13th century a new centre was set up at Warminghurst, Sussex, a chapelry of Fécamp's ancient mother church at Steyning. Henceforth the abbot's English proctor was not prior of Cogges but bailiff of Warminghurst Grange.⁵⁹ Probably the last prior-bailiff was a monk named Hilary, prior of Cogges from 1238⁶⁰ and evidently a man of ability. During the late 1240s he appears several times in both capacities; gaining Henry III's favour, he was appointed abbot of Pershore and escheator for Gloucestershire in 1251, and remained significant in public life during the next decade.⁶¹ Perhaps the Early English chancel of Cogges church, and the contemporaneous remodelling of the Priory house, were the work of the able and influential Prior Hilary. The responsibilities of most subsequent priors apparently ended



Plate 1. Impression from matrix of 13th-century Cogges Priory seal (British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, 92.4-21.2), showing the Pelican in her Piety. The legend reads +S[IGILLVM].PRIORIS.DE.COGES: *Actual size*

⁵⁴ Ibid. 237b; Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 76.

⁵⁵ *Cal.Docs.France*, no. 142; *Feet of Fines Henry II and Richard I* (Pipe Roll Soc. xvii), no. 68.

⁵⁶ *Cal.Docs.France*, nos. 144, 146; *Cur.Reg.R.* i, p.327; ii, p.34.

⁵⁷ Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 73n.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 14, 29, 65.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 51, 94-5; *V.C.H.Sussex*, ii, 124.

⁶⁰ *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste* (Linc.Rec.Soc. xi), 454.

⁶¹ *Cal.Close R.* 1242-7, 512; *Cal.Close R.* 1247-51, 370, 428, 432, 441; *Cal.Pat.R.* 1247-58, 7, 71, 77, 90 and numerous later references.

with their house's own small endowments;⁶² viewed from Fécamp, Cogges must have become a backwater, perhaps even sometimes regarded as a sinecure for retired bailiffs.⁶³

More seriously, Cogges began to suffer, as did all alien priories, from the worsening of relations between France and England. The occasional exactions of John and Henry III had been tiresome rather than harmful; aliens merely shared with everyone else in the increased costs of government.⁶⁴ After the outbreak of war in 1294 royal policy changed to one of systematic and aggressive exploitation. For the last century of their existence alien houses were under constant threat of confiscation, to be restored to their priors only on payment of heavy annual farms.⁶⁵ One consequence was the holding of royal inquiries into the value of alien property in 1294, 1324 and 1387. All these throw light on the buildings and endowments of Cogges Priory (Table 1),⁶⁶ while the first two are accompanied by detailed inventories of goods found there (Appendix B).

TABLE 1
Valuations of the Priory Endowments in Cogges Parish

	1294	1324	1387
Capital house	5s.	1s.	Worthless because ruined
Dovecot		-	Worthless because ruined
Garden	-	-	3s. 4d.
Watermill	£1	-	-
Fulling-mill	-	-	15s.
Arable	6s. 8d. (80 a.)	7s. 6d. (60 a.)	£2 5s. (75 a.)
Meadow	£1 7s. 6d. (22 a.)	£1 (20 a.)	£1 13s. 8d. (26 a.)
Free tenants	5s. 10d. (4 with 9 a.)	8s. 10d. (3)	5s. 6d.
Tithes	-	-	£12 13s. 4d.

(See Appendix A for further details.)

⁶² Compare the names of bailiffs listed *Cal. Pat. R.* 1258-66, 334, *Cal. Close R.* 1264-8, 230, *Cal. Close R.* 1327-30, 476 and *Cal. Pat. R.* 1334-8, 484, with the list of priors of Cogges in *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 162: none corresponds.

⁶³ Vigor, who appears as bailiff during the 1290s (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1292-1301, 10, 74, 75, 92, 176) was prior of Cogges in 1302-3 (*Linc. Dioc. R.O.*, Reg. 2, ff. 144v., 145v.).

⁶⁴ Matthew, *Norman monasteries*, 72-6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 81 ff.

⁶⁶ For Cogges the two earlier pairs of documents (Appendix B) are P.R.O., E 106/2/6, mm. 5 and 9, and E 106/8/5, nos. 18 and 36. The 1387 inquisition (without inventory) is printed from a roll in private possession by H.E. Salter in *Oxfordshire Arch. Soc. Report* 1910, 33.

Cogges Priory housed only two or three monks. In 1247 Prior Hilary had one companion named Martin,⁶⁷ while the numbers of silver spoons and kitchen utensils listed in the inventories suggest 2 inhabitants in 1294 and 3 in 1324. Thus it was one of the many alien cells with no pretensions to full conventual life, which Englishmen came to see as groups of potentially hostile foreigners masquerading as monks. As the Commons put it in 1346, 'les aliens moignes ne sont que lays gentz'.⁶⁸ The goodwill of powerful English patrons was therefore important, and the abbot of Fécamp chose wisely in 1341 when he appointed William Hamon as prior of Cogges after a dispute between the king, the bailiff and the last prior.⁶⁹ Within a few years Hamon had become Edward III's surgeon and acquired denizen status, receiving full protection for the Priory's lands and rents in 1349.⁷⁰ So long as he remained in royal favour Cogges Priory must have recovered something of its old security. His association with the late Decorated work in the church was proclaimed by heraldic stained glass containing the legend 'Willelmus Hamon monachus de Feschampe et prior de Cogges' (below, Appendix C).

From the resumption of war in 1369, Edward III was under increasing pressure from the Commons to penalise alien monks.⁷¹ Among those who suffered were evidently William Hamon and his Priory. He is last mentioned as prior in 1366;⁷² in 1375 the Crown farmed the Priory to a local layman, Edward Meteleye, thus decisively breaking the continuity of monastic occupation.⁷³ Twelve years later, jurors reported that the house was worth nothing because it had been sacked and devastated by William Hamond, late prior there.⁷⁴ Unable to count on the dying king's protection, Hamon must have given up hope for the Priory, stripped it of valuables and returned to France.

To all intents and purposes this was the end of Cogges Priory. A new prior took up a farm of the property in November 1377, but only a month later Parliament succeeded in obtaining the temporary expulsion of all alien monks from England.⁷⁵ In 1384 there were 2 tenants in quick succession, a Chancery clerk and a new French prior;⁷⁶ yet the 1387 inquisition shows the house and dovecote still derelict. The last recorded prior, Richard de Byannay, obtained possession on more favourable terms in 1402,⁷⁷ but it seems inconceivable that Fécamp was still trying to maintain a regular establishment. From 1409 Cogges was among the many alien priories farmed out on behalf of Queen Joan,⁷⁸ and it must be assumed that no monks remained there when the alien houses were finally suppressed in 1414.

THE OWNERSHIP OF ETON COLLEGE, 1441-1859

The Crown relinquished Cogges in 1441, when Henry VI granted the land, Priory house and living to his newly-founded college at Eton.⁷⁹ This made no practical difference

⁶⁷ *Cal. Close R.* 1242-7, 512.

⁶⁸ Matthew, *Norman monasteries*, 97.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 94-5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1345-8, 447; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1348-50, 394, 407; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1361-4, 244; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1364-7, 39.

⁷¹ Matthew, *Norman monasteries*, 108-9.

⁷² Bodl. MS Ch.Oxon.a.2, no. 77.

⁷³ *Cal. Fine R.* viii. 302.

⁷⁴ *Oxfordshire Arch. Soc. Report* 1910, 33.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Fine R.* ix. 41; Matthew, *Norman monasteries*, 109-11.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Fine R.* x. 37, 60.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1401-5, 87; *Cal. Fine R.* xii. 210.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1408-13, 86; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1413-16, 166. In 1413 the farmers were Thomas Bekyngnam and John Greystock clerk (*Cal. Fine R.* xiv. 33).

⁷⁹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, v.48.

to the management and occupation of the ex-Priory. For nearly 40 years it had been farmed out to local gentry, and in 1441 the College simply took over the Crown's tenant. William Lord Lovel, whose family had farmed Minster Lovell Priory since 1373, had taken up the lease of Cogges Priory in 1437-8, and in 1447 he was still paying to Eton the original annual farm of £13 6s. 8d.⁸⁰ Lovell died in 1455, and between 1457 and 1855 the College farmed out the property on a continuous series of leases (Table 2). Like their predecessor Lord Lovel, these tenants did not normally reside at the Priory house. In general they were local yeoman and clothiers, some resident in Witney, others elsewhere. Richard Wenman, lessee from 1493 until his death in 1533, was a wealthy merchant of the Staple of Calais; his will requests burial at Witney, and although it mentions cattle and sheep in the lordship of Cogges there is no suggestion that he maintained a residence there.⁸¹ Oliver Hide, a slightly later tenant, left his wife a life interest in the rent from Cogges parsonage.⁸² These men may have exploited the Priory lands and abandoned the house to dereliction, a view supported by the lack of excavated 15th- and 16th-century pottery.

The first lease, in 1457, describes the property as the 'site of the rectory . . . of Cogges, with rents, lands, meadows, commons, pastures, tithes of sheaves and hay, tithes of wool, oblations, mortuaries, pensions, small tithes, fisheries, the fulling-mill and under-wood . . . ; excepting the great trees, and a chamber with a little yard adjoining it for the dwelling of the chaplain there, which shall be wholly reserved to the said provost and College'.⁸³ The College was to repair the rectory barn (a clause not repeated in any later lease); otherwise the tenant undertook all maintenance. The fulling-mill, first mentioned as such in 1387, was presumably the successor of the 13th-century Priory mill; the leases list it regularly until 1702 but not thereafter (see below, Appendix A). Apart from this, the description and terms remained virtually unchanged until 1855; the next lease, executed in 1859, assigned the entire homestead to the chaplain or curate.⁸⁴

The tenants were responsible for the ministry in Cogges church, an arrangement which reflects the priest's uncertain status. In the absence of a regular endowed vicarage, the farmer, like the monks before him, was obliged to support a chaplain more or less irreparable. The monks only retained substantial rights in one of the three churches given reduced the farm to £10 but made Simon responsible for presenting a chaplain and finding bread, wine and wax for his use; if the bishop forced the College to endow a vicarage the whole tenancy was to be re-negotiated.⁸⁵ From 1457 until 1859, as already mentioned, part of the house was reserved as the chaplain's residence, a division into two self-contained units which may explain certain architectural peculiarities. From 1524 the tenant became responsible for repairs both to the priest's chamber and to the chancel of the church.⁸⁶ Before then the bishop had apparently made another abortive attempt to

⁸⁰ A.J. Taylor, 'The alien priory of Minster Lovell', *Oxoniensia*, ii (1937), 114; *Cal.Fine R.* xvii. 17, 39; *Cal.Close R.* 1435-41, 495; account-roll, Eton College Records 26/153.

⁸¹ P.R.O. PROB 11/25, f.148.

⁸² Ibid. PROB 11/48, ff.330v.-331.

⁸³ Eton College Records, Lease-Book 1445-1529, f.16: 'situm rectorie . . . de Cogges cum redditibus, terris, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, decimis garbarum et feni, decimis agnorum lane, oblationibus, mortuariis, pensionibus, decimis minutis, piscariis, molendino fullonum, subbosco . . . ; exceptis magnis arboribus, una camera et uno parvo orto eidem camere annexo pro mansione capellano ibidem, et eisdem preposito et collegio omnino reservatis'.

⁸⁴ Eton College Records 47/49-50.

⁸⁵ Ibid. Lease-Book 1445-1529, f.16; Cf. account-roll, 26/154.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Lease-Book 1445-1529, f.184v.

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ERRATUM

On page 54 the 4th line of the final paragraph should read:

informally from the Priory endowments. The 1457 lease, to Simon Lovecok of Witney,

establish a vicarage, for shortly before 1520 the College seems to have illicitly suppressed the vicarage of Cogges and instituted a perpetual curate.⁸⁷ The chantry commissioners of 1547 reported that although Cogges contained 160 communicants there was no incumbent, plate or ornaments, and the only endowment comprised land worth 1s. a year which had been given by various people to maintain a light.⁸⁸ In 1636 the curate complained that the impropriators had long since suppressed the vicarage, worth over £200, and provided him with nothing more than a £10 pension, while at the end of the century the inhabitants denied possessing either a parsonage or vicarage.⁸⁹

TABLE 2
The Post-Dissolution Tenants of Cogges Priory

Date	Tenant	Source
1457	Simon Lovecok of Witney	L.B. 1445-1529, f.16
1473	Robert Heryng	Ibid., f.101 ^v
1493	Richard and John Wenman	Ibid., ff.129 ^v -30
1533	William Hide of Denchworth	L.B. 1529-56, f.20
1551	Oliver Hyde of Denchworth	Ibid., f.122
1558	William Byrde of Witney, yeoman	Orig., 47/1
1580	The Queen	L.B. 1556-90, ff.151 ^v -3 ^v
1620	Richard Libb of Hardwick	Orig., 47/4
1630	Richard House als. Howlce of Chieveley	Orig., 47/5
1656	Samuel Howse als. Howlce of Reading, woollen-draper	L.B. 1652-70, f.204
1694	Anne widow of said Samuel	L.B. 1692-1709, f.20
1704	John Holloway of Witney, clothier	Ibid., ff.232 ^v -3 ^v
1749	Mary widow of said John	Orig., 47/7
1768	William Wright of Middlefield, gent	Orig., 47/13
1772	William Wright jnr., son of above	Orig., 47/15
1791	John Wright of Middlefield Farm near Witney, gent	Orig., 47/18
1795	Trustees (named) for Sarah dau. of said John Wright deceased (Subsequent renewals to different feoffees)	Orig., 47/19
1832	Samuel Taylor of Little Barden, Northants.	Orig., 47/36

From leases and lease-books at Eton College. Where original leases survive, reference is to these only. Renewal leases for tenants already in occupation have not been noted.

Thus the perpetual curate's position was ill-defined and unsatisfactory: all attempts to create a regular vicarage had been frustrated, and he could expect nothing more than a small, inconvenient dwelling and a fluctuating stipend from the tenants of the Priory land. Through the 18th and early 19th centuries the stipend was gradually augmented, so

⁸⁷ *Lincoln Dioc. Visit.* i (Linc. Rec. Soc. xxxiii), pp. xxix, 128.

⁸⁸ P.R.O. E 301/38, no.35.

⁸⁹ Bodl. MSS Oxf. Dioc. Pp. b.111, no. 28; c.448, no.36.

that in 1823 its gross annual value stood at *c.* £57.⁹⁰ Finally, in 1859, the diocese bought from Eton College the Priory house and its 5-acre curtilage (Fig. 3A), estimated at a clear annual value of £27.⁹¹ The acquisition and enlargement of the house for use as a vicarage at last set the cure of Cogges on a stable footing, removing an anomaly which stemmed from the relationship between church and Priory more than seven centuries earlier.

EXCAVATIONS AT COGGES PRIORY 1980-81

The threatened area (Fig. 5) comprised the kitchen garden north of the medieval range, where 90 square metres (Area 1) were excavated in 1980. Smaller-scale excavations (Areas 2 and 3) were carried out to the south and west of the house in 1981. The aims were to recover evidence for pre-Priory occupation, to elucidate the successive phases of the Priory buildings, and to establish a pottery sequence. The finds and site records are lodged with Oxfordshire County Council Department of Museum Services at Woodstock.

It must be emphasised that stratigraphy was very poor in Area 1 and virtually non-existent in Areas 2 and 3. Only a few centimetres of medieval deposits separated Victorian landscaping from the Cornbrash bedrock which underlies the whole site, and in Area 1 the medieval footings were much damaged and disturbed. Areas 2 and 3 were so small that conclusions from them must be tentative.

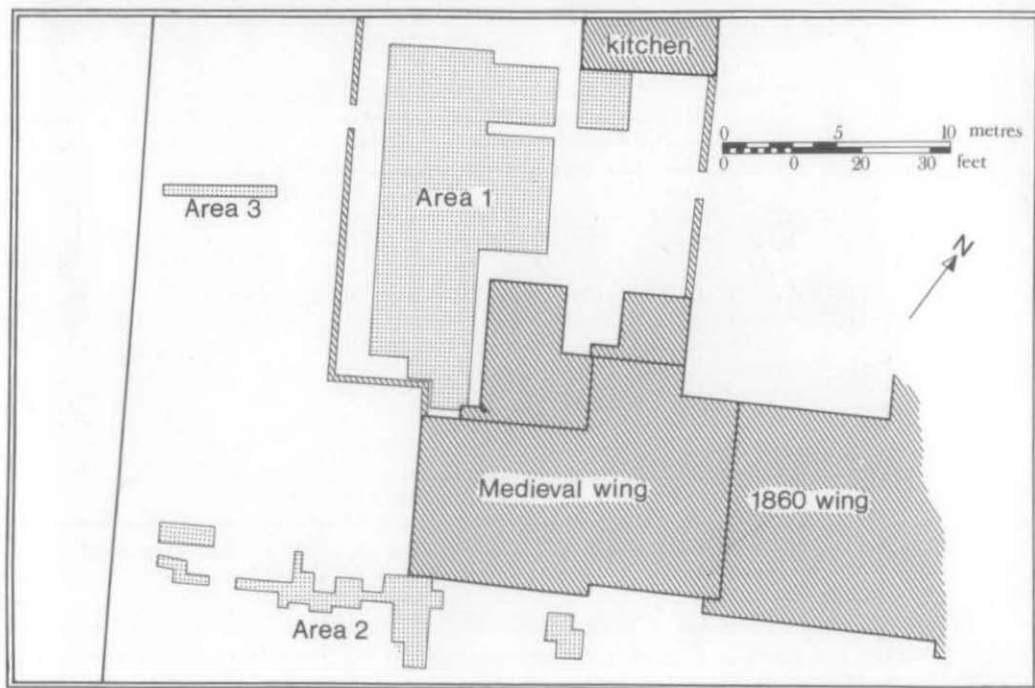


Fig. 5. Location-plan of excavations around Cogges Priory, 1980-1.

⁹⁰ Ibid. c.232, f.135.

⁹¹ Ibid. c.1779: deed and annexed plan.

AREA 1

Prehistoric occupation (Fig. 6)

Apparently the earliest man-made feature on the site was a rock-cut gully (F24), running from west to east across the western part of the site. It was 330 cm. long, narrowing in width from 62 cm. to c. 32 cm. The depth varied between 16 cm. and 23 cm. The fill was of a consistent reddish clay with small charcoal flecks. It produced 43 flint flakes and tools and one small fragment of RB pottery (see Appendix D).

Phase 1: 10th to 11th centuries (Fig. 6)

This phase was represented by post-holes and slots cut into the natural rock. One group, near the south corner of the excavation, consisted of four post-holes within a metre of each other. F21 was roughly oval, 55 cm. \times 48 cm. and cut 30 cm. into the rock. It had cut a smaller and shallower post-hole (F21a) which was only cut 11 cm. into the rock. The fill of both was dark brown soil, and included three large end-set limestones in F21a. A third post-hole (F22) was roughly circular, 26 cm. \times 33 cm., and cut 9 cm. into the rock. A fourth (F23) was kidney-shaped and may well have been recut; it measured 44 cm. \times 30 cm. and was cut 19 cm. into the rock.

A second group of post-holes lay 5.5 m. to the north-east. F49 was oval, 50 cm. \times 40 cm. and cut 18 cm. into the rock. F48 was circular, 40 cm. \times 42 cm. and cut 26 cm. into the rock; the fill was covered with three large flattish stones. F52 measured 35 cm. \times 40 cm. and was 25 cm. deep; it was cut by F53, 40 cm. \times 45 cm. and 30 cm. deep.

A third group comprised five post-holes in a row, running from north-north-east to south-south-west. F54 was roughly oval, 30 cm. \times 40 cm. and 30 cm. deep; the fill was of black friable soil. F30 was almost circular, 30 cm. \times 35 cm. and was cut 25 cm. into the rock; the fill was of black soil containing two large lumps of limestone. It was connected by an irregular slot with F57; this slot and parts of both post-holes were sealed by the Phase 3 wall-footing (F9). F57 was oval, 35 cm. \times 28 cm. and cut 25 cm. into the rock. Continuing the line south-westwards were post-holes F50, 35 cm. in diameter and cut 25 cm. into the rock, and F24a, 25 cm. in diameter and cutting gully F24.

In addition to the post-holes there were two linear rock-cut features. At the south-east end of the site, sealed by wall F9, was a slot (F38/46) with possible post-holes sunk into it at either end (Pl. 2). It ran from north-east to south-west, but only 1.92 m. were visible before it disappeared under the baulk at the south corner of the site. It widened out at the north-eastern end to 50 cm. and was here cut 64 cm. into the limestone. As it ran south-westwards it narrowed to 47 cm. and was only 30 cm. - 35 cm. deep. The post-hole at the south-western end was roughly circular, 47 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. deep. Near the bottom was found a small bronze bell (Fig. 28.4), and the feature also produced a quantity of late Saxon pottery (Appendix E). The second slot (F28) was parallel to F38/46 and 0.75 m. to the north. It was traced for only 60 cm. before it disappeared under the baulk. It was 30 cm. wide and cut 15 cm. into the rock.

Phases 2 and 3: 12th century (Fig. 7; Pl. 3)

At an early stage in the excavation it became clear that there were footings of two substantial walls (F9 and F32). F9, a footing 86 cm. wide running from south-east to north-west, continued the line of the south-west wall of the standing Priory house and overlay some of the Phase 1 features. There was a gap of 2 m. between the south-east end of the

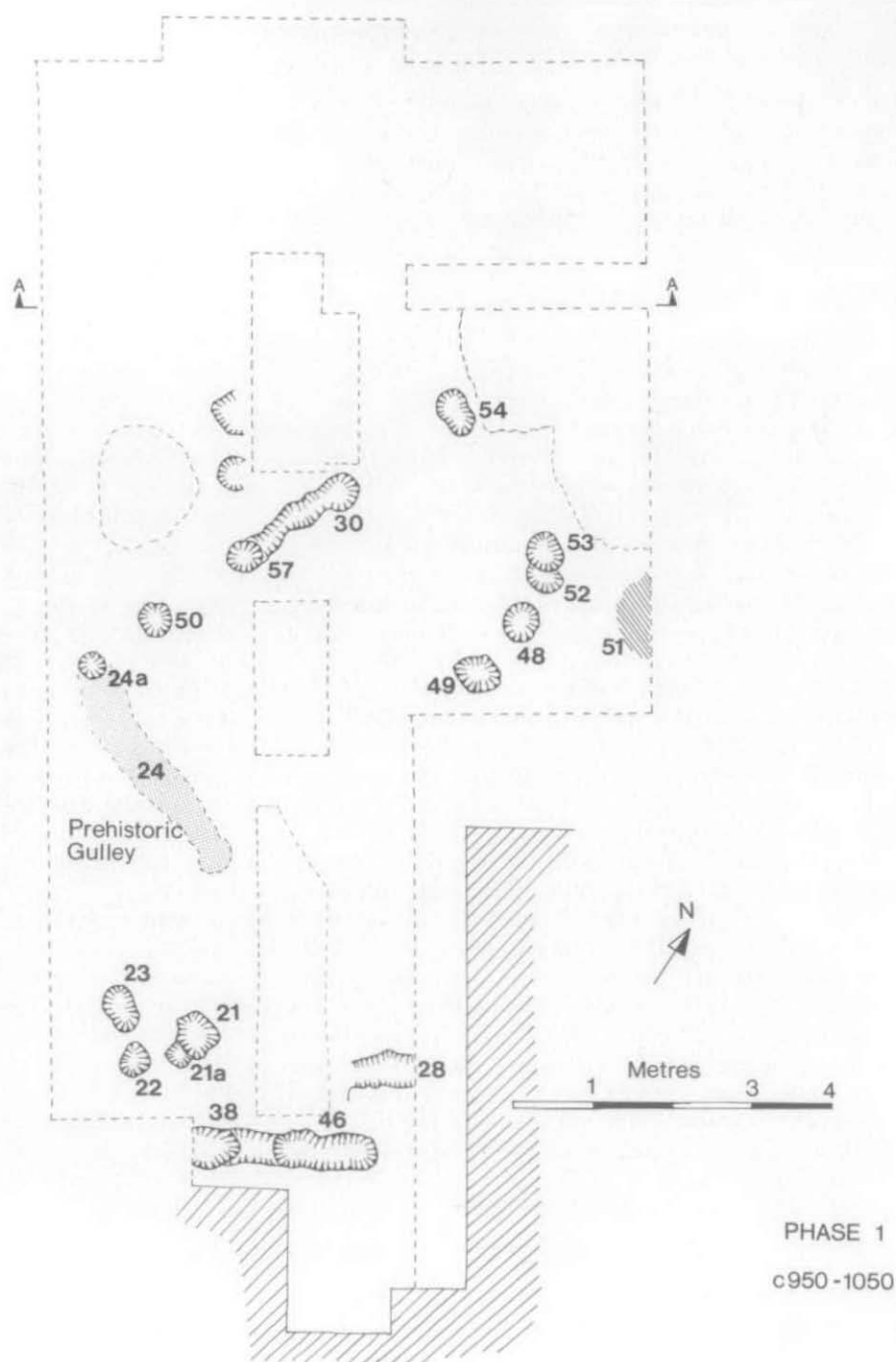


Fig. 6. Cogges Priory excavations: plan of Area 1, Phase 1.



Plate 2. Area 1: Post-trench of Phase 1 (late Saxon) timber building (F38/46), looking from west to east. Part of the Phase 3 wall F9, which overlay F38/46, is visible on the extreme left.

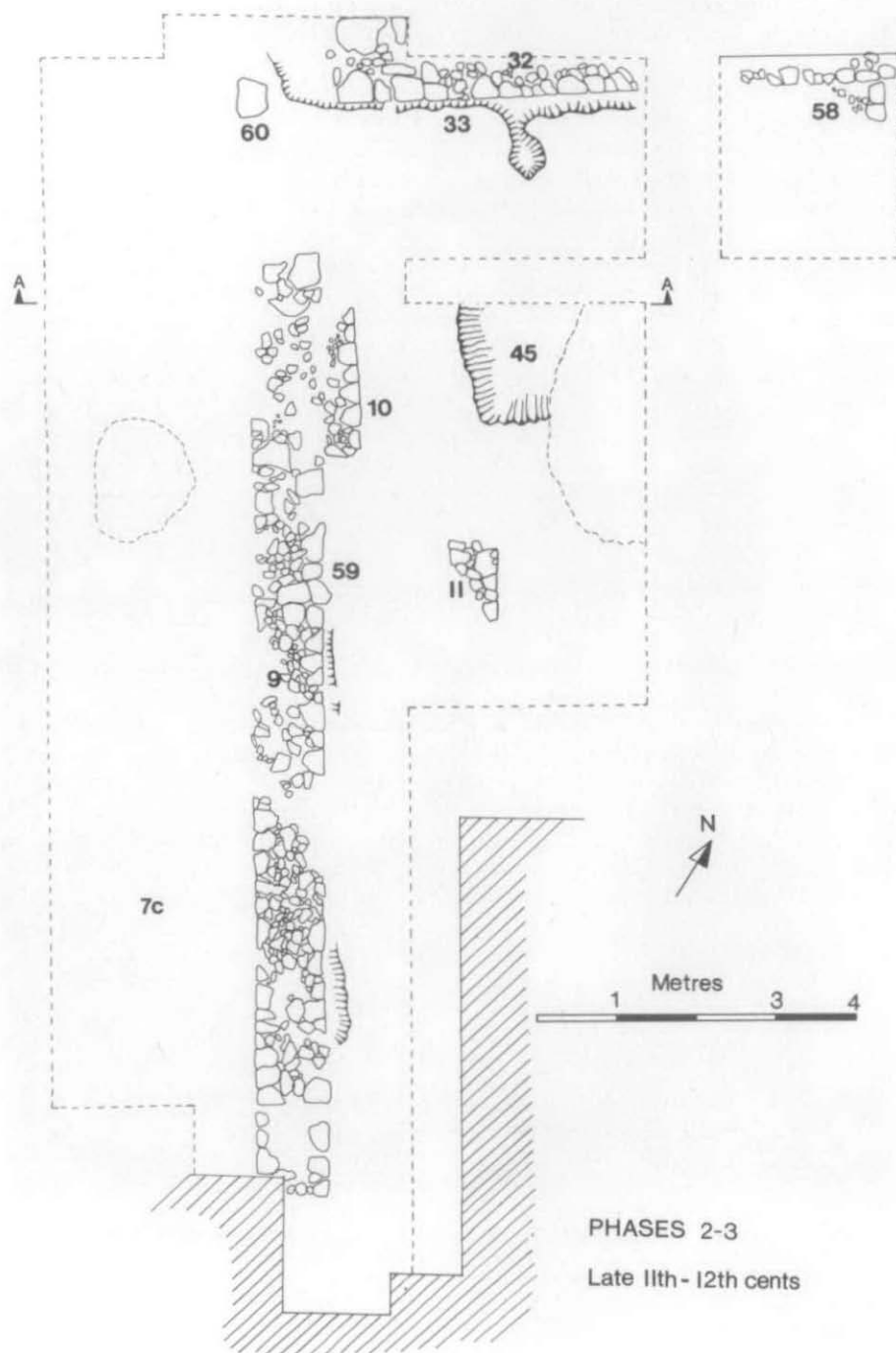


Fig. 7. Cogges Priory excavations: plan of Area 1, Phases 2 and 3.

footing and the west corner of the house where the footing had been totally robbed out, probably when the boiler-house was added in the late 19th century and a brick floor laid on the natural rock. The number of surviving courses varied between three and five. Both external faces were made of large, well-dressed limestone blocks, with a rubbly infill bound together with considerable traces of sandy and gravelly mortar. The footing lay in a shallow construction trench cut into the rock surface. Two fragments of Saxon and one of mid to late 12th-century pottery (Fig. 25.19) were incorporated in the footing at its south-east end. An opening (F59) had been pierced through F9: its south-east jamb was well preserved although the footings here were only two courses high, and adjoining were three flat paving slabs set in a bed of grey clay 4 cm. thick. On the north-east side of the wall was a flat rectangular projection (F10), 190 cm. long and 50 cm. wide. To the north-west of this projection the footing had been robbed away, but a single stone (F60) on the same alignment suggested that F9 had extended to F32.

At the north-west end of the site the footing of a wall (F32), 101 cm. wide and almost at right-angles to F9, was found at the same depth, 47 cm. – 58 cm. from the modern surface. It was built in a shallow construction-trench (F33) cut into the rock surface. Its construction was similar to F9, with large cut limestone blocks on the outer faces and rubbly infill with some yellow sandy mortar binding it together. This footing was traced for a length of 7.5 m. In parts only one course of masonry had survived and in general the robbing was more thorough than that of F9. The Phase 5 detached kitchen had utilised the north-east end of this footing.

An isolated and much robbed masonry feature (F11) was built, like F9, on the natural rock surface. It consisted of a line of cut limestone blocks 89 cm. long and 50 cm. wide, and lay 213 cm. north-east of, and parallel to, F9. Another fragmentary masonry feature (F58) abutted F32 and was possibly the remains of a robbed-out wall.

In the north part of the site, adjoining the baulk and the north-east side of the excavation, was a deep sub-rectilinear pit (F45) cut into the natural rock. This apparently cut the continuation of the post alignment represented by F24a – F54. The northern edge of this pit must have lain under the baulk, and the maximum north-south dimension must therefore have been between 175 cm. and 200 cm. It extended for at least another 150 cm. east-west, but had been cut by another pit (F47). Its depth was 185 cm. below the rock surface. A section 1 m. wide was cut through the pit (Fig. 10). Below the cinder path (F18) was a band of black soil with small limestone lumps, 11 cm. thick. Below this was a metre of dark brown/grey clayey soil with pieces of sharply-cut limestone rubble with no signs of weathering. The sides of the pit, which were vertical above this level, began to taper inwards. Below this was a layer of yellow silty clay, 23 cm. deep, and at the bottom of the pit 13 cm. of black soil. The fill produced 53 pieces of 12th-century pottery, and bone fragments.

On the south-west side of footing F9, and sealing post-holes F21, F22 and F23 and gully F24, was a layer of yellow clay and limestone rubble 19 cm. thick (L7). The lower levels of this layer towards its southern end (L7c) contained pottery from the late Saxon period to the 12th century, and a piece of Romano-British colour-coated ware. The upper levels (L7a,b) produced a wide mixture of pottery, ranging up to the 19th century, and numerous fragments of roof and ridge tiles.

On the north-east side of F9, and sealing slot F28 and post-holes F48, F49, F52 and F53, was a similar layer of yellow clay with large quantities of limestone rubble (L15). This was 28 cm. deep at its maximum and contained pottery dating from the 12th to the 19th centuries. The layer below it (L25/6) contained 18th-century pottery, and it was clear that the area north-east of F9 had been much disturbed in the post-medieval period down to the natural rock surface.



Plate 3. Area 1: Photo-montage of the Phase 3 footings F9 and (far left) F11, looking from north to south.

Phase 4: 13th century

No layers or features contemporary with the standing Phase 4 were found in the excavation.

Phase 5: Late medieval or early post-medieval (Fig. 8)

The north-west half of the site produced evidence for developments following the partial demolition of the building represented by footings F9 and F32. Cutting F45 was an oval pit, F47. This was discovered in the last stages of the excavation and neither a complete plan nor a complete section was recovered. The part excavated measured 100 cm. \times 130 cm. The cinder path F18 overlay the northern half of the pit. Below this was 5 cm. of yellow pea-sized gravel, and below this a layer 13 cm. thick of yellow/brown clay with small lumps of limestone. A band of red burned material 14 cm. thick went right across the pit fill at this point. Under this was brown/grey clay soil with very large pieces of freshly cut unweathered limestone, some 50 cm. – 75 cm. long. The bottom of this pit was not reached, but the fill produced pottery from the 12th century. In the centre of the pit were carefully shaped stones forming the top of the lining of a well 80 cm. in diameter. The well had been filled to the brim with dark soil. It was not emptied.

A long rock-cut slot (F36) ran for 6.75 m. from north-west to south-east across the site. It was very irregular in width and depth and showed signs of being re-cut in several places. The width was 47 cm. at the south-east end, narrowing to 32 cm. in the middle near F54; at the north-west end it was 50 cm. It varied in depth from 37 cm. to 50 cm. The fill was dark brown or black soil, with few finds. The broad north-west end was filled with end-set limestone slabs, closely packed.

A group of post-holes was found at the north-west end of the site. F34 was oval, 35 cm. \times 40 cm. and cut 25 cm. into the rock. The fill of dark brown soil contained 10 fragments of 12th- to 13th-century pottery. F55, roughly circular and 47 cm. in diameter, cut slot F36. F37 was roughly circular, 43 cm. in diameter and cut 15 cm. into the rock.

In the south part of the site were two post-holes filled with end-set limestone slabs (F20 and F27), apparently supports for a structure built against wall F9.

Phase 6: late 17th century to 19th century (Fig. 9)

Over much of the north-west end of the site, covered by 17 cm. – 20 cm. of garden soil, were 3 strips of pitched stone paving. An area of paving (F2), 7 m. \times 2 m. (Pl. 4), ran parallel to footing F32. There was an irregular gap of 75 cm. to 100 cm. between the edge of the pitched stones and the wall footing. Some pieces of sandstone querns had been re-used as paving at the north-east end. Cut into the surface of this paving were 2 post-holes (F40 and F56). The second strip, F2a, ran at right-angles to F2 and measured 5 m. \times 2 m. It consisted of larger end-set limestone slabs, very flaggy, cracked and worn. The third strip (F1) was a fragment of stone-paved path 112 cm. wide which ran diagonally across the site. Its original course had been towards the north-west door of the Priory house, but it had been destroyed at its eastern end.

A metre south-west of F2a was a well (F43), 74 cm. in diameter. Water lay 205 cm. below the surface, and the depth of the water in October 1980 was 60 cm. It was slightly bottle-shaped and lined throughout with dry-stone walling. It was capped with a single massive slab of worked limestone (F3) set in a grey clay matrix (F4). A metre to the south-east was a rectangular path of grey clay (F16), on the surface of which were 7 thin slabs of limestone paving. A sherd of Leaffield ware was embedded in the clay. Immediately to

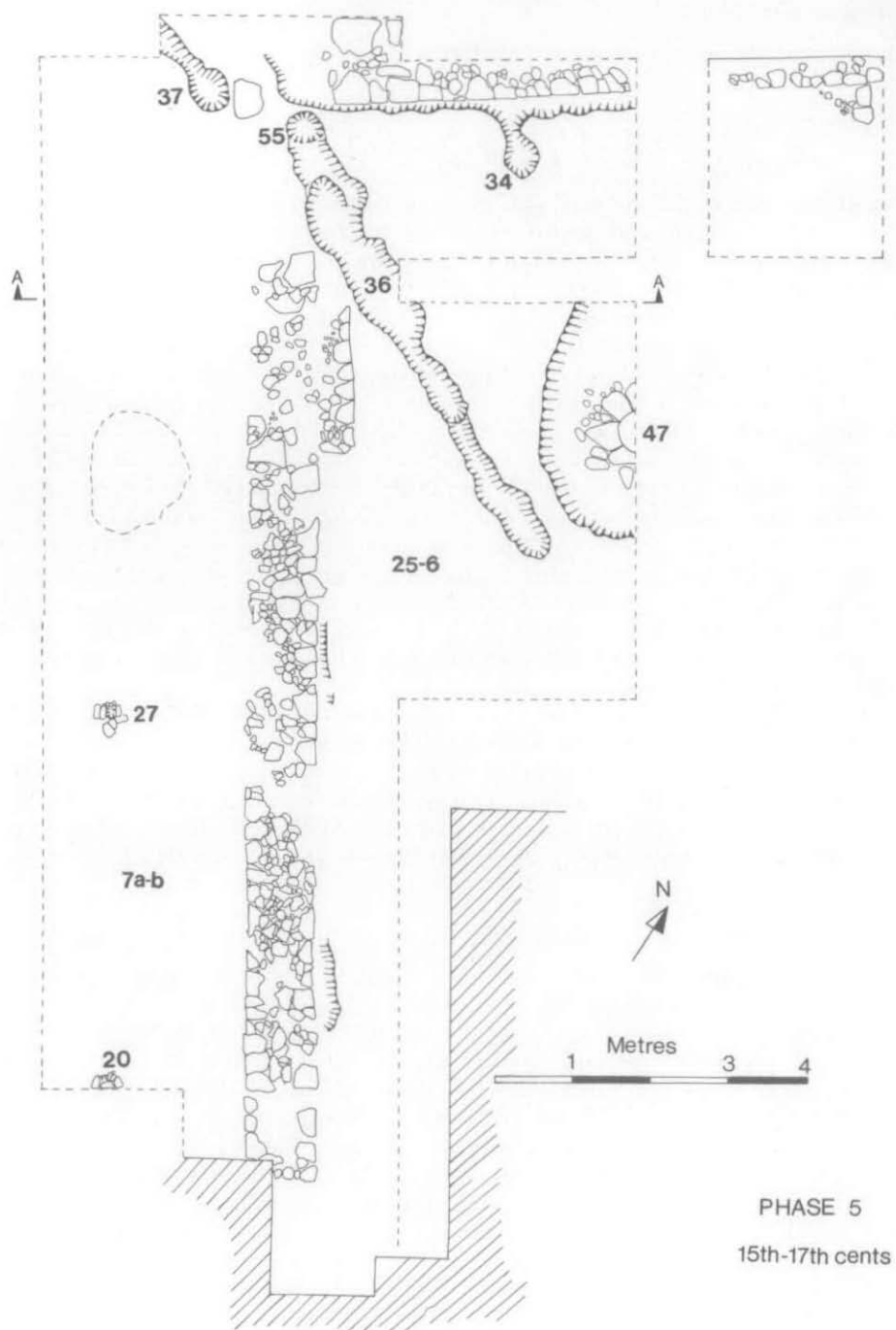


Fig. 8. Cogges Priory excavations: plan of Area 1, Phase 5.

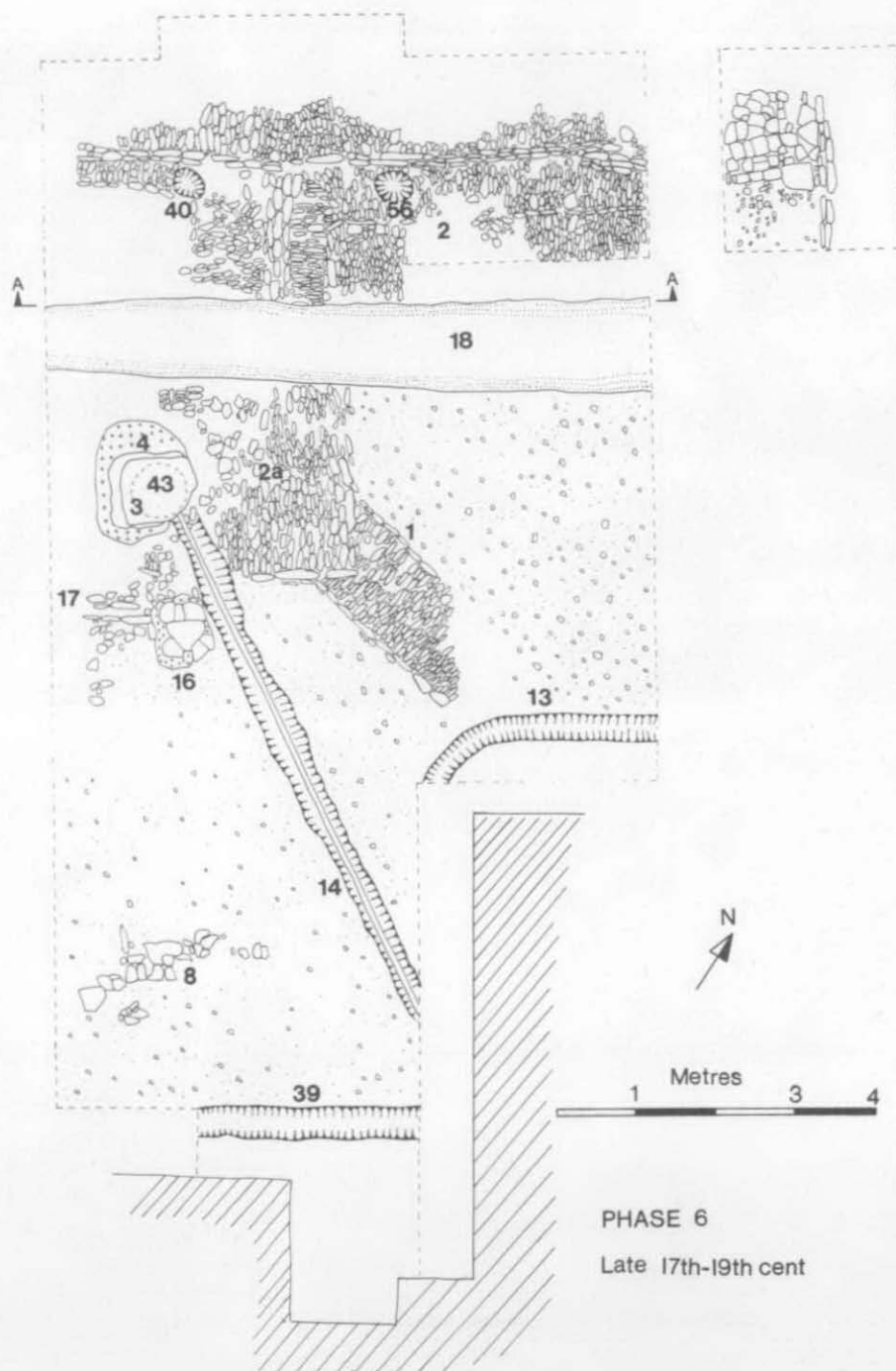


Fig. 9. Cogges Priory excavations: plan of Area 1, Phase 6.



Plate 4. Area 1: Phase 6 pitched-stone paving (F2), looking from east to west.

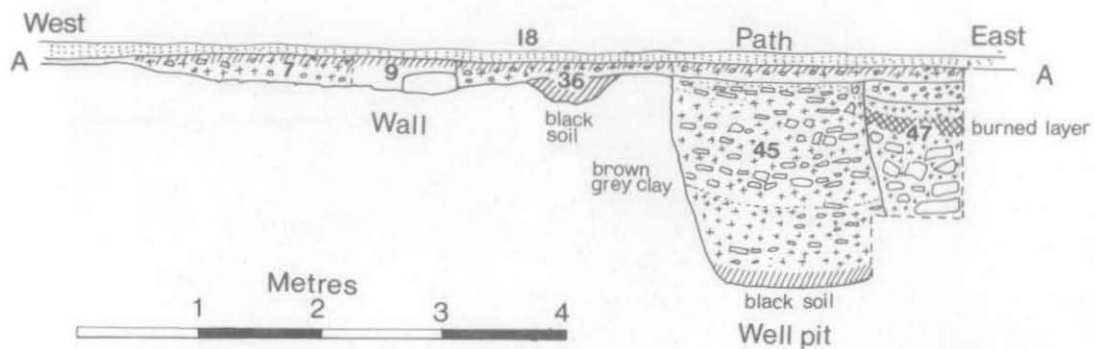


Fig. 10. Cogges Priory excavations: Area 1, section (corresponding with section-line A-A on Figs. 6 to 9).

the south-west was a stone-lined conduit (F17) which continued south-westwards for 2 m. and disappeared into the baulk. A section across the lawn on the south-west side of the garden wall revealed a rock-cut hole or sump (F31), 40 cm. deep and 130 cm. across. Crossing the site and connecting the house to the well was a lead pipe 5 cm. in diameter, contained in a pipe-trench (F14). The trench cut through wall F9, and its fill contained a mixture of pottery from the 13th century to the 19th. In the south corner of the site was an irregular patch of limestone rubble (F8). A cinder path (F18) overlay F2a. A pipe trench (F13) and a sewage trench (F39) were the most recent below-ground disturbances.

AREA 2 (Fig. 11)

In 1981 a small trench was dug, in the lawn south of the Priory house, to establish the former south-eastwards extent of the main range. This revealed that the 13th-century south-west wall crossed a very substantial earlier footing, both phases underlying 40 cm. – 50 cm. of dark soil rich in Victorian pottery. This evidence that recent gardening had destroyed all stratigraphy above the footings justified further, very limited excavation to elucidate the two phases. Excavation was confined to the disturbed layer above the footings, and the sherds recovered range between the 11th century and the 19th. No portion of the footings was removed. Thus no dating evidence or stratigraphical sequence is available beyond the relationship of the two phases of footing to each other and to the standing building.



Plate 5. Area 2: Phase 2 footing (F61), abutted on the left by footing of Phase 4 service-block (F64); west at top of picture. On the right is the standing Phase 5 wall of the Priory house.

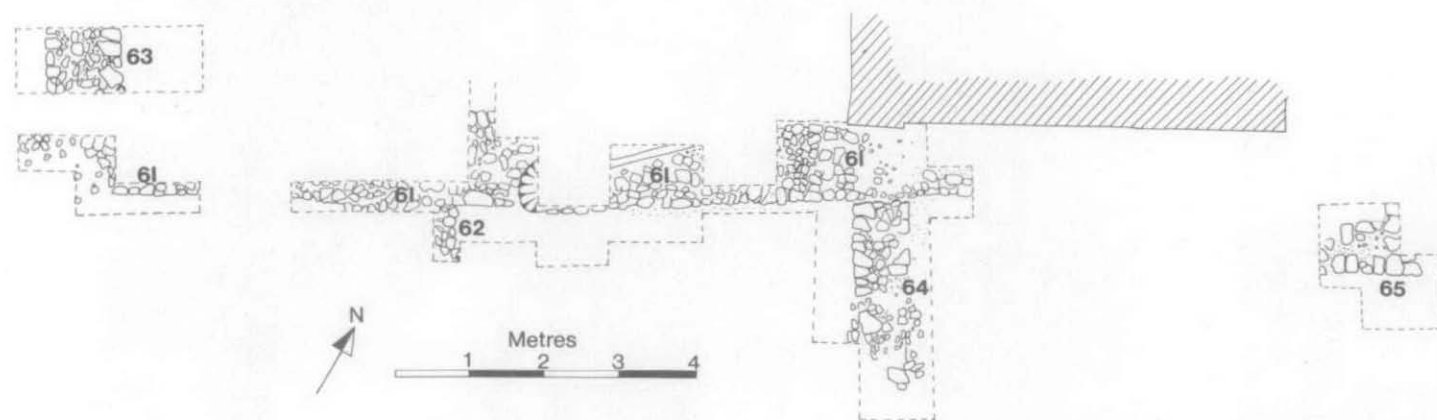


Fig. 11. Cogges Priory excavations: plan of Area 2.

The most conspicuous feature was a large rubble footing (F61), slightly curved, running south-westwards from the corner of the house and shown at one point to be 124 cm. wide. Meeting it on its south-east side was another wall or possibly a deep buttress (F62), 150 cm. wide and of one build with F61. At a point 10.5 m. from the present building, F61 turned a right-angle and continued north-westwards at a width of 102 cm. (F63).

A footing 73 cm. wide (F64) was butted against the south-east side of F61 (Pl. 5). This was exactly in line with the standing section of the Phase 4 south-west wall, and was interpreted as its continuation: the 13th-century builders evidently used F61 as a foundation for their new wall at the point of intersection. F64 had been much robbed and disturbed, but a small trench further to the north-east located the south-east end wall of the 13th-century block (F65) and its internal angle with the north-east side wall. F65 was 68 cm. wide, constructed of rubble with clay packing, and showed signs of a collapse inwards which may explain the truncation of the building in the 17th century.

AREA 3

A trench 5 m. by 0.5 m. was dug some 17 m. north-west of Area 2 in the hope of locating a continuation of F63. Below the topsoil (L66) lay a stony layer (L67) and, at the south-western end, a build-up of brick and stone fragments (L68) against the extant low parapet wall. L66, L67 and L68 may all be interpreted as 19th- or early 20th-century levelling for the lawn; they overlay the former topsoil (L69) which produced 18th to 19th century sherds and a few earlier ones. At its north-eastern end L69 overlay bedrock, which had otherwise been cut away by a very large steep-sided feature occupying the rest of the trench. The fill of this (L70) was a greyish-yellow soil containing a few sherds from the 11th century to the 14th and numerous large pieces of coarse red roof-tile. In the limited area available it was impossible to elucidate this feature further; it was evidently a pit or large ditch, still open in the later Middle Ages, which had destroyed all earlier features.

THE STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIORY SITE

This section interprets the excavations, reported above, in conjunction with the standing remains of the Priory building. The outline phase-plans (Fig. 12) should be compared with the archaeological plans (Figs. 6-11), the detailed interpretation plan of visible remains (Fig. 13), and the elevations and sections of features surviving above ground (Figs. 14 to 16).

PHASE 1: 10th TO 11th CENTURIES AND EARLIER

A rock-cut gully (F24) contained worked flints comparable with material found in 1978 in the orchard of Cogges Manor Farm some 150 m. to the south (Appendix D). Together these discoveries demonstrate settlement in the area by *c.* 1500 BC. The gully may itself have been Neolithic, though contamination is indicated by one small fragment of Romano-British pottery.

Deposits of the 10th to 13th centuries (F38/46, L7c) and later layers produced some residual Romano-British and early to mid Saxon sherds (two grass-marked and one with stamped rosettes). There is thus some evidence for a human presence near the site before the late Anglo-Saxon period.

The earliest identifiable structures are represented by a group of slots and post-holes. Only one of these features produced pottery, but several were sealed by the Phase 3 wall

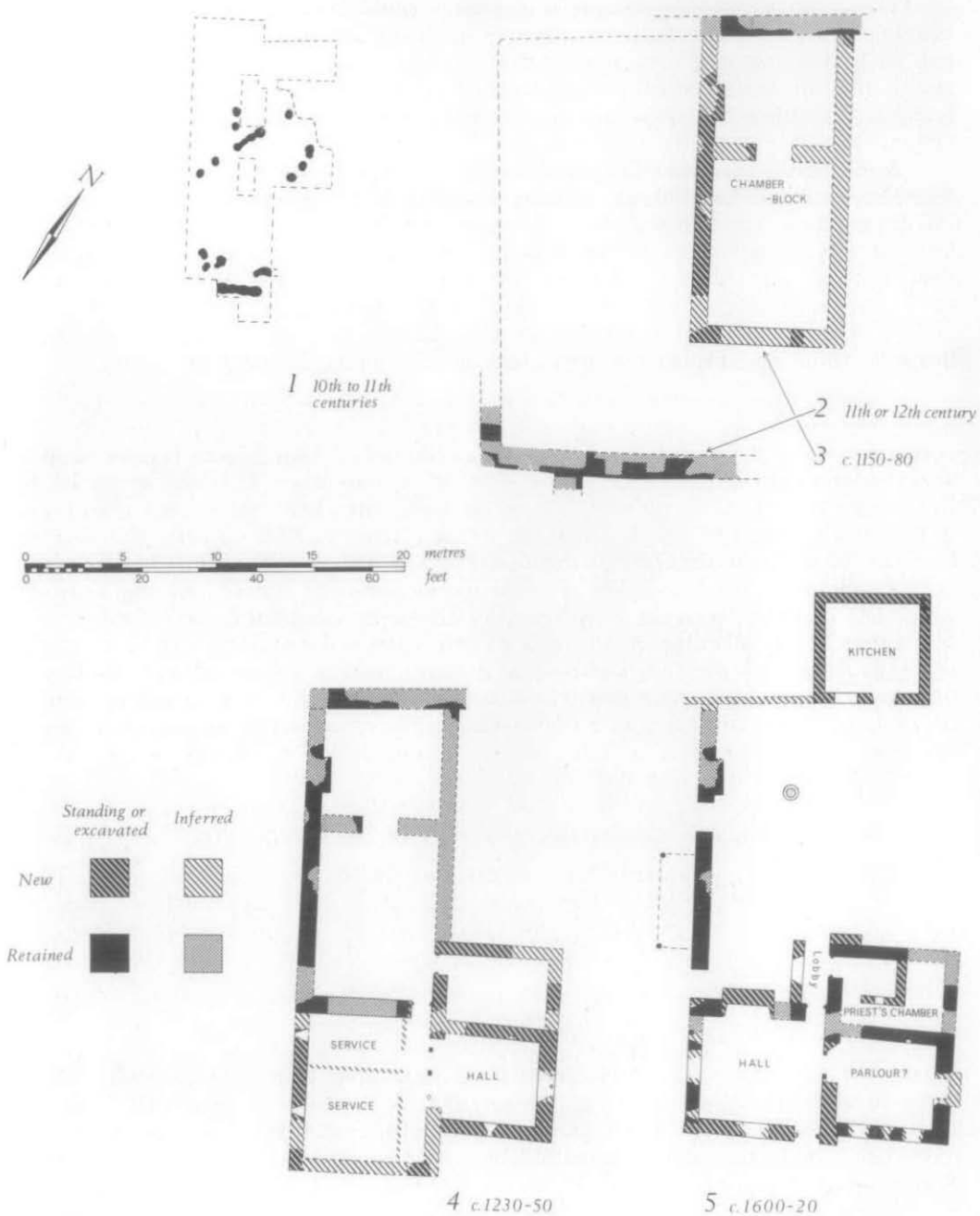


Fig. 12. The development of Cogges Priory: outline phase-plans.

and associated deposits (F9, L7c). Five aligned post-holes, two connected by a slot (F24a, F50, F57, F30, F54) suggest a fence or light timber wall. The largest feature (F38/46) produced late Saxon pottery and a small bronze bell (Fig. 28.4); this was evidently the post-trench of a substantial timber wall, continuing south-westwards outside the excavated area. Two additional groups of post-holes (F21, F21a, F22, F23; F48, F49, F52, F53) and a shallow gully (F28) are of uncertain purpose.

These features (which need not all be contemporary) are firm evidence for occupation on the Priory site during the century before the Conquest. In view of the statement that Manasses Arsic 'gave his house' to Fécamp in 1103, the site is reasonably interpreted as that of the late Saxon and early Norman manor house. F38/46 may be one side of a doorway in the wall of a large timber building, which presumably lay to the south under the house and lawn.

PHASE 2: 11th OR 12th CENTURY

Two substantial wall footings seemed to pre-date the main sequence of 12th- and 13th-century structures. At the extreme north-western end of the site was a wall (F32) 105 cm. thick, on a slightly different alignment from the Phase 3 walls (F9 and F58) which may have been butted against it. Some 23 m. to the south-east of this a slightly curved wall 124 cm. thick (F61) was located, turning a right-angle at its south-western end and continuing north-westwards at a thickness of 102 cm. (F63). A wall or buttress 150 cm. thick (F62) ran south-eastwards from F61, which was sealed by the wall of the Phase 4 service block.

It cannot be proved that these two sets of footings are contemporary, and the only dating evidence is that they respectively pre-date the late 12th- and the mid 13th-century buildings. But F63 runs at an exact right-angle to F32 and is of almost identical thickness, both walls being distinctly thicker than any of the later phases. No associated footings crossed the main excavated area. The most likely reconstruction is to project F63 north-westwards and F32 south-westwards to meet at a corner, forming the sides of a rectilinear walled enclosure within which the Phase 3 chamber-block was built c. 1150-80.

Even accepting this, the nature of the perimeter wall remains uncertain. It might have been a defence around the early Norman manor house, or merely an unusually sturdy precinct boundary. But the thickness of the wall (F61) on the south-east side, and the presence of a still thicker wall (F62) meeting its outer face at right-angles, suggests a substantial building on the *outside* of the enclosure. It seems just possible that these are fragments of a larger monastic complex of the early 12th century, ruined during the Anarchy and replaced after 1154 by a simpler building within the former courtyard. Tentative though this is, it poses a tantalising question which might be solved by further excavation in the lawn south of the Priory house.

A sub-rectangular rock-cut feature (F45) produced 12th-century pottery. This would, on the present interpretation, have underlain the Phase 3 chamber-block. The fill, which was very stony, contained no trace of cess deposits.⁹² The feature was possibly an abortive well-pit dug in the courtyard of the 12th-century Priory, or a quarry for material for the Phase 3 building. The level horizons within it, and the homogeneous nature of its contents, suggest that it was back-filled in one operation.

⁹² We are grateful to Dr Mark Robinson for analysing a sample.

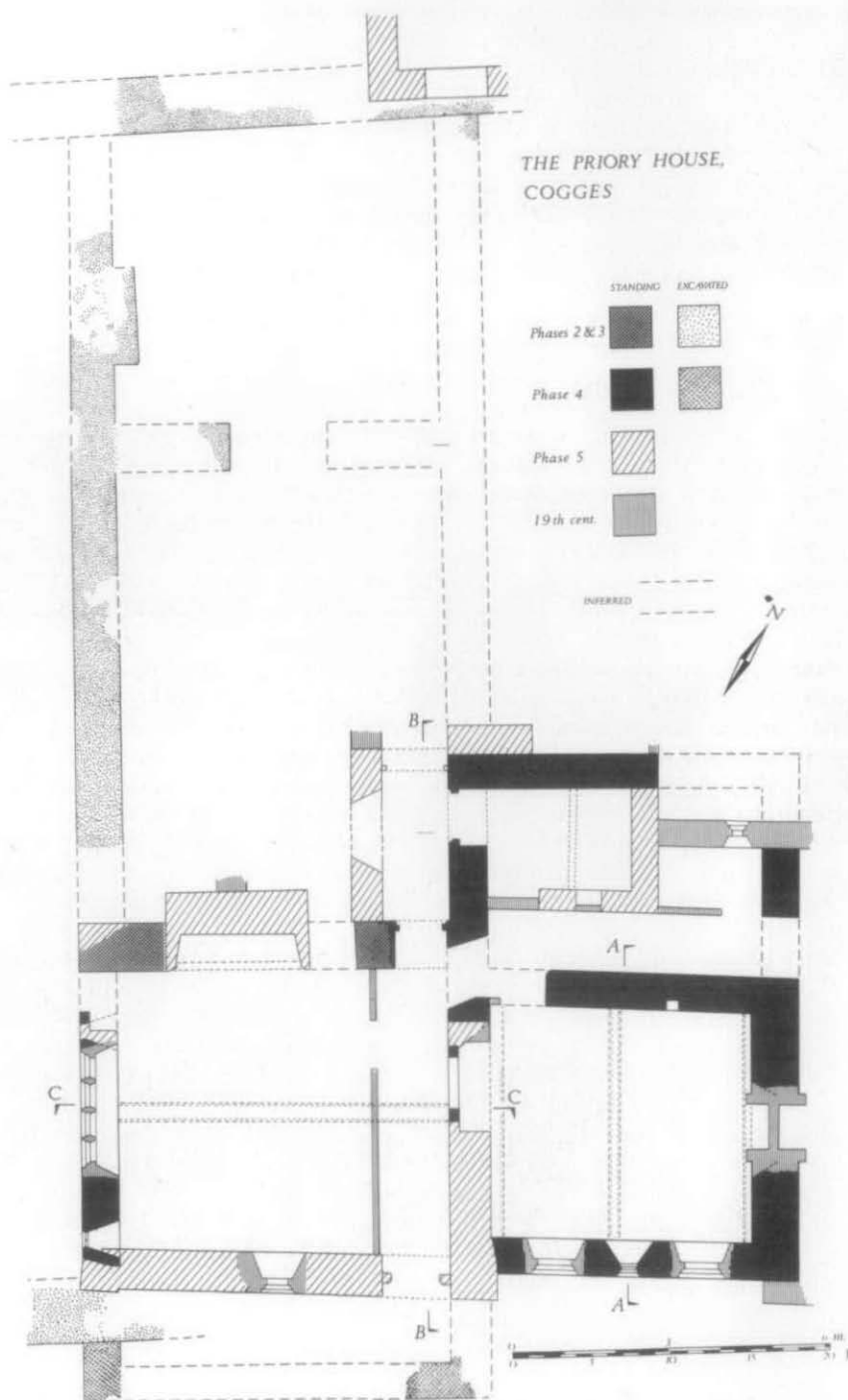


Fig.13. Cogges Priory: composite interpretation plan (Phases 3 to 5 with part of Phase 2).

PHASE 3: c. 1150-80

A long footing (F9), 86 cm. thick, ran north-westwards continuing the line of the south-west wall of the standing house. This had probably abutted the earlier wall F32, though the contiguous sections of both footings were robbed away. Incorporated in F9 was a large unabraded base sherd in a sandy fabric (Fig. 25.19), probably of the mid to late 12th century. A clayey layer (L7c), confined to the area south-west of F9, contained a mixture of pottery, none later than the 13th century. No floor-levels remained, and any other footings had been largely robbed off the flat rock surface on which they had been built; F9 only surviving because it stood as a garden wall into the post-medieval period.

The present north-west wall of the Priory house, of the same thickness as F9 and at right-angles to it, was probably built as the south-east end of the same building. F58, a tiny fragment of footing butted against the Phase 2 wall F32, corresponds with the projected line of the screen between the Phase 4 hall and service-block (Figs. 13 and 15). If F58 represents the north-east side wall of the Phase 3 building, the 13th-century service-block can be seen as a simple continuation of this existing range, probably under one roof. Finally, an isolated fragment of footing (F11) can be interpreted as the jamb of an opening in a transverse internal wall.

This reconstruction is based on fragmentary evidence, but the result is convincing: a range measuring 14.2 m. by 6.2 m. internally, divided into two unequal rooms on the ground floor by a wall with a central doorway. The internal buttress-like feature (F10) in the smaller compartment, probably the support for a fireplace and chimney on the floor above,⁹³ suggests that the range had two storeys. Evidently this was a chamber-block with an unvaulted 'undercroft' at ground level, a wholly typical 12th-century domestic building. The pottery shows that it must have been built after c. 1150, and it presumably pre-dated the 13th-century enlargements by at least a generation or so. Reconstruction in c. 1150-80 is consistent with the 12th-century letter quoted above. The numerous excavated fragments of unglazed roof-tile and scalloped, unglazed ridge-tile (Fig. 27) suggest that the range had a tiled roof in the 13th or 14th century.

PHASE 4: c. 1230-50

Unlike earlier phases, much of the 13th-century work survives above ground. It apparently comprised: a small open hall; an attached service-block continuing the line of the Phase 3 range; and a small chamber, perhaps of two storeys, adjoining the hall on its north-western side.

The hall (Fig. 14, Pls. 6-7) measures 5.0 m. by 4.5 m. internally. It was lit by a single chamfered lancet on the south-east side, and by a larger window (of which only the rere-arch remains visible) at the 'upper' end. In the north-west wall is a small square aumbrey, rebated for a door. The south-west ('lower') end of the hall, now a solid wall, contains a timber-framed doorway. This seems to be the remains of an open timber screen (Fig. 15), running almost the full width of the hall between shallow masonry abutments with chamfered plinths (only one of which remains visible). The central post of the screen is jowled (Fig. 17c), and supports the truncated end of a main joist spanning the service-block (Fig. 16).

⁹³ Compare Grosmont Castle (*Arch.Jnl.* cxv (1958), 155) and the excavated manor house at Wharham Percy (D.D. Andrews and G. Milne, *Wharham: a study of a settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, i (Soc. for Med. Arch. monograph 8, London, 1979), 56-7).



Plate 6. Cogges Priory: South-east elevation, showing (left) Phase 4 service-block as remodelled in Phase 5, (centre to right) Phase 4 hall, and (extreme right) corner of 1860 extension.



Plate 7. Cogges Priory: Upper room in Phase 4 hall, showing rere-arches of original windows.

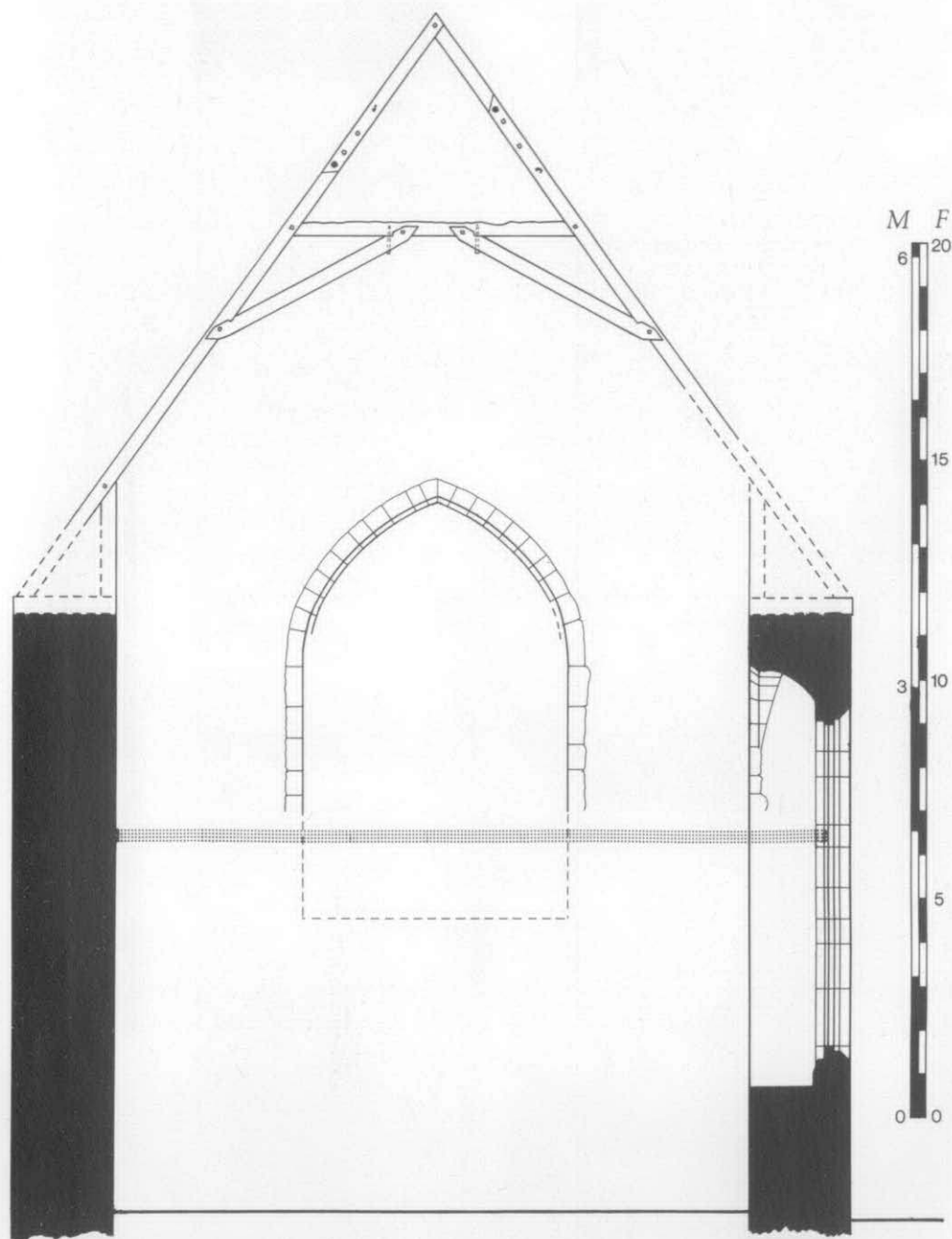
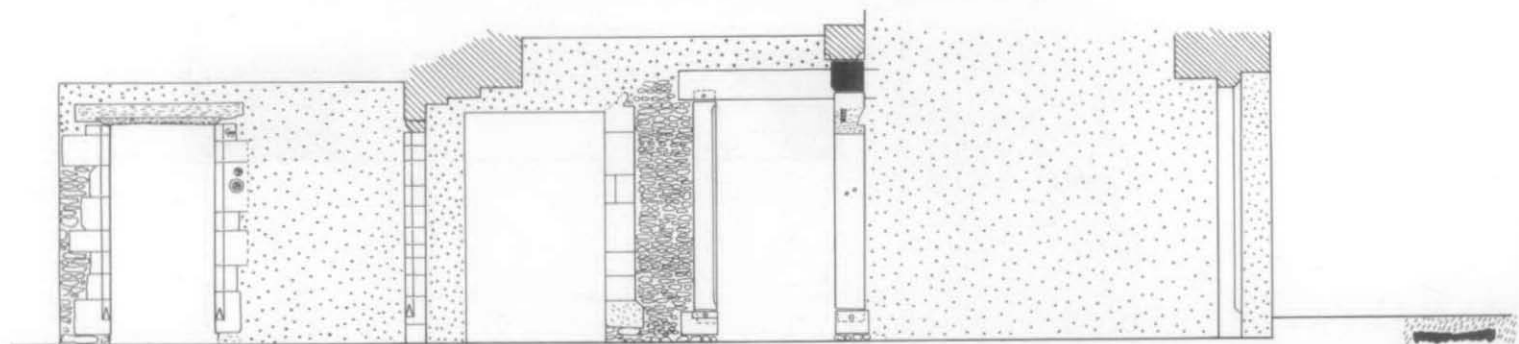
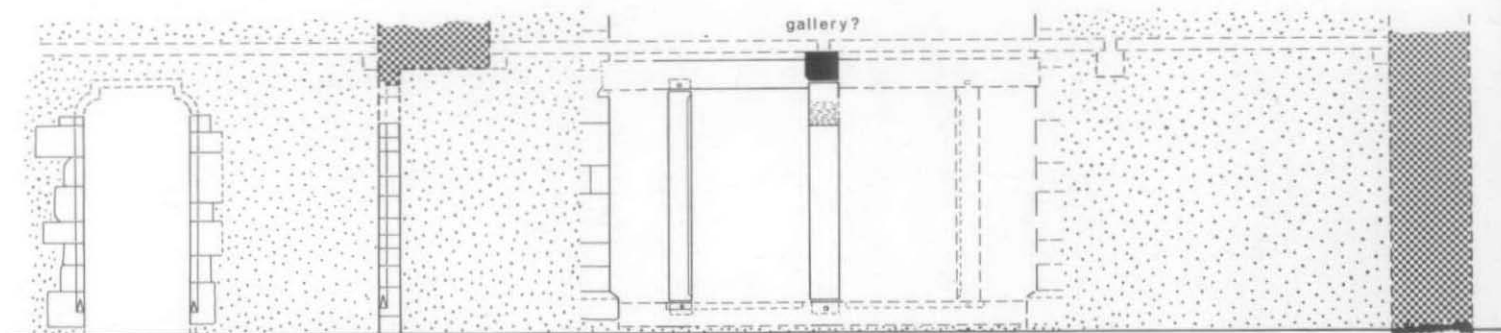


Fig.14. Cogges Priory: section through Phase 4 open hall (corresponding with section-line A-A on Fig. 13). The roof timbers, now much distorted, are drawn 'straightened-out' as built. Timbers shown with broken lines are hidden but probably still present. Post-medieval features, including the heightening of the walls by 60 cm., are omitted; the band of stipple represents the level of the inserted floor.



SECTION B-B - EXISTING



SECTION B-B - RECONSTRUCTION



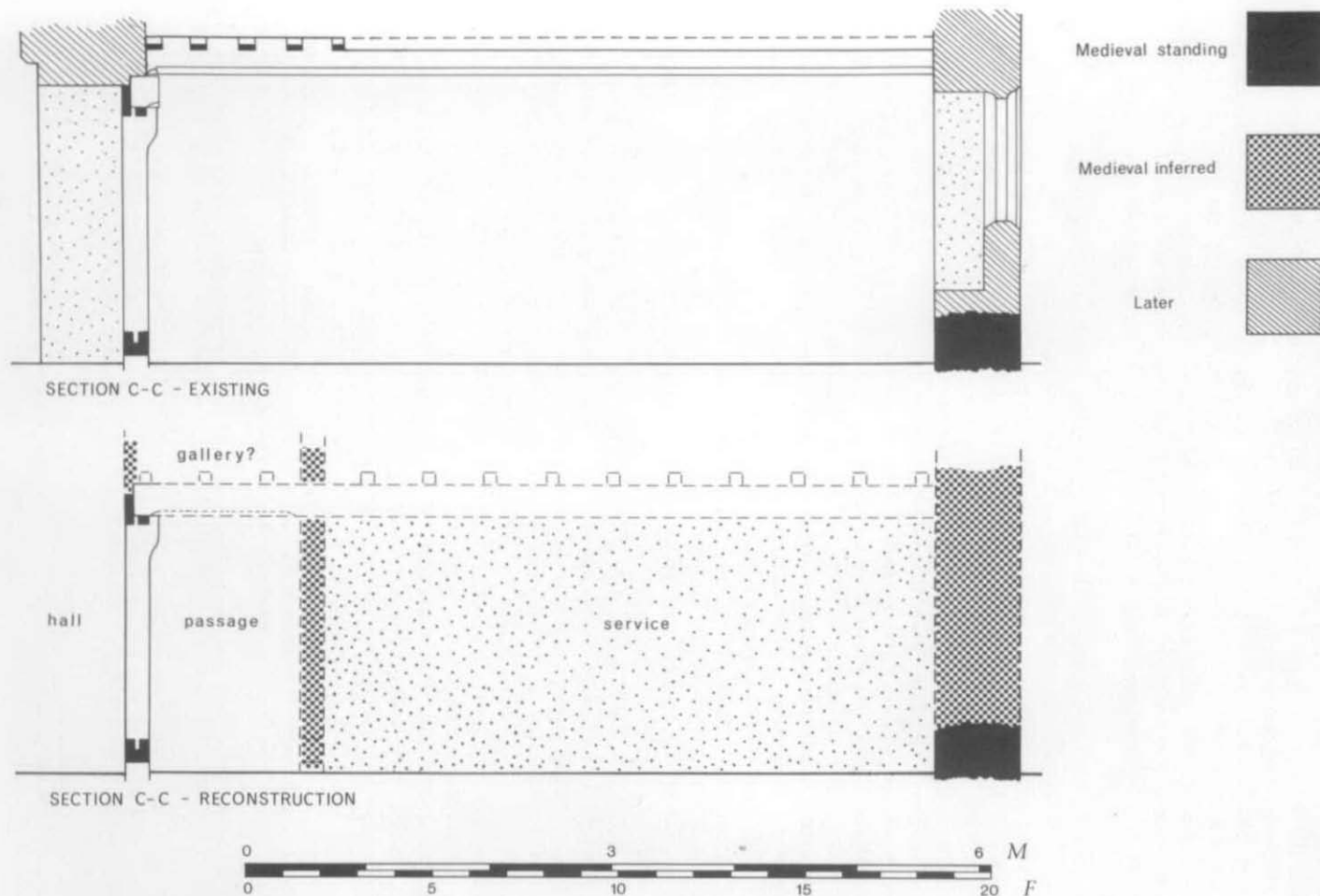


Fig. 15-16. Cogges Priory: sections through Phase 4 service-block (corresponding with sections B-B and C-C on Fig. 13). In both figures the upper drawing shows the section as existing, the lower the proposed reconstruction of the original arrangement.

The original single-framed hall roof, of 10 trusses spaced at 55 cm. centres, survives above an inserted plaster ceiling (Fig. 14, Pl. 8). The whole roof is now much racked and distorted; the first truss originally stood flat against the interior of the north-east gable, and at the other end a much later, eleventh, truss forms a link with the Phase 5 roof over the service-block. Each original truss comprises rafters (10 cm. – 12 cm. × 10 cm.), a collar, soulaces and ashlar (all 10 cm. × 10 cm.) and sole-pieces (12 cm. × 12 cm.). The basal triangles are concealed by the later heightening of both side walls, but the cut-off ends of the sole-pieces are visible in the external south-east elevation (Pl. 6). The form and position of the wallplates cannot be established. All visible timbers bear a heavy soot deposit.

The apex-joints are halved, alternating in direction from truss to truss, and the collars and ashlar are tenoned into the rafters. The soulaces are attached (always on the south-western side) with open notched-lap joints at both ends.⁹⁴ The upper series (Fig. 17b) are all of the 'archaic' kind, with a second peg driven up vertically from below; the lap is of 'refined profile', diminishing in thickness towards the tip.⁹⁵ The joints at the feet of the soulaces, largely concealed, are probably similar, though slightly larger and lacking the additional peg. 'Archaic' open notched-laps are mainly recorded from before c. 1250, and the second peg seems to be an early feature;⁹⁶ the 'refined profile' lap has been first noted at Wells Cathedral in work of c. 1210.⁹⁷ A scarf-joint (Fig. 17a), used in eight rafters, is stop-splayed on the soffit with splayed butts. It has two edge-pegs, and two large iron nails which were driven through the extremities of the joint in opposite directions and their projecting ends bent flat; these occur in every example and are certainly original. This previously unknown joint is adapted from a conventional stop-splayed scarf to meet the special stresses of its unusual position. For obvious reasons medieval carpenters made rafters in single lengths whenever possible, but a few rafters at the Gloucester Blackfriars (c. 1250) also have specially adapted scarfs, once again reinforced with nails.⁹⁸

On four trusses both rafters are scarfed in this way at a short distance above the collars; the remaining twelve rafters are single lengths, though one is very waney in its top 1.5 m. where the log tapered towards the crown of the tree. Five of the ten collars are very waney, in three cases to an extent which significantly reduces their thickness. The rafters and collars were probably made by squaring whole trunks of very small oaks: the observed waney edges are consistent with this, and all rafters could easily have been made in single lengths of 5.0 m. if the trunks had been big enough to permit longitudinal halving and quartering. The sole-pieces (the only timbers visible in section) were, by contrast, made from quarter-logs; the same may be true of the soulaces and ashlar,

⁹⁴ This use of lap-joints in combination with mortice-and-tenon is common in 13th-century roofs; it may result from the unwillingness of carpenters to rely on the shear strength of pegs for members strongly in tension, combined perhaps with the practice of attaching some members after the rafter-couple was in position to lighten the load during hoisting.

⁹⁵ For the various kinds of notched-lap see C.A. Hewett, 'The notched lap joint in England', *Vernac. Arch.* iv (1973), 18–21; O. Rackham, W.J. Blair and J.T. Munby, 'The thirteenth-century roofs and floor of the Blackfriars monastery at Gloucester', *Med. Arch.* xxii (1978), 105–122.

⁹⁶ It occurs at the Barley Barn, Cressing Temple (c. 1200); Peterborough Cathedral and Chipping Ongar church (both probably early 13th century); and Little Coggeshall Abbey (1218–23). See C.A. Hewett, *The development of carpentry 1200–1700* (Newton Abbot, 1969), 27, Figs. 5, 10; idem, *Church carpentry* (Chichester, 1974), 19–20, Figs 3, 7.

⁹⁷ C.A. Hewett, *English cathedral carpentry* (London, 1974), 16, Fig. 3.

⁹⁸ Rackham, Blair and Munby op.cit. note 95. Scarfed rafters also occur at Lincoln Cathedral c. 1270: Hewett op.cit. note 97, 33–4, Fig. 19.

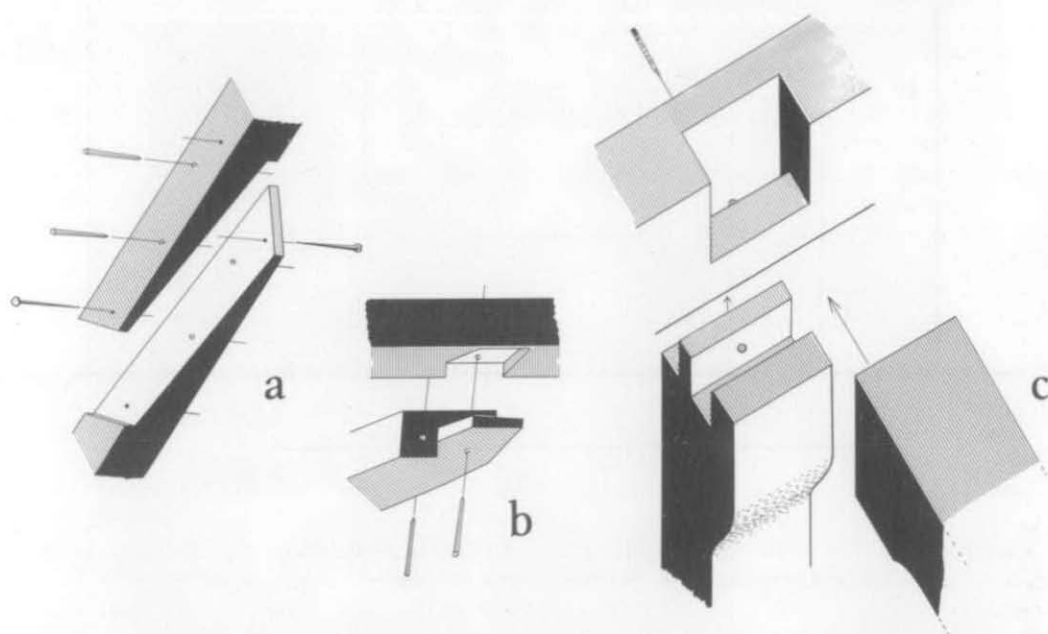


Fig.17. Cogges Priory: Phase 4 carpentry details: (a) scarf-joint in hall roof; (b) open notched-lap joint in hall roof; (c) jowled head of central post in screen, with mounting for main girder across service-block.



Plate 8. Cogges Priory: Exterior of original roof of Phase 4 hall, showing open notched-lap joints.

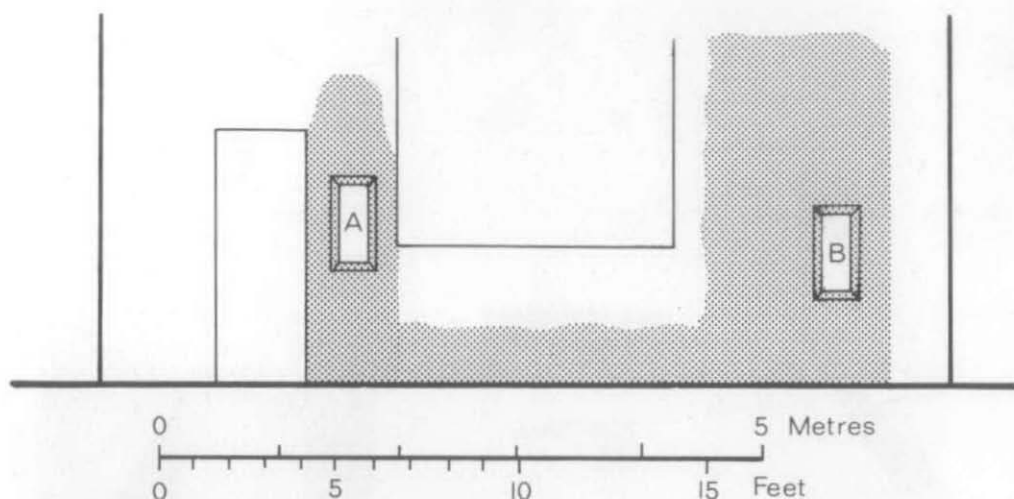


Fig. 18. Cogges Priory: sketch elevation of south-west wall of Phase 4 service-block, showing original windows A and B. The surviving areas of original walling are stippled.

which have few waney edges. This eking out of unsuitably small timber for the major lengths, puzzling in a well-wooded area, occurs also in a small late 13th-century roof at Standlake Rectory.⁹⁹ Time has vindicated the carpenter's use of jointed rafters: all the scarfs have held, whereas the one waney rafter on which he took a chance has sprung severely. Evidently he placed least importance on the strength of the collars, which were probably fashioned from the tapering upper lengths of the trees.

The service-block, in series with the Phase 3 range, is much remodelled and original features are few. To the south-east it was truncated by 2 m. during Phase 5; the original end wall, 68 cm. thick, has been located by excavation (F65). The south-west wall, continuing the line of the Phase 3 wall F9 but slightly thinner (73 cm.), stands in places to a height of 2 m. or more (Fig. 18). Piercing it are two small rectangular windows with splayed reveals, chamfered externally and with sockets for iron bars (Fig. 19, Pls. 9–10). These must pre-date the remodelling of c. 1600, for the Phase 5 south-east wall impinges on one of the internal splays. They resemble the windows of the church crypt (Fig. 19) and simple 12th- and 13th-century work in other buildings.¹⁰⁰ The north-west wall of the service-block contains the jambs of a doorway (Fig. 19), moulded externally in hollow-chamfers with pyramid stops; built into one of the jambs is a small image-bracket.

While there is no firm evidence that the fragmentary screen between hall and service-block (Figs. 15–16) is original, it does suggest a convincing reconstruction for the internal arrangements. Since there was no cross-passage in the hall itself, it is likely that one existed beyond its lower end, within the service-block and entered from the north-west

⁹⁹ Present authors' observation. For the use of small oaks see also O. Rackham in M.G. Morris and F.H. Perring (eds.), *The British oak* (Faringdon, 1974), 65–6.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Christchurch castle hall, illustrated M.E. Wood, *Norman domestic architecture* (Royal Archaeological Institute, 1974), Pl. IIIA.



Plates 9 and 10. Cogges Priory: Windows A and B in south-west wall of Phase 4 chamber-block.

through the moulded doorway. The rest of the ground-space presumably contained the normal pair of service rooms: the 1324 inventory (Appendix B) mentions both buttery and pantry. The projected line of the main joist lodged over the central post of the screen divides this area neatly into two compartments, one square, the other exactly half its size; each of these rooms would have been lit by one of the small rectangular windows, roughly central in its end wall. On this interpretation (Fig. 12) the screen would occupy the position of the spere-truss, its two larger openings presumably facing the service doors.¹⁰¹ Thus the passage was not a screened-off area within the hall but an integral component of the two-storey cross-range, a fact which explains the unusual method of supporting the timber floor (Fig. 17c) and the sturdy nature of the screen. There is no evidence for the superstructure of the screen, which must have divided the hall from the first floor of the service-block; occasional parallels might suggest an open gallery, perhaps approached by stairs at the south-east end of the passage where there seems to have been no external doorway.¹⁰²

The small room on the north-west side of the hall is entered through another moulded doorway, identical to the first (which it adjoins at right-angles) and again

¹⁰¹ The best parallel known to us is the screen illustrated by M.W. Barley, A. Rogers and P. Strange, 'The medieval parsonage house, Coningsby, Lincolnshire', *Antiq. Jnl.* xlix (1969), 351. See also comments on screens in Wood, *Thirteenth-century domestic architecture*, 110, and the fragmentary example at Little Chesterford (*Ibid.* 20).

¹⁰² Cf., for gallery, the prebendal manor house, Nassington (Wood *Thirteenth-century domestic architecture*, 48-51); and for stairs in cross-passage with one door only, Warnford manor house and Kirkstall Abbey (*Arch. Jnl.* cxv, 165, 171).

lacking its head; the external jamb-stones bear compass-marks and the name 'Gyny' scratched in a late medieval script.¹⁰³ The walls of this chamber were apparently as high as those of the hall, a proportion suggesting two storeys; a cellar below it, observed during the recent alterations, was not dated.

It is likely, though not certain, that all this work is of roughly one period. The existence of a hall almost presupposes a service-block, and nothing in the stone or timber detail is inconsistent with a date of c. 1230–50. The hollow-chamfers and pyramid stops of the doorways, though more reminiscent of Perpendicular work, would be quite possible in the mid 13th century.¹⁰⁴ A fact suggesting that the hall and the chamber on its north-west side are contemporary is the absence of a blocked lancet between them:¹⁰⁵ if the hall had originally been free-standing, a window matching that on the south-east side might be expected.

Thus in the mid 13th century the Priory house experienced a major enlargement in which an open ground-floor hall, services, and ancillary accommodation were added to the Phase 3 chamber-block. In outline, this follows perfectly the main stream of secular planning. In the 12th century the 'official' great hall and the 'private' *camera* had normally been separate structures; it was the 13th-century fashion for juxtaposing the two which created the 'typical' later medieval house with integrated solar, hall and services. At Cogges Priory, we need only hypothesise a detached timber hall in the late 12th century to read the successive phases as those of an ordinary manor house. In detail, however, it was strikingly different from normal secular arrangements. Instead of creating an H- or T-plan with the old *camera* as the solar and a new hall as the main range, the monks extended the *camera* lengthwise towards the church by means of a service-block connecting with a diminutive hall, forming an elongated L. Thus access from the hall both to the chambers and to the service was via the screens passage. In plan, then, this was more a house than a monastery, but with peculiarities which must reflect its use by a monastic rather than a secular household.

The royal inventories of 1294 and 1324 (Appendix B) confirm this impression of a modest domestic establishment. In 1294 the property is described as a messuage and dovecote within the precinct.¹⁰⁶ The 2 tables with trestles were presumably in the hall; the kitchen contained pans and brewing equipment. In the livestock buildings were 4 horses, 8 oxen, 2 cows, 12 pigs and 8 piglets. The courtyard contained 2 dilapidated carts and a load of hay. In 1324 the hall was furnished with 3 tables, 2 pairs of trestles, a bench, a chair and a ewer and basin; the buttery and pantry contained 3 silver spoons, a chest, barrels and miscellaneous linen. The kitchen was still equipped with pots and pans, but a separate brewery now housed the brewing-vats. The animals and farm equipment comprised 3 horses, 6 oxen, 2 cows, 2 calves, 4 pigs, 11 piglets, 5 geese, 8 cocks and hens, a two-horse cart and a plough. The granary contained wheat and malt, and the barn was stocked with the recent harvest of wheat, drage(?), oats and mixed grain.

The physical evidence and the inventories alike suggest a manor house and working

¹⁰³ The initial letter is clearly a 'G', but it is possible that this represents the name of a late 14th-century prior who appears elsewhere as Thomas 'Tynny' (*V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 162).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the Early English arcade at Eaton Bray, Beds. (illustr. N. Pevsner, *The buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, Pl. 24.) At Northmoor church, Berks., the feature occurs several times in late 13th-century work.

¹⁰⁵ A band about 50 cm. wide, about half-way up the north-west face of this wall, was stripped of plaster during the recent alterations; the coursed rubble thus exposed contained no sign of window-jambs.

¹⁰⁶ PRO E 106/2/6, m. 5 (extent accompanying inventory): 'i mes[suagium], i columb[arium], infra claustr[um].'

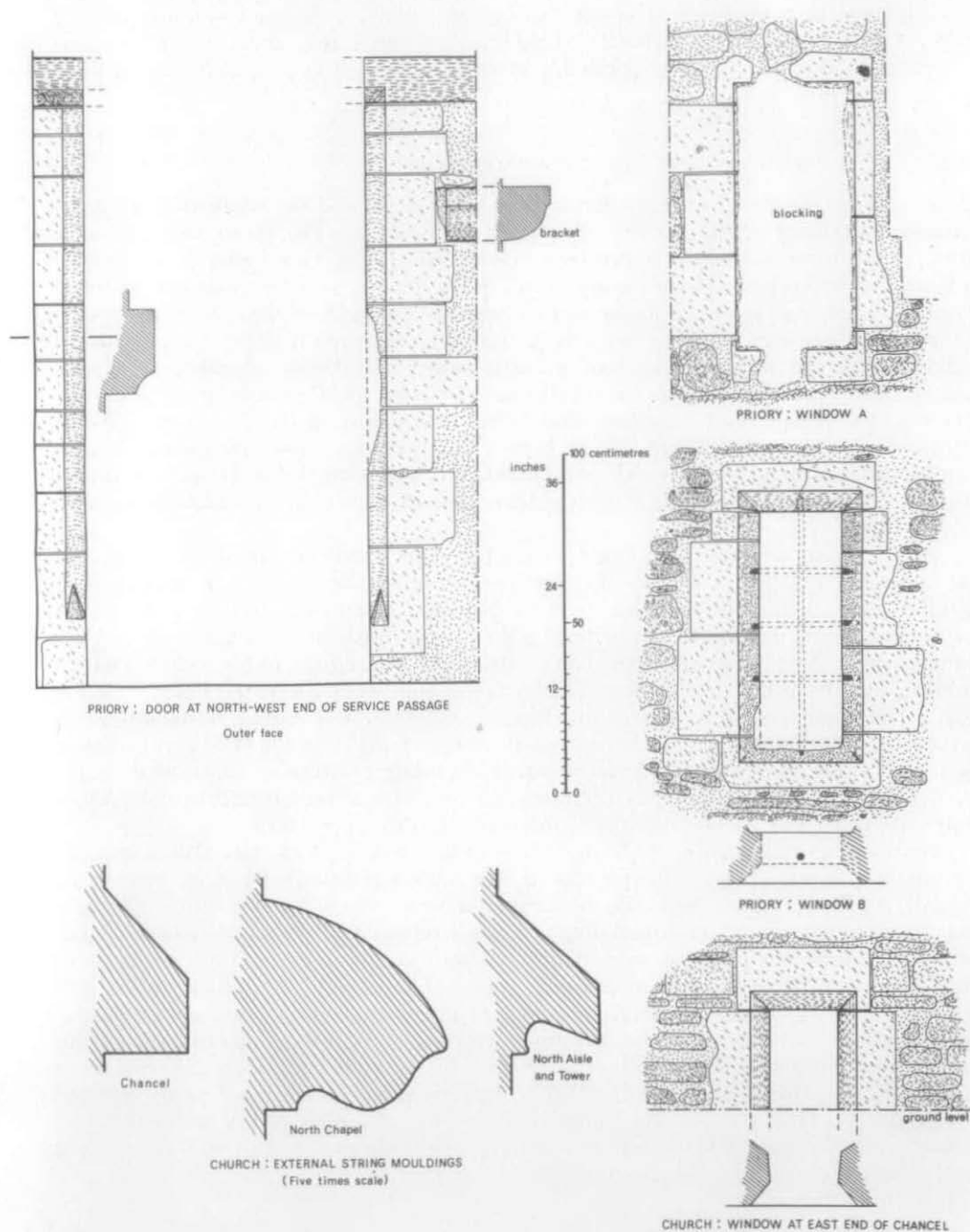


Fig.19. Cogges Priory and church: masonry details.

farm, with no hint of a conventual plan. The upstairs rooms, ignored by the inventories, may have contained the monks' personal belongings; on the other hand the absence of any reference to a chapel is near-conclusive, since plate, books and vestments would certainly have been listed. The kitchen, brewery, dovecote, stable, granary and barn were presumably detached buildings, probably grouped around a courtyard to the north or west of the Priory house.

PHASE 5: LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY POST-MEDIEVAL

There is no architectural evidence for late medieval work, and the excavation produced virtually no pottery of the period 1400–1620 (see Table 3). The Priory seems to have experienced progressive decay halted by a major reconstruction soon after 1600, possibly remembered in Anthony Wood's notes of 1658: 'The Priorie did stand where the Lord of Downe's house now is, neare to the church, and the people here think that his Grandfather built the house that now stands there, out of the ruins of the Priory house. There is a chamber in the parsonage or vicar's house called the Preists Chamber'.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately the distinction made here between 'the Lord of Downe's house' and 'the parsonage or vicar's house' suggests that Wood was confusing the Priory with Manor Farm, which was probably the Downe home. The notes are, however, useful evidence that the 'priest's chamber' retained a distinct identity within the Priory house, and it may only be thanks to the chaplain's interest that some of the medieval buildings survived above ground.

By c. 1620 at the latest, the Phase 3 chamber-block had been unroofed, and one end and one side demolished. During the next two centuries the site was levelled up with material from the clay floors mixed with rubble and broken roof-tile (L7a-b, L25/6); a neatly constructed well (F47) was perhaps contemporary with this new yard surface.¹⁰⁸ A drainage gully from beside the well (F36), cutting the west corner of the former Phase 3 building, may be of this date. A new, thin boundary wall was built on the Phase 2 footing (F32). The south-west side wall of the Phase 3 building (F9), now free-standing, was pierced by a doorway (F59), and a lean-to shelter on a pair of posts (F20 and F27) was built against its outer face. A detached square building fronting on the yard from the north (Fig. 12) is probably a 17th-century kitchen; it has pigeon nesting-holes in its south-east face, and retains the main girder of a timber upper floor.

Between c. 1600 and c. 1620 the 13th-century service-block was also truncated, presumably because it was ruinous, and a new wall was built some 2 m. in from its original south-east gable end (Pl. 6). The fragment which survived these changes, measuring 5.4 m. by 6.3 m. internally, was much rebuilt and perhaps heightened. The simple butt-purlin roof runs in series with the 13th-century hall roof (Pl. 6), not at right-angles as its predecessor had presumably done. The area of the service-rooms and passage became a single large room, with a big chimney and an impressive open fireplace; clearly this was now the hall. The contemporary floor above it has stop-chamfered joists, tenoned into a central girder which replaced the 13th-century main beam and rests on its cut-off end (Fig. 16). The Phase 4 timber screen was partly blocked and partly replaced by a solid wall (Fig. 15), leaving one original opening as a doorway. A timber doorway opened from the new hall towards the church. The 13th-century hall was also floored over, with a new chimney-stack in its gable wall.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Bodl. MS Wood E 1, f.47.

¹⁰⁸ The 12th-century material in the well-pit perhaps derived from F45, which it cut.

¹⁰⁹ This chimney, which cuts through the original hall window, is now a Victorian double stack, also heating

The Phase 4 chamber on the north-west side of the hall was partitioned and extensively enlarged, probably at much the same date though with rather less proficient carpentry. Parallel with its south-west end, a load-bearing wall was built within the area of the Phase 3 range; this created a narrow lobby for the two medieval stone doorways, and supported one side of a new twin-gabled upper storey. It seems likely that this wing now became a self-contained unit with its own external door, though there is no visible evidence for 17th-century stair positions. Subsequently, when the house was again in single occupancy, rough openings had to be cut through the medieval walls to provide internal access to the rest of the house.

These unusual developments must reflect the fact that the building accommodated two separate households: the tenant farmer's and the priest's. From the early 17th century the main unit comprised a hall and parlour (respectively the Phase 4 service-block and hall) and presumably the chambers over. The priest had two small ground-floor rooms, with two upper chambers ingeniously added to this cramped infrastructure. Thus the remodelling of the building as independent parts created a highly eccentric plan, which would have been incomprehensible without the written evidence.

PHASE 6: LATE 17th TO 19th CENTURY

Perhaps during the 18th century, the remains of the free-standing Phase 3 wall (F9) were removed and the yard extended over its site, establishing the south-west boundary line shown on the 1859-60 plans (Fig. 3B). A new well (F43) was dug, and portions of the back yard paved with stone sets. One area of hard-standing (F2) may have been the floor of a shelter-shed against the north-west boundary wall; a second (F1) was a path from the well to the north entrances of the house; and a third (F2a) formed a paved area beside the well. A small patch of stones by the well (F16) was probably the base of a trough or barrel, drained by a conduit (F17) into a rock-cut sump (F31). In the early 19th century various outbuildings, including a kitchen, were added to the rear of the house.¹¹⁰ A lead water-pipe (F14) was laid from the well to the kitchen, and the well was capped off (F3). Topsoil was brought in and the farmyard converted into a kitchen garden.

The plans of 1859-60 are the first cartographical evidence (Fig. 3B). In addition to the 'court' between the house and the detached kitchen there were two other yards, containing a cowshed, a stable and a pigsty. A large rectangular garden to the south was bounded by a gently curving wall around the churchyard. Eastwards, beside the road, was a simple 17th- or 18th-century barn, now the schoolhouse. It is impossible to say how far these arrangements reflect the late medieval layout.

The accommodation was thought inadequate for the vicar and his family, and enlargements were immediately put under way. On 1 August 1859 the architect G.E. Street submitted a report, stating that 'the house consists at present of a kitchen, a sitting room down stairs, and four bedrooms above'.¹¹¹ The large wing added during the next two years more than doubled the size of the house. The 'priest's chamber' was partly rebuilt to provide a corridor between the medieval and Victorian ranges. The 17th-century fenestration was entirely replaced with stone-mullioned windows matching those of the new wing. The 13th-century hall lancet, which must have been blocked on the insertion of the floor, was opened and restored. The wall dividing the churchyard from

the 1860 wing. A Buckler watercolour (Bodl. MS Top.Oxon.a. 66, no.176) shows, however, that a chimney existed in this position before the 1860 enlargements.

¹¹⁰ For the sake of clarity these are omitted from Fig. 13. They appear in outline on the 1859 plan, Fig. 3B.

¹¹¹ Bodl. MS Top.Oxon.c.103, f.288.

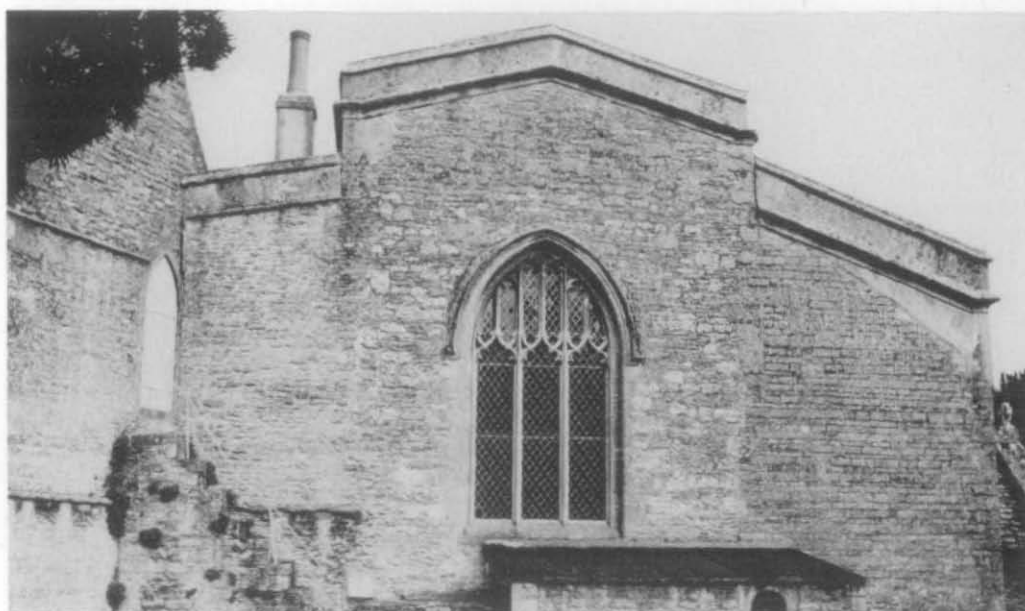


Plate 11. Cogges church: West elevation, showing (centre) Phase 1 nave, (right) Phase 2 south aisle and (left) Phase 5 north aisle and tower.

the Priory garden was removed, and the whole area between the two buildings levelled as a continuous lawn.

In 1980–1 the medieval range was thoroughly repaired, and the various 19th-century outshuts replaced by a new extension. The ‘priest’s chamber’ wing was modified and its internal divisions removed, making the ground floor once more into a single room.

THE STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SAINT MARY’S PARISH CHURCH

No excavation or dissection of the fabric has been possible; the following interpretation of visible phases (Figs. 21–22) is based purely on observed structural relationships and architectural detail.

Phase 1: 11th century?

Fragments remain of a small aisleless nave of standard Saxo-Norman type. The only visible fabric is the external face of the west wall (Fig. 20, Pl. 11), built of irregular coursed rubble containing numerous large white limestone blocks which are peculiar to this phase. Three big quoin-stones remain at the original south-west angle, proving that the late 12th-century south aisle was built against an existing nave. The south arcade and chancel arch were probably pierced through this, all three walls being 79 cm. thick. Thus the nave was originally, as now, 9 m. long internally and (assuming that the rebuilt north arcade follows the original line) 4 m. wide. The fabric of the west end indicates an original eaves height of at least 5.8 m. There is no evidence for the chancel, if any. The

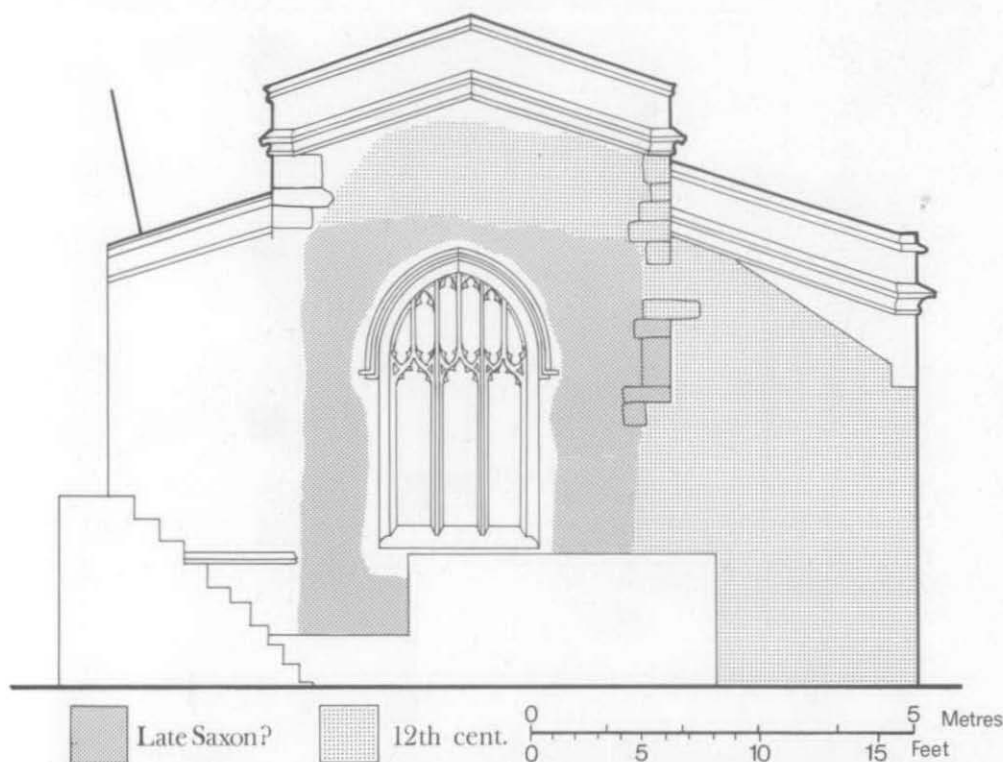


Fig. 20. Cogges church: sketch elevation of west face, showing the proposed early phases.

characteristically pre-Conquest wall-thickness,¹¹² the lofty proportions and the 'pillow-stone' quoin are all marks of builders working in the Anglo-Saxon rather than the Norman tradition.

Phase 2: Late 12th Century

The narrow south aisle is built of regular, well-dressed masonry (Pls. 11-12) and retains two original features: a central column with a scalloped capital (Pl. 36) and a spurred base, and a round-headed south doorway with a continuous half-round moulding. Both suggest a date of *c.* 1170-80. On evidence described below (Phase 5) the 14th-century north aisle must have replaced an earlier one, so it is not unlikely that two aisles were added in the 12th century.

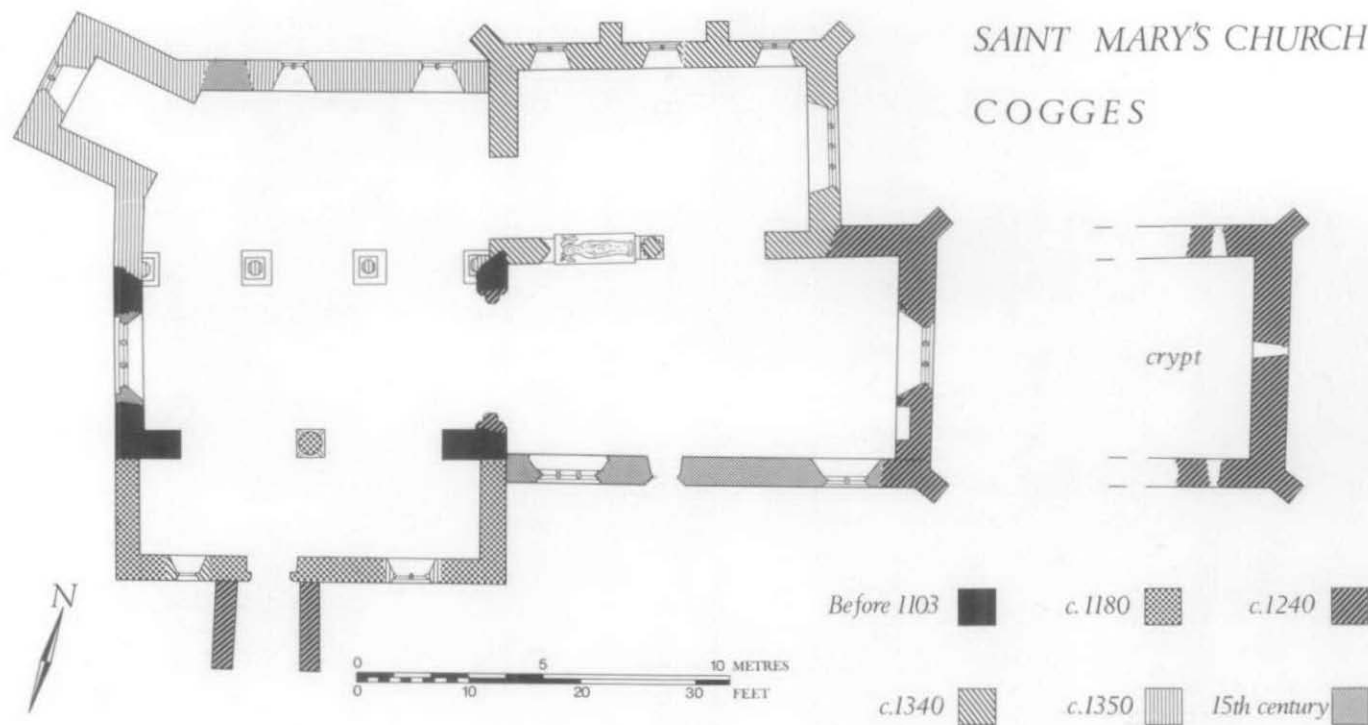
Perhaps of similar date is the perfectly plain tub font, now on a later medieval stem.

*Phase 3: *c.* 1230-50*

The major work of this period was the rebuilding of the chancel on spacious and lofty

¹¹² The average wall-thickness of 186 standing Anglo-Saxon naves is 2 ft. 7 ins. (79 cm.) (Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, iii, 959); Norman walls were usually 3 ft. (91 cm.) or over.

SAINT MARY'S CHURCH
COGGES



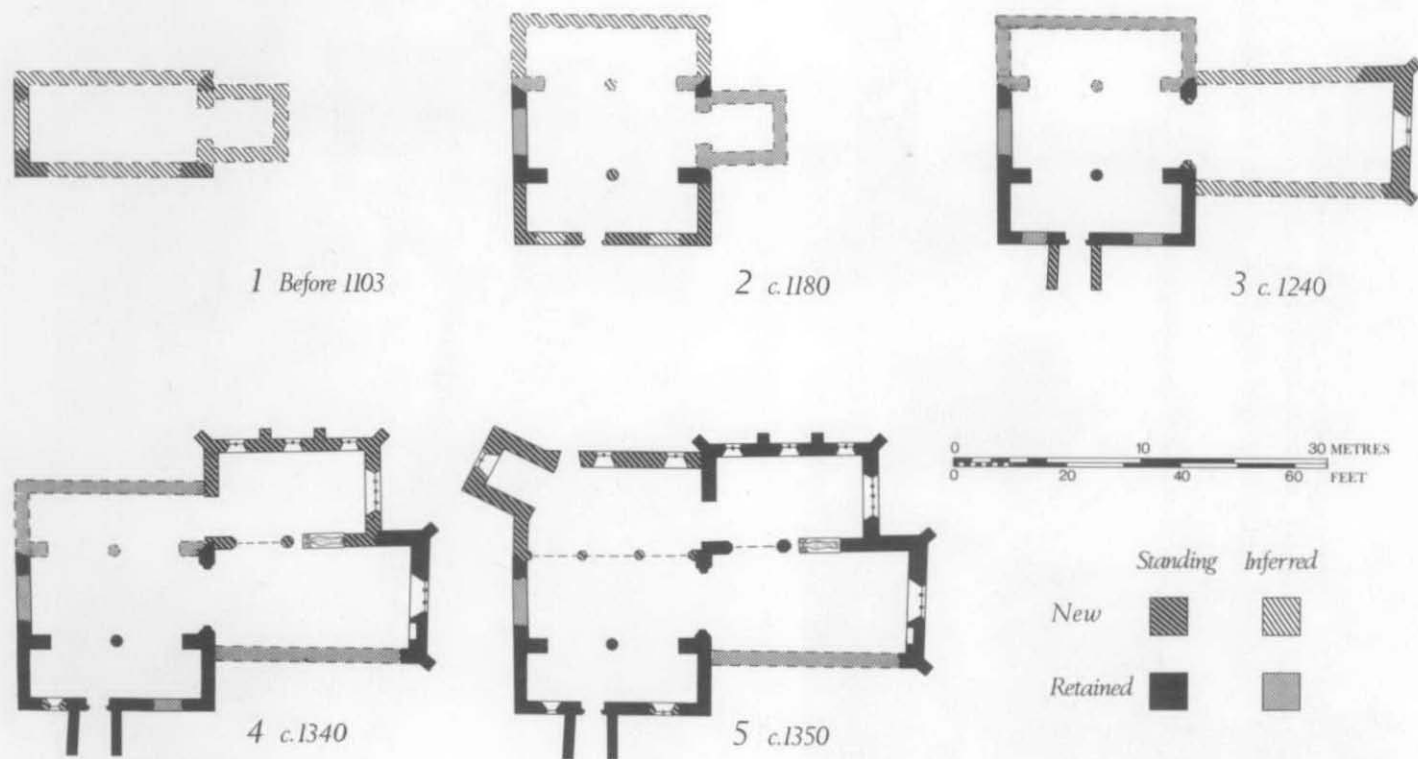


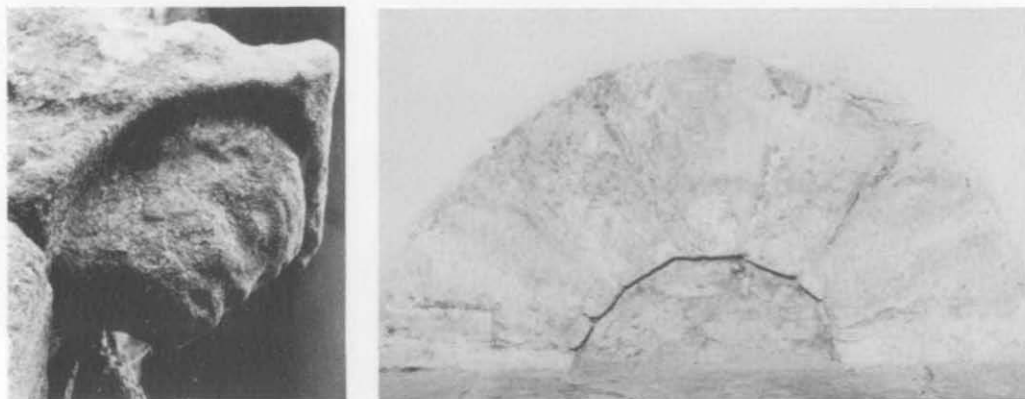
Fig. 21-22. Cogges church: plan as existing, and outline phase-plans.



Plate 12. Cogges church: South elevation, showing Phase 2 south aisle (with later windows) and Phase 3 porch.



Plate 13. Cogges church from south-east, showing Phase 3 chancel (with later windows).



Plates 14-15. Cogges church: External corbel of Phase 3 chancel, and rere-arch of east window of Phase 3 crypt.

lines (Pl. 13), with angle buttresses at the east end and an external chamfered string-course (Fig. 19). The east gable shows signs of later heightening; at the north-east corner the original roofline sprang from a small head corbel (Pl. 14). In the east wall, and towards the east ends of both side walls, are three small rectangular windows at ground level (Figs. 19 and 21); the semi-circular rere-arch of the eastern one (Pl. 15) is visible internally just above the chancel floor. These features are integral and show that the chancel as originally built contained a crypt, the floor over which must have been considerably higher than at present. The original rere-arch of the main east window (Pl. 16) retains keeled jamb-shafts with stiff-leaf capitals, one containing a small figure (Pls. 17 and 18). The simple 13th-century piscina and credence, now in the east wall, has probably been repositioned. The chancel arch (Pl. 16) is of two continuous chamfered orders with a plain under-chamfered hood-moulding.

Probably contemporary with the chancel arch, and almost identical to it, are the arches of the south arcade, eccentrically placed on the earlier central column and a pair of tapering corbels. The south porch (Pl. 12) is of similar date.

Phases 4 and 5: c.1330-60

The lavishly decorated north chapel, of three bays defined by buttresses (Pl. 19), was probably added in the 1340s. As argued in Appendix C, the heraldic glass formerly in its windows suggests that this was a chantry chapel built by John, 1st Lord Grey (ob. 1359) to commemorate his mother Lady Margaret. The external string-course (Fig. 19) is in the form of a thick scroll moulding. The two-bay arcade between chapel and chancel (Pl. 21) has continuous hollow-chamfers with hoodmouldings springing from head corbels (Pls. 23-25), and incorporates a small piscina on the chapel side of the eastern impost. The window tracery is of a sumptuous late curvilinear form, especially fine in the east window (Pl. 20) where it retains fragments of original glazing in the upper lights.¹¹³ A delightful

¹¹³ P.A. Newton, *The county of Oxford: a corpus of medieval stained glass* (*Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Great Britain*; 1979), 69-70 and Pls. 24-5.



Plate 16. Cogges church: Interior looking east, showing Phase 3 chancel arch, and east window with Phase 3 rere-arch and shafts.



Plate 17-18. Cogges church: Shaft capitals in rere-arch of Phase 3 east window.



Plate 19. Cogges church: North elevation of Phase 4 north chapel.



Plate 20. Cogges church: East window of Phase 4 north chapel.

frieze of grotesque figures and animals (Pls. 26–30) runs continuously around the inside of the chapel, punctuated by corbels representing men and animals playing musical instruments (Pls. 31–33). The wall plaster, removed early in the present century, is known to have been richly painted.¹¹⁴

Under the west bay of the arcade is a fine contemporary tomb (Pls. 34, 40).¹¹⁵ An effigy of a lady, her head supported by angels and her feet on a lion, rests on a chest embellished with the Evangelists' symbols and shields in quatrefoils. This tomb has been dismantled and reassembled wrongly; inspection of the joints and mouldings suggests that each long side originally comprised a central shield between two Evangelists' symbols, with the third extant shield forming, as now, the 'head' end.¹¹⁶ The absence of a similar panel for the 'foot' end may be explained on the hypothesis that the tomb originally lay

¹¹⁴ An old builder who formerly lived in the parish remembered stripping painted plaster from the walls (ex inf. Revd. R. Leaver).

¹¹⁵ For an earlier account see E.R. Price, 'Two effigies in the churches of Asthall and Cogges in Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, iii (1938) 103–10.

¹¹⁶ The carving at the top of this panel proves that it originally fitted under the edge of the pillow.

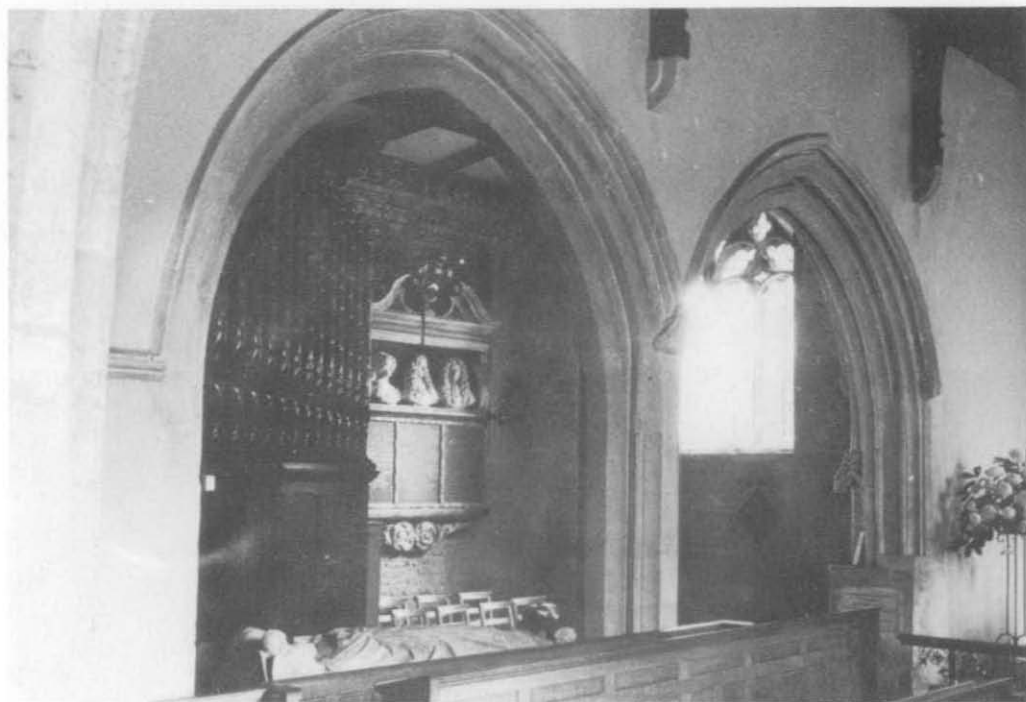


Plate 21. Cogges church: Arcade of Phase 4 north chapel.

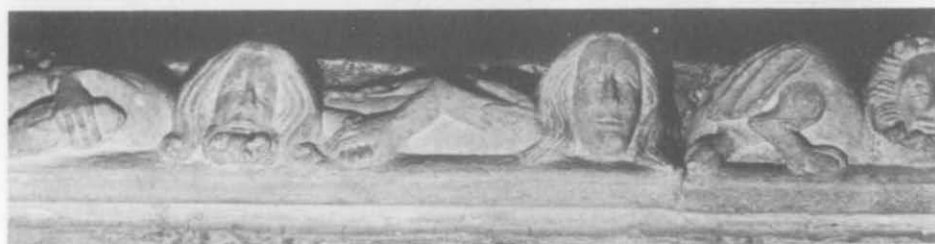
under the *east* bay of the arcade, butted against the flat, unadorned base of the eastern impost which looks incongruous in its present exposed state. There are traces of mountings for a timber rail or screen closing off the west bay.

The arch between the chapel and the north aisle is clearly integral with the former; the aisle, on the other hand, abuts the chapel awkwardly (Pl. 35) and must post-date it. An earlier aisle must have existed when the chapel was built, sufficiently narrow to give clearance for a small window in the west wall of the chapel which is now internal. The present aisle is similar in style to the chapel and clearly a conscious imitation, though the tracery and architectural details are distinctly less lavish and proficient. Like the chapel, it has a series of grotesque corbels (Pls. 37 to 39). A three-bay arcade with octagonal columns, moulded bell capitals and double-chamfered arches (Pl. 36) separates it from the nave. Sawn-off ends of pegs driven into the opposed faces of the piers and imposts show that the arcade was once closed by a timber screen. Integral with the aisle is the small tower (Pl. 41), oddly placed on the north-west angle. It is square in plan, rising to an octagonal upper stage of which the topmost section is timber-built and perhaps a later addition. A chamfered string-course (Fig. 19) runs continuously around the aisle and tower; on the north side this is interrupted rather awkwardly by a blocked two-centred doorway with a continuous quarter-round moulding.

Apparently contemporary with this work is one of the windows in the south aisle; the other, with a simple trefoiled head, may be rather earlier (Pl. 12).



Plates 22–25. Cogges church: Head-stops on east window and arcade of Phase 4 north chapel.



Plates 26-30. Cogges church: Sections of frieze in Phase 4 north chapel.



Plates 31–33. Cogges church: Corbels in Phase 4 north chapel.



Plate 34. Cogges church: Tomb and effigy (attributed to Lady Margaret de Grey).

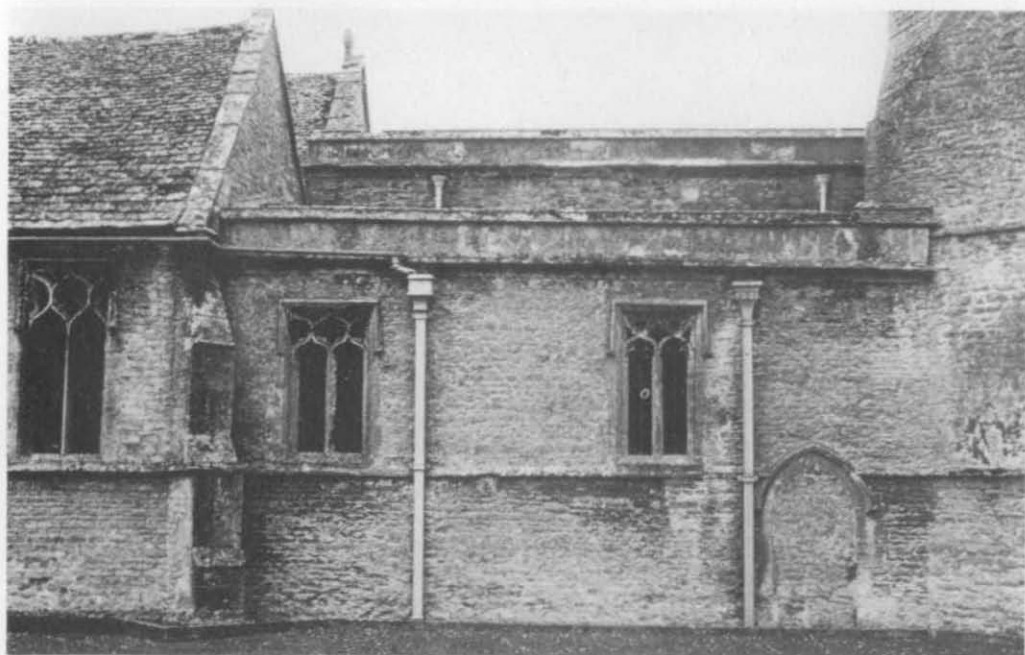


Plate 35. Cogges church: North elevation of Phase 5 north aisle.



Plate 36. Cogges church: Arcade of Phase 5 north aisle; in foreground, Phase 2 capital of south aisle.

Later alterations

After the building of the north aisle few major changes occurred. The original tracery of the east window was replaced by standard 14th-century curvilinear tracery (Pls. 13, 16); its lost heraldic glass appears to suggest joint patronage by the prior and the lady of the manor during the 1360s (below, Appendix C). The chancel roof, a late version of the scissor-braced type, may date from a contemporaneous heightening and remodelling.

The impressive 15th-century west window (Pl. 11) has 'gridiron' tracery similar to that in the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford; there may be a direct link in the person of Bishop William Waynefflete, whose arms were in Cogges church (below, Appendix C) and who was provost of Eton College while he was building Magdalen chapel during the 1470s. The clerestorey and the parapets of the nave and aisles are also 15th-century. Perhaps *c.* 1520, the south wall of the chancel was completely rebuilt¹¹⁷ and provided with two standard late Perpendicular windows with label-stops in the form of female heads. The roofs of the nave, aisles and north chapel are all of the usual low-pitched late medieval type.

¹¹⁷ It lacks any trace of the string-course. The chancel was apparently damaged by fire shortly before 1520 (*Lincoln Dioc. Vist.* i (Linc.Rec.Soc. xxxiii), 128.).



Plates 37-40. Cogges church: Corbels in Phase 5 north aisle, and detail of tomb-chest showing symbol of St Luke.



Plate 41. Cogges church: Phase 5 tower at north-west corner.

DISCUSSION

So far as the evidence goes, the first two phases were typical: a standard late Saxon or Saxo-Norman manorial church, enlarged in the later 12th century by the addition of aisles. If the Priory did indeed have its own monastic church or chapel between c. 1100 and c. 1150, the functions of the estate church were presumably the ordinary parochial ones. But the reduced Priory of the late 12th and 13th centuries seems to have contained no chapel, and at this date the nearby parish church may have acquired a dual role. A strong indication of this is the spacious chancel of c. 1240, especially its crypt. Crypts in 13th-century parish churches are highly unusual; this one must surely reflect the more elaborate ritual of a monastery and the need to accommodate monastic as well as parochial services.

Both major 14th-century additions were on the north side of the church, towards the Priory. The chapel was clearly built for a family chantry, but the north aisle and tower, added shortly afterwards in a consciously matching style, may well be the work of the monks. The aisle seems to have been screened off from the nave, while access from the chancel to the chapel was apparently blocked by the tomb under one bay of the arcade and a screen or rail under the other. There was free passage between the aisle and the chapel, and a doorway in the north wall of the aisle opened out towards the Priory. There is a suggestion here that in the 14th century the church may have been divided into two separate parts: the nave, south aisle and chancel accessible through the porch, and the north aisle, tower and chapel accessible from the Priory. Without written evidence these arrangements cannot be interpreted with much confidence, but we may guess at some agreement between John, Lord Grey, and Prior William Hamon by which the monks were responsible for maintaining services in Lady Margaret's chapel. As well as being neighbours, Grey and Hamon would probably have known each other through the royal service. Such collaboration between a wealthy lay lord and an influential churchman would help to explain the unexpectedly sumptuous work of the mid 14th century.

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The large timber structure represented by F38/46 was probably built in the 10th or early 11th century, and the first stone church cannot be much later than this. Less than 30 m. apart, they suggest a thegnly residence with the proprietary church lying alongside the manor house. The little decorated harness- or dog-bell found in F38/46 is a further hint that the context may have been aristocratic. It is worth noting that the site lies on the extreme western edge of Cogges parish, of Wootton hundred and probably also of Eynsham minster *parochia*, facing across the Windrush to a place of early importance (Witney) in the next hundred. The siting of administrative and curial foci on the very frontiers of their districts seems to be a recurring pattern in the territorial geography of early England.¹¹⁸ The manorial centre of Cogges may have been significant well before the 10th century — a view perhaps supported by the residual mid-Saxon pottery from the Priory and orchard sites.

In about 1100 Manasses Arsic radically changed the layout of Cogges by building a new manor house or castle, probably south-west of the church, and founding a Priory on the old manorial site. Unfortunately we still know very little of the early 12th-century Priory, but there are grounds for doubting whether the simple 'estate office' functions

¹¹⁸ This question requires further study. Two parallel cases (both early royal villis) are Thame on the Oxon./Bucks. boundary, and Grove (cf. below, footnote 120) on the Beds./Bucks. boundary.

which it later performed apply to this period. The archaeological evidence, and the word *ecclesia* in the 1103 charter, both suggest a larger and more formal complex than the purely domestic buildings which seem to have existed from the late 12th century onwards. Of life in the alien priories before Henry II's reign we know virtually nothing, and it would be wrong to extrapolate from later evidence. In 1103 Manasses and the abbot of Fécamp may both have envisaged a true monastic cell with church and conventual buildings, and it is not impossible that the fragmentary Phase 2 footings represent such a scheme.¹¹⁹ The Cogges evidence is far from conclusive, but it suggests a need to investigate archaeologically the original status of other 'non-conventual' sites.

The graphic literary evidence for dereliction by the 1150s is supplemented by archaeological evidence for a rebuilding within the next two or three decades. Probably from then on, and certainly by the end of the century, Cogges Priory was the headquarters of a monk-bailiff from Fécamp and in no sense a true monastery. Accordingly, the new buildings were not claustral but resembled those of a secular manor house. The Phase 3 chamber-block must have been only one of several buildings in the late 12th-century complex, which perhaps included a ground-floor hall. A very useful parallel here is Grove Priory, Beds., the English cell of Fontevrault Abbey.¹²⁰ This was probably on the site of the principal manor house of the royal manor of Leighton, given by Henry II in 1164; hence the first monastic occupation at Grove is roughly contemporary with Phase 3 at Cogges. The Grove monks continued to use what were almost certainly royal domestic buildings of the 1150s, including a timber hall, two detached stone chamber-blocks, and a detached kitchen. In the late 12th century the hall was rebuilt in stone, and 13th-century changes tended to link the separate elements into a more integrated complex. At Cogges Priory, the mid 13th-century addition of a ground-floor hall and services to the existing chamber-block suggests a similar course of development.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, if not before, the monks of Cogges probably used the adjacent parish church for their offices: hence the large crypted chancel, and, less certainly, the elaborate north aisle. This contrasts with the arrangement at Grove Priory, which lay far from any church and which had its own chapel and cemetery after 1220.¹²¹ Non-conventual priories can perhaps be classified as those which were liturgically self-contained, and those which adjoined parish churches and shared them with the villagers. A brief survey suggests that among English alien cells the Cogges arrangement was the more common, and in at least sixteen cases there is evidence for a Priory house lying alongside the parish church.¹²² The best parallel is at Wilmington, Sussex, where the Priory house was linked to the church by a two-storey covered passage which presumably led to a night stair.¹²³ Until more work is done it is impossible to generalise about non-conventual priory plans; the examples of Cogges, Wilmington and Grove suggest a pattern which was more secular than monastic, yet which had its own very distinctive features.

¹¹⁹ Analogies for the kind of 'sub-claustral' layout which may have existed at Cogges are Minster Court, Thanet, Grafton Regis, Northants., and Gorefields, Bucks. (P.K. Kipps, 'Minster Court, Thanet', *Arch. Jnl.* lxxvi, 213-23; C. Platt, *Medieval England* (London, 1978), 159). The alien priory of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, had its own church and cloister only a few metres north of the parish church (W.R. Rudd, 'The priory of Horsham St. Faith', *Norfolk Arch.* xxii.3, 251-6).

¹²⁰ Currently being excavated by Mrs Evelyn Baker. The latest of several interim reports is in the Proceedings of the Royal Archaeological Institute's summer meeting, 1982 (*Arch. Jnl.*, cxxxix, forthcoming), 28-30.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* The conversion of one of the chamber-blocks to a chapel probably followed the granting of an episcopal licence in 1220.

¹²² This is based on an analysis of all entries for alien priories in the Pevsner, *Buildings of England* series.

¹²³ See W.H. Godfrey, 'Wilmington Priory: an architectural description', *Sussex Arch. Colln.* lxix, 1-27.

The particular interest of Cogges lies in the close inter-relationship of manorial and monastic settlement, within one small area, over a long period and through many changes. The tendency of recent work has been to emphasise both the fluidity and the complexity of English settlement patterns in the earlier Middle Ages.¹²⁴ Central to this problem are the institutions of ecclesiastical and of lay lordship: there is a strong need for local studies analysing their interaction with each other and with village communities. It may be hoped that future work at Cogges will elucidate the manorial sites, and thus bring the local context of the Priory into sharper focus.

APPENDIX A

THE PRIORY ENDOWMENTS IN COGGES PARISH

The endowments as they existed in the later Middle Ages can be reconstructed from three sources: (a) the inquisitions of 1294, 1324 and 1387; (b) extracts from Priory manor court rolls of 1407-29, a rental of 1429 and an abstract of a deed of 1302;¹²⁵ and (c) a survey of the Priory estate made in 1776, just before enclosure.¹²⁶ The following summary is based on a combination of this evidence.

OLD DEMESNE AND COPYHOLDS

Arable and enclosed pasture

The foundation grant of 1103 includes 2 ploughlands and 40 a. meadow, but no tenant land. The earliest evidence for the disposition of the Priory land is provided by the assignment of the vicarage portion in 1232-3,¹²⁷ when the vicar was to have: 5 a. at the cross against Robert de Rouen's house; 2½ a. by the road next Henry Pincun's croft; 2½ a. next Robert le Noreis's croft; 2 a. meadow in Grimesmede between the mill of Cogges and meadow le Flemeng; and a house between the prior's orchard and the fishpond of the lords of Cogges.

The three inquisitions describe the demesne arable as follows:

1294: 80 a. worth 1*d.* per acre, whereof 30 a. are sown with wheat, 12 a. with drage, 12 a. with oats and 24 a. with vetch.

1324: 60 a. worth 1½*d.* per acre.

1387: One ploughland containing 75 a., whereof 9 a. in a close are worth 2*s.* per acre, 12 a. are worth 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre, and 54 a. are worth 2*d.* per acre.

For the 15th century the court roll extracts and the rental provide a substantial list of customary holdings. Some of these, first listed in the 1412 court roll, were apparently old demesne: enclosed land called Pioresfelde in the North Field with a croft, a piece of land called Borehull, 30 a. from the demesne, a croft called Piorescrofte, and a croft called Pioresgardeyn; the first two are identifiable as Priory Close and Burrell Close in 1776. This land (excluding the crofts, for which no acreages are given) amounts to a total of 77 a. 2 r. 34 p. — very close to the 75 a. demesne ploughland of 1387. It may be deduced that this ploughland was broken up as copyholds between 1387 and 1412.

The other 15th-century copyholds amount to a few acres of subdivided land, and several fields and closes for which no acreages are given. These may represent old customary holdings (possibly formed out of the second 1103 ploughland), though if so it is strange that none of the inquisitions mentions them.

Meadow

The meadow is listed in the inquisitions as: 22 a. worth 15*d.* per acre in 1294; 20 a. worth 12*d.* per acre in 1324; and 26 a. worth 16*d.* per acre in 1387. In 1412 a meadow called Grymesmede was let out in small customary parcels totalling 13 a.; in 1776 it appears at Grimes's Meadow, 14 a. 3 r. 29 p. A compact 12 a. in the common meadow, ½ a. in Little Sydenale and ½ a. in Long Sydenale were in hand in 1412 and appear in the 1776 survey. The total of 26 a. corresponds exactly with the 1387 inquisition.

¹²⁴ For summaries of recent work on these problems see P. Bigmore, 'Villages and towns', in L. Cantor (ed.), *The English medieval landscape* (London, 1982), 157-69; R.A. Dodgshon, *The origin of British field systems: an interpretation* (London, 1980).

¹²⁵ All transcribed into the 16th-century Eton College Records, Evidence-Book B, pp.677-81.

¹²⁶ Eton College Records, Survey Book, pp.138-9.

¹²⁷ *Rot.Hugonis de Welles*, ii, 40.

Fulling-mill

A watermill worth 20s. is listed in 1294, and a fulling-mill with adjacent croft worth 15s. in 1387. The fulling-mill was demised to John Brayne in 1406,¹²⁸ and was still held by him in 1429 as a customary tenement at £1 rent. It was described in 1412 as a fulling-mill with a parcel of meadow called Milleham; in 1413 as a fulling-mill with a hamm pertaining to it; and in 1429 as, 'a fulling-mill with the whole several fishery belonging to it in its course, with a meadow called Mulleham with little hamms, and ditches on all sides enclosing the said mill from the confluence of the water, and surrounding the said John's [holding]'. Between 1457 and 1702 the leases regularly mention the fulling-mill among the manorial appurtenances; it is not mentioned in the 1704 lease or thereafter.¹²⁹ A clause only in the 1545 lease says that if the mill falls down or needs rebuilding, the College will only be responsible for finding the necessary great timber.¹³⁰ In 1776 'the hamms on the other side of the river' from Grimes's Meadow, containing 1 a. 1 r. 9 p., are perhaps to be identified with the hamms attached to the mill.

Common of pasture

The 1387 inquisition lists pasture for 200 sheep and pasture for 2 affers, 6 oxen, 2 cows and 2 calves, neither valued because they lie in common.

FREEHOLDS

The inquisitions list 4 free tenants holding 9 a. for 5s. 10d. in 1294; 3 free tenants owing 8s. 10d. (*sic*) in 1324; and rents of assize worth 5s. 6d. in 1387. The following three freeholds are recorded in the early 15th century, their rents totalling 5s. 10d.:

(a) On 24 July 1302 Abbot Thomas and the monastery of Fécamp granted to Thomas de la Bechehey 3 a. arable in the fields of Cogges, which William Parvus of the same vill once held of Cogges Priory, at 1s. 8d. rent.¹³¹ Perhaps the same as the 3 a. which Thomas Pryman held freely in 1412, 1418 and 1429, though in 1429 the rent is stated as 10d.

(b) In 1407 William Dyere of Witney recovered against the Prior of Cogges his free tenement in Cogges, described in 1412 as a croft, 1½ a. land and ¼ a. meadow. In 1413 William Dyere held a free close at 2s. 6d. rent, and in 1418 John Cokayne was distrained for fealty for 1½ a. land and 1 r. meadow acquired from Dyere.

(c) A croft called le Senecrofte(?), held by John Barbour in 1407 in the right of his wife by charter of the Abbot and Convent of Fécamp, rent 2s. 6d. Probably identical with the croft and 2 a. held freely by Thomas Cogyn in 1412 and 1413, rent 2s. 6d.; John Cokayne distrained to show title 1418.

TITHES AND OBLATIONS

These are listed as follows in the 1387 inquisition and the 1429 rental:

	1387 (yearly values)	1429 (yearly farms)
Tithe of sheaves	£ 6 13s. 4d.	-
Tithe of lambs and wool	£ 3 5s.	Richard Leveryche, rent 10s.
Tithe of hay	£ 1 5s.	William Coltfynge, rent £1 10s.
Tithe of hay beyond the stream	-	John Bechey, rent 8s.
Tithe of calves and milk	-	William Coltfynge, rent 16s. 8d.
Small tithes	£ 1 10s.	-
Oblations	-	Richard Leveryche, rent 12s.
Totals	£12 13s. 4d.	£3 16s. 8d.

¹²⁸ According to a statement in the abstract of the court rolls for 1429.

¹²⁹ Eton College Records, Lease-Book 1692-1709, ff.171v.-173; 232v.-233.

¹³⁰ Ibid. Lease-Book 1529-56, ff.84v.-86v.

¹³¹ Ibid. Evidence-Book B, p.677 (abstract of deed).

APPENDIX B

MEDIEVAL INVENTORIES OF COGGES PRIORY

From Public Record Office Extents of Alien Priors. Items added in different ink are italicised.

Inventory of 1294 (E106/2/6, m. 9)

Inventarium bonorum prioris de Coges.

In stabulo unus eq[u]s precium i marca. Item iii equi carreccarii precium cuiuslibet vi s quia debiles. *xviii s.* Item viii boves precium cuiuslibet vi s. *xlvi s.* Item ii vacce precium cuiuslibet v s. x s. Item xii porci superannati precium xii s. Item viii porcelli precium cuiuslibet viii d. *v s iii d. Summa cvi s viii d.*

Item ii mense cum trestellis precium xviii d. Item in Coquina ii olle eree precium v s. Item ii pocenetti precium xv d. Item una patella precium viii d. Item cuve et tine et i kemelinum precium omnium ii s. Item in Curia ii carr' ferro ligate precium vi s quia debiles. Item fenum precium x s. *Summa xxvi s v d.*

Item de frumento seminato xxx acre que valent lx s, precium acre ii s. Item de drag' xii acre que valent xviii s, precium acre xviii d. Item de avena xii acre que valent xii s, precium acre xii d. Item de vescis xxiii acre que valent xxiii s, et valet acra xii d. Item habent ecclesiam in proprios usus, et valet fructus huius anni xii marcas.

Summa huius xlii li. xliii s.

Summa Totius Inventarii xx li. vii s i d.

Inventory of 1324 (E106/8/5, no. 36)

Coges

Presens indentura testatur quod die dominica in festo apostolorum Simonis et Jude anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi decimo octavo, Henricus de Pontelawe et Johannes de Brumpton', custodes terrarum tenementorum et bonorum religiosorum alienigenarum de potestate et dominio Regis Francie in comitatibus Oxon' et Berks', invenerunt in Prioratu de Coges in comitatu Oxon' omnia bona et catalla subscripta, quo die predicti Henricus et Johannes omnia bona et catalla ibidem inventa per breve in manum domini Regis ceperunt, videlicet

Coges

	Invenerunt ibidem in Aula iii mensas cum ii paribus trestallis precium viii d. i lotorium cum pelvi precium xii d. i formula precium i d. i cathedram precium iii d. <i>Summa ii s.</i>
Panetria et Botelria	Invenerunt eciam ibidem in Panetria et Botelria iii cocliara argentea precium xviii d. i cistam precium xii d. iii mappas [precium i s] ix d. [.....] precium ix d. i savenape precium i d. v barrillos precium x d. <i>Summa xiii s xi d.</i>
Bracinum	Invenerunt eciam ibidem in Bracino i cuvam precium v d. ix minores cuvas precium xviii d. ii forn[ac]es precium iii s. <i>Summa xiii s xi d.</i>
Coquina	Invenerunt eciam [ibidem] in Coquina iii ollas eneas precium iii s vi d. i urciolum precium ix d. ii patellas eneas precium xi[ii] d. i patellam ferri precium iii d. <i>Summa vi s viii den.</i>
Granarium	Invenerunt eciam ibidem in Granario vi [bussellos] frumenti precium busselli vii d. i quarterium brasii avenarum precium ii s. <i>Summa v s vi d.</i>
Grangia	Invenerunt [eciam ibide]m in Grangia per estimacionem iii garbis xx quarterios frumenti precium quarterii iii s vi[ii] d. [...] quarterios d[rag]' precium quarterii ii s viii d. xv quarterios avene precium quarterii ii[.] d. [...] quarterios] mixture de ordeo vescis et avena precium quarterii xvi d. <i>Summa viii li. xvi s viii d.</i>
Staurum	Invenerunt eciam ibidem de stauro vivo et mortuo, ii equos precium capitis x s. i eq[u]m precium iii s. vi boves precium capitis x s. ii vacas precium capitis vi s. ii vitulos precium capitis ii s. iii porcos precium capitis ii s. xi porculos precium capitis xvi d. v aucas precium capitis iii d. viii gallos et gallinas precium capitis i d. i careccam cum rotis ferro ligatis et harnesio ad duos equos precium vi s viii d. i carucam cum ferro et toto apparatu precium ii s. <i>Summa vi li. xii s iii d. Summa Summarum xvi li. xii s xi den.</i>

APPENDIX C

THE HERALDIC STAINED GLASS IN COGGES PARISH CHURCH AND ITS EVIDENCE FOR THE PATRONAGE OF THE NORTH CHAPEL

The church windows contained at least 22 shields, all of which are now lost. The sources are: (a) rough annotated tricks by Richard Lee, 1574;¹³² (b) blazons by Nicholas Charles, c. 1610;¹³³ (c) annotated tricks by Anthony Wood, 1658;¹³⁴ (d) further notes and tricks by Wood, 1658;¹³⁵ and (e) a further note by Wood, 1660.¹³⁶ Wood (c) specifically locates three shields (1-3) in the chancel east window. Lee (a) groups ten shields (4-13) by windows, without locating them in the church. Wood's notes (c,d) show that two of these (5, 7) remained in his day on the north side of the north chapel, survivors from a series 'toren downe as I have been informed in the late rebellion'; he probably copied the others from Lee. From this evidence it appears that Lee records a complete series for the north chapel, 6 in the 3 two-light windows on the north side and 4 in the four-light east window.

The following reconstruction is based on the main accounts of Lee and Wood, with discrepancies from other sources noted where they occur.¹³⁷ Shields not mentioned by Lee are asterisked. Proposed identifications are added here in italics.¹³⁸

Chancel, east window

- (1) Barry of six argent and azure a bend gules. (Wood says 'twice'.) *Grey of Rotherfield*
- (2) Barry of six argent and azure on a bend gules three martlets or. *Grey*. Lombardic inscription LE DAME DE GREY.
- (3) Azure two chevrons gules* (but in (c) Wood has Azure a chevron gules, 'this stands reversed'; Cf.16). *Unknown*
See also (16)

North chapel, north side, first window

- (4) Argent on a bend azure three mullets or, a label of five gules (Charles gives a label of six). *Robert de Morby*
- (5) Gules a buck's face argent. *Duston*

North chapel, north side, second window

- (6) Barry of eight or and gules. *Fitzalan*
- (7) Per fess dancetty or and gules in chief a bar or. *Unknown*

North chapel, north side, third window

- (8) Barry nebuly of six or and gules. *Lovel or Basset?*
- (9) Argent three cross-crosslets fitchy sable, on a chief azure three mullets or. *Clinton*

North chapel, east window

- (10) As (2). *Grey*
- (11) Argent a fess gules. *Oddingseles?*
- (12) As (1). *Grey of Rotherfield*
- (13) Or a fess between two chevrons gules. *Fitzwalter*

A window on the north side, presumably in the aisle

- (14) As (7).* *Unknown*
- (15) Gules three piles wavy in chief argent. *Bassingbourne or Molyns?*

Unlocated

- (16) Azure a chevron gules, a chief argent. *Unknown*. Lombardic inscription WILLELMUS HAMON MONACHUS DE FESCHAMPE ET PRIOR DE COGGES. (In Charles's notes this is listed between (2) and (1), suggesting that it was in the chancel east window. Perhaps Wood confused it with the rather similar (3).)

¹³² Bodl. MS Wood D 14, ff.56v.-58; summarised W.H. Turner (ed.), *The visitations of the county of Oxford*, Harl. Soc. v (1871), 47.

¹³³ Brit. Lib., MS Cotton Lansdowne 874, f.141v.

¹³⁴ Bodl. MS Wood E 1, f.46.

¹³⁵ Ibid. B 15, f.56; incompletely printed F.N. Davis (ed.), *Parochial Collections*, (Oxon. Record Soc. ii, iv, xi), 99, which also prints a garbled summary of Wood's notes from MS Rawl. B 400c.

¹³⁶ Brit. Lib., MS Harl. 4170, p.48; printed Davis, *Parochial Collections*, 99.

¹³⁷ A recent, but less thorough, account of these lost shields appears in Newton, *A catalogue of medieval stained glass*, 70.

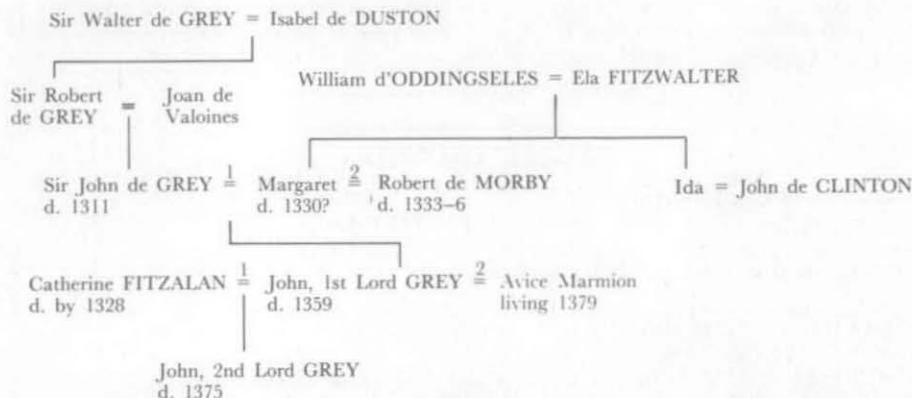
¹³⁸ From J.W. Papworth, *An alphabetical dictionary of coats of arms* (London, 1874), checked against the revised Papworth index-cards in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

- (17) Vairy argent and gules on a bend sable three bezants. *Golafre?*
 (18) As (17). *Golafre?* (Charles has Nebuly a bend.)
 (19) Lozengy ermine and sable on a chief sable three lilies slipped argent. *Bishop Waynefleete*
 (20) As (1). *Grey of Rotherfield*
 (21) As (8). *Lovel or Basset?*
 (22) As (11). *Oddingseles?*

These shields provide evidence for the building of the north chapel, the remodelling of the chancel, and possibly other late medieval work in the church.

North chapel (4-13)

All the shields except (7) and (8) were borne by families known to have been closely related to the Greys of Rotherfield and Cogges. In the following outline pedigree, family names printed in capitals were represented in the chapel glass.¹³⁹



This heraldry must have been chosen to display the family connections of two individuals: Lady Margaret de Grey, and her son John, 1st Lord Grey. The shields include Margaret's father, mother, brother-in-law and second husband, John's first wife and his great-grandmother. Clearly this was a Grey family chapel, and it seems inherently likely that it was built to house the fine tomb and its female effigy. The obvious conclusion, then, is that the tomb and chapel commemorate Margaret and were erected by her son John.

Margaret, youngest daughter of William d'Oddingseles of Maxstoke, was born in 1277. From the death of her first husband, Sir John de Grey, in 1311 she held Cogges as her principal dower manor. By 1319 she was married to Robert de Morby.¹⁴⁰ In April 1330 John and Margaret were granted free warren at Cogges and elsewhere, but a similar grant only five months later to John de Grey of Rotherfield suggests that Margaret was now dead and that her dower manors had reverted to her son.¹⁴¹ By 1336 Robert de Morby was dead also, and his stepson John de Grey had custody of his lands.¹⁴² In 1338 John re-united the manor of Cogges by exchange;¹⁴³ it remained in his hands until his death in 1359, after which his widow held it in her turn as dowry.¹⁴⁴ John, Lord Grey had a distinguished political career during the 1340s and 1350s, and his duties as Steward of the Household would have brought him into contact with royal craftsmen.¹⁴⁵ This aristocratic and courtly background surely explains the lavish treatment of the chapel at Cogges.

¹³⁹ For sources see *Complete Peerage*, iii, 313; v, 397-8; vi, 144 ff; *Ancestor*, x, 32ff.

¹⁴⁰ See *Ancestor*, x, 35-6, 43-5.

¹⁴¹ *Cal. Charter R.* iv, 168, 189.

¹⁴² *Cal. Pat. R.* 1334-38, 270.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 1338-40, 101.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 1377-81, 334.

¹⁴⁵ See biography in *Complete Peerage* vi, 145-7.

Chancel east window (1-3; 16?)

The glass may have been contemporary with the curvilinear tracery and other 14th-century additions to the chancel. (1), (2) and (3) were certainly in this window; (1) evidently appeared twice, (3) is stated to have occurred also with the colours reversed, and (16), which cannot be certainly located, may also have been here. This would give a symmetrical total of six shields, two per light. The legend 'le dame de Grey' probably refers to one of the two dowagers who held Cogges, either Lady Margaret (1311-?1330) or Lady Avice (1359-1379+). The eccentric coat (16) had an inscription associating it with Prior William Hamon (1341-1366+), and (3) is so similar that it too must have been connected with Fécamp. If (16) was indeed in the east window it suggests that the glass was a joint gift from Prior Hamon and Lady Avice, between 1359 and the late 1360s. Such a date is not impossibly late for the curvilinear tracery.

Unlocated shields (14-15, 17-22)

Bishop Weneflete's coat (19) was clearly placed in the church by virtue of his office of Provost of Eton, which he held from 1443; the 15th-century alterations, notably the large and impressive west window, may possibly have been carried out under his direction. If (21) was indeed Lovel, it may have been a product of Lord Lovel's tenancy of the Priory estate. For the present the other coats must remain unexplained.

APPENDIX D

COGGES PRIORY AND COGGES MANOR FARM: FLINT REPORT
By JULIE P. GARDINER

The following abbreviations are used in this report:

Clarke 1932	J.G.D. Clarke, 'The curved flint sickle blades of Britain'. <i>Proc. Prehist. Soc. of East Anglia</i> , vii(i), 67-81.
Clarke et al. 1960	J.G.D. Clarke, E.S. Higgs and I. Longworth, 'Excavations at the Neolithic site at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk, 1954, 1957, 1958', <i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> xxvi 202-45.
Holden & Bradley 1975	E.W. Holden and R.J. Bradley, 'A late Neolithic site at Rackham', <i>Sussex Arch. Colln.</i> cxiii, 85-103.
Smith 1965	I.F. Smith, <i>Windmill Hill and Avebury</i> .
Wainwright & Longworth 1971	G.G.J. Wainwright and I. Longworth, <i>Durrington Walls 1966-1968</i> (Society of Antiquaries.)

A number of struck and worked flints were recovered during excavation. These came from two main areas: the Priory (mostly from gulley F24) and the orchard of Manor Farm. A full catalogue of the flints is deposited with the site records at the County Museum, Woodstock.

Cogges Priory

Forty nine flints were recovered from this site, all but six from the red clay filling of gulley F24. The material can be broken down into the following categories: 2 frost shattered flints; 3 burnt flints; 41 waste flakes and blades; 2 retouched flakes; 1 scraper.

The raw material evidently consisted of small nodules of quite poor-quality flint, the colour of which varies considerably from bright red/orange to black. Patination is also variable, ranging from a slight glossy sheen to dense white. The most likely source of this material would be the local river gravels.

The general size and shape of the flint flakes reflects the small size of the raw material. Most pieces are small, although there is considerable variation in their proportions, with one or two true blades, several blade-like flakes and many more squat and thick examples. A number of flakes have battered edges, in some cases produced by heavy usage (one piece appears to be a fragment of a hammerstone), but in most cases evidently fairly recent and accidental. Nearly half retain some cortex.

Of the three retouched pieces (including the scraper), one is a thick blade-like flake with retouch at one end only (Fig. 23. 1), and the second is roughly triangular, slightly battered, with irregular retouch on all three

sides, (Fig. 23.2). The remaining example is a well-finished, though somewhat battered, end/side scraper (Fig. 23.3). It is made on a small thick secondary flake with cortex remaining along one side. The flint itself is a barely patinated brown of noticeably better quality than any other piece from the site. Retouch is steep and relatively fine and on three sides.

Cogges Manor Farm (Orchard site)

Sixty four flints were found in this area. They consist of: 4 frost shattered flints; 5 burnt flints; 2 bashed nodules; 2 cores; 34 waste flakes and blades; 13 utilised/retouched flakes; 3 scrapers; 1 sickle blade(?).

As with the Priory flints, most of these pieces are small, frequently cortical and relatively thick, with a variety of colours and patination. The two cores and various nodules confirm the use of small gravel flints as raw material.

Cores: Fig. 23.12 is a small two-platformed core of Clarke's class Bii (Clarke et al. 1960), roughly worked and still retaining some cortex. The edge of one platform is heavily battered. The second core (Fig. 23.13) is multi-platformed (class C) in very poor quality flint, having a number of flaws and very pitted cortex. Each platform has numerous facets, and there are several small, partly detached flakes. Variations in patination indicate at least two phases of working, the resulting 'core' being little more than a shapeless lump.

Utilized/retouched flakes: Thirteen flakes exhibit edge retouch or utilization. For the most part retouch is fairly regular and confined to one edge (eg. Fig. 23.7). Fig. 23.10 is a small secondary flake, having a dull orange patina with a 'soapy' feel common to a number of flints from this site. This flake has irregular retouch on all sides, with one side worked into a notch by the careful removal of tiny squills. Fig. 23.9 is a thick, bifacially worked nodule which has a number of flaws and partly detached flakes. One edge is rather battered.

Scrapers: Three small scrapers from the Orchard site, like the one example from the Priory, are all made of better quality flint than the rest of the material. The smallest (Fig. 23.4) is a very small and thin flake of unpatinated beige flint with quite delicate retouch, mainly on one edge. Fig. 23.5 is on a snapped flake of brown flint patinated blue/white, with equally fine retouch on three sides. Fig. 23.6 is very similar to the Priory scraper, in the same brown flint with a very light milky patina and steep retouch on three sides. The scraping edge is quite badly crushed, but whether through usage or subsequent damage is not clear.

Sickle blade (Fig. 23.8): The identification of this piece as a broken sickle blade is only tentative. The flint is of good quality, roughly triangular and widening towards the point of fracture. One side of the flint is markedly convex, and the other almost straight. Both edges are carefully retouched at an angle of about 50°, as is the point, but both faces remain unretouched and almost flat. There is no sign of any gloss.

This implement is similar in shape and size to a sickle blade from the Southern Circle at Durrington Walls (Wainwright & Longworth 1971) and to another from Hurst Fen (Clarke et al. 1960). On the other hand it does not resemble any of the 23 blades from Windmill Hill (Smith 1965). The broken examples from these three sites exhibit those features which Clarke considers to be characteristic of complete sickle blades (Clarke 1932), bifacial, shallow retouch covering the whole of one or both faces and a marked concavity on one side. These features are typified by the sickle from Eastbourne illustrated by Clarke (Clarke et al. 1960, p. 70). The Cogges example, by comparison, has only unifacial, steep edge retouch and lacks the concavity of form, although it is certainly asymmetrical. The identification of the implement therefore remains in doubt.

Discussion

Visually the flint material from the two Cogges sites is basically homogenous and there seems no reason to treat it as two separate assemblages, the sites being only c. 100 m. apart. The use of small nodules of locally-derived river-gravel flint is common to both, and the size and shape of flakes produced is evidently directly related to size and quality of the raw material.

The generally low quality of the material can readily be seen in the pitted and deep cortex, the large number of flaws, cracks and mineral inclusions in the flint and also in the quality of the workmanship. A large number of flakes are snapped or exhibit hinge fractures; numerous pieces have partly detached scales and several others, including one core, have multifaceted platforms where repeated efforts have been needed to detach flakes. That this poor workmanship is due to the character of the flint rather than to lack of skill on the part of the knapper is suggested by the generally careful and regular working of the retouched pieces, particularly the scrapers and 'sickle blade'.

Dating is very difficult. The number of unbroken flakes (51) is too small for metrical analysis and visual examination does not immediately suggest a probable date.

The sickle flint, if identification is correct, could be placed firmly within the Neolithic. At Hurst Fen and Windmill Hill, sickle blades were associated with earlier Neolithic pottery and leaf arrowheads, the latter site having C14 dates of 2960 \pm 150 bc (BM 73) and 2580 \pm 150 bc (BM 74) from pre-bank occupation and primary ditch silt contexts respectively. At Durrington Walls the association is with Late Neolithic Grooved Ware and a characteristically late flint industry with C14 dates ranging from 2320 \pm 125 bc (NPL 192) to 1900 \pm 90 bc (BM 397).

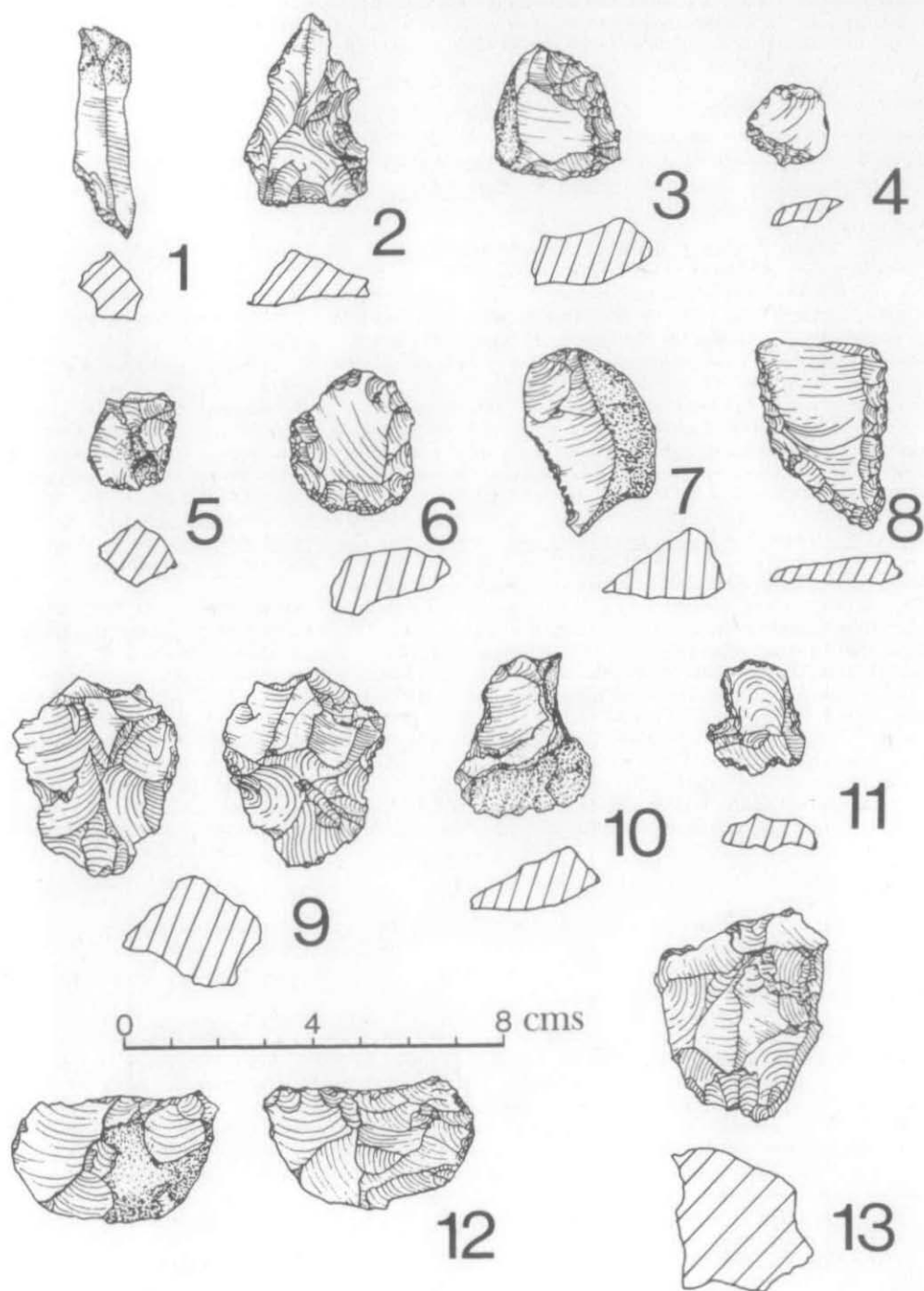


Fig.23. Cogges Priory and Manor Farm: struck and worked flints.

The two scrapers, Fig. 23.6 from the Orchard site and Fig. 23.3 from the Priory, are also very similar in size and shape to the majority of scrapers from the Late Neolithic industry at Rackham in Sussex (Holden and Bradley 1975) where they were associated with plano-convex, blunted-backed and discoidal knives, fabricators and barbed and tanged arrowheads, and with a carbon date of 2000 ± 140 bc (HAR 360).

On the basis of these analogies it is therefore possible to suggest that the Cogges flints may belong in the late third/ early second millennia BC, but the small size of the assemblage and the poor quality of the flint generally makes it impossible to put any closer date on this material.

I would like to thank Richard Bradley for reading and commenting on this paper.

The illustrated flints (Fig. 23):

- 1 Retouched flake. Secondary flake, bladelike but thick; only the end is retouched. (F24)
- 2 Retouched flake. Roughly triangular secondary flake; some battering. (F24)
- 3 End/side scraper. Small, squat secondary flake in good quality brown/black flint; barely patinated; quite fine steep retouch. (F24)
- 4 Scraper. Small thin secondary flake; fine retouch (A4 1200). (Orchard)
- 5 Scraper. Small secondary flake, cortical, fine steep retouch (AJ). (Orchard)
- 6 Scraper. Broken thin secondary flake in good quality brown/black flint; very similar to Fig. 23.3. Virtually unpatinated (AA2 100). (Orchard)
- 7 Retouched flake. Cortical secondary flake; retouched along one edge (AG 800). (Orchard)
- 8 Sickle blade? Triangular secondary flake, snapped. One side is slightly convex, tip and both sides are retouched, with fine careful working. However, there is no working on either face, retouch being confined to the edges. The retouch is also rather too steep for a sickle, and identification remains in doubt (A6 800). (Orchard)
- 9 Retouched flake. Thick roughly shaped secondary flake, perhaps a roughout of some kind on small nodule (AN 1400). (Orchard)
- 10 Retouched flake. Orange/red flint with 'soapy' patina; retouched into a notch (AA 100). (Orchard)
- 11 Retouched flake. Primary flake (AK). (Orchard)
- 12 Core. Roughly worked small two-platformed core of Clarke's class Bii, some cortex remaining (AE 700). (Orchard)
- 13 Core. Roughly worked, small multiplatformed core (class C) with at least two phases of working. Poor quality flint with faceted platforms (AM 1000). (Orchard)

APPENDIX E THE POTTERY

Romano-British Wares

Only 14 sherds were found, all residual. One fragment was found in the late Saxon palisade-trench (F38/46), 8 in L7c, 4 in L7a, and 1 in L25. They consisted of 1 sherd of a colour-coated bowl with stamped rosettes (4th century AD) from the Oxford kilns;¹⁴⁶ 1 sherd of a jar with a deep flanged rim, mid 3rd century AD, copying a Samian form;¹⁴⁷ and 10 sherds of grey wares. Evidently there was some kind of Roman presence nearby. The nearest known Roman site is at Gill Mill, a mile south of Witney.

Fig. 24.1 Jar with deep flanged rim for lid seating. 10R4/8. 3rd century AD. (L7c)

Saxon Wares

Eleven sherds of early to mid Saxon pottery (6th to 8th centuries) were found: 3 in F38/46, 1 in F9, 3 in L7c, and 4 in L7a-b. These comprised: 3 grass-tempered sherds, 1 grass- and limestone-tempered sherd, 1 shelly and oolitic limestone-tempered sherd, 5 hard sandy-tempered sherds and 1 rim of coarse, shelly, limestone-tempered ware.¹⁴⁸

Twenty three sherds of late Saxon pottery, 9th to 10th centuries, were found: 15 in F38/46, 2 in L7c, and the rest in later contexts. These included 1 sherd of shelly limestone-tempered ware (fabric B), and 1 of coarse oolitic limestone-tempered ware (fabric AC); one has slight traces of burnishing on the outside surface. One has

¹⁴⁶ Cf. C.J. Young, *Oxfordshire Roman Pottery* (British Arch.Reps. xliii, 1977), Fig. 63 C 79.7.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Ibid. Fig. 54 C16.6.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. F. Berisford, 'The Anglo-Saxon pottery', in A.C.C. Broadribb et al., *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii (Oxford, 1972), 56-66.

a stamped pattern of a seven-petalled flower. M. Farley, Buckinghamshire County Museum, writes: 'Your stamped sherd is stuffed full of reddish angular quartz (or possibly quartzite). Almost equally dominant are regular calcareous inclusions, one containing a piece of fossil (? shell) and which is presumably limestone. Our early Walton fabrics contain less quartz: it is pink not red, and sparser. Moreover, calcareous inclusions are rare.' It is possible that this last sherd is a regional import from the east.

Sixteen sherds were of St. Neots type wares (fabric R).¹⁴⁹ One base bore carbon residues.

- Fig. 24.2 Fragment of coarse grass-tempered cookpot. 2.5 YR 4/0. Early to mid Saxon. (L7)
- Fig. 24.3 Fragment of coarse grass-tempered cookpot. 2.5 YR 4/0. Early to mid Saxon. (L7)
- Fig. 24.4 Fragment of burnished sandy ware cookpot. 2.5 YR 2.5/0. Mid to late Saxon. (L7)
- Fig. 24.5a Fragment of bowl with stamped pattern of seven-petalled flower. 2.5 YR 2 5/0. Late Saxon. (L7)
- Fig. 24.5b Fragment of body of thick yellow sandy ware pot. 7.5 YR 6/8. Late Saxon. (L7)
- Fig. 24.5c Fragment of rim of straight sided jar or cookpot. 7.5 YR 2/0. Late Saxon. (L7)
- Fig. 24.6 Fragment of rim of cookpot slightly clubbed in section with bean-shaped impressions. St. Neot's type ware. 7.5 YR 6/2. Mid 10th to mid 11th centuries. (F46)
- Fig. 24.7 Fragment of cookpot with the rim thickened and flattened. St. Neots type ware. 7.5 YR 5/0. Mid 10th to mid 11th centuries. (F46)

Early Medieval Wares

Oolitic limestone-tempered wares (fabric AC) predominated in F45 and were also found in F34, F36, F47, L7c and L15. They were mainly fragments of vertical sided cookpots.¹⁵⁰ This pottery is found abundantly in Oxford,¹⁵¹ and dates from between the mid 11th and 13th centuries.

Coarse oolitic limestone-tempered wares were found in L7a and F14. Among the rim sherds was a cookpot or storage jar with a very flared rim for which there are no parallels from recent excavations in Oxford. Such vessels have been found at Minety, Wiltshire.¹⁵² Other rims of this fabric were also very flared; there was also a flat clubbed rim from a straight-sided cookpot;¹⁵³ and a handle with incised decoration. This ware may well have been brought into West Oxfordshire from the west.

Seven sherds of flint-tempered wares (fabric AQ) were found in L7c, F36, F45, F47 and F8. This fabric¹⁵⁴ was made on the Berkshire Downs near Newbury from the 12th to the 14th century.

Seven sherds of sandy-tempered wares of a fabric unknown in Oxford were found in L7c, F45, F47, F9 and F8. Two have splashes of glaze inside the base and are 12th century.

- Fig. 24.8 Fragment of straight-sided cookpot with thickened and flattened rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 24.9 Fragment of cookpot with slightly thickened and rounded rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 5/0. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 24.10 Fragment of straight-sided cookpot with flattened and clubbed rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 2.5 YR 6/2. Early medieval. (L15)
- Fig. 24.11 Fragment of cookpot with thick flattened rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 5/0. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 24.12 Fragment of cookpot or storage jar with very flared rim. Coarse oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L26)
- Fig. 25.13 Fragment of cookpot with rounded and slightly everted rim. Flint-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 25.14 Fragment of straight-sided cookpot with clubbed rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 25.15 Fragment of cookpot with flattened and thickened rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L7)

¹⁴⁹ Cf. M. Mellor, 'The pottery', in T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle 1965-73', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 255-7.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. E.M. Jope, 'Regional cultures in medieval Britain', in I. L.L. Foster and L. Alcock (eds.), *Culture and Environment* (London, 1963), 330.

¹⁵¹ Described in B. Durham, 'Archaeological investigations in St. Aldate's Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 115.

¹⁵² Cf. D.P.S. Peacock, *Pottery and early commerce* (London, 1977), 257-305.

¹⁵³ Cf. Jope, 'Regional cultures in medieval Britain', 330.

¹⁵⁴ Durham, 'Archaeological investigations in St Aldate's', 115.

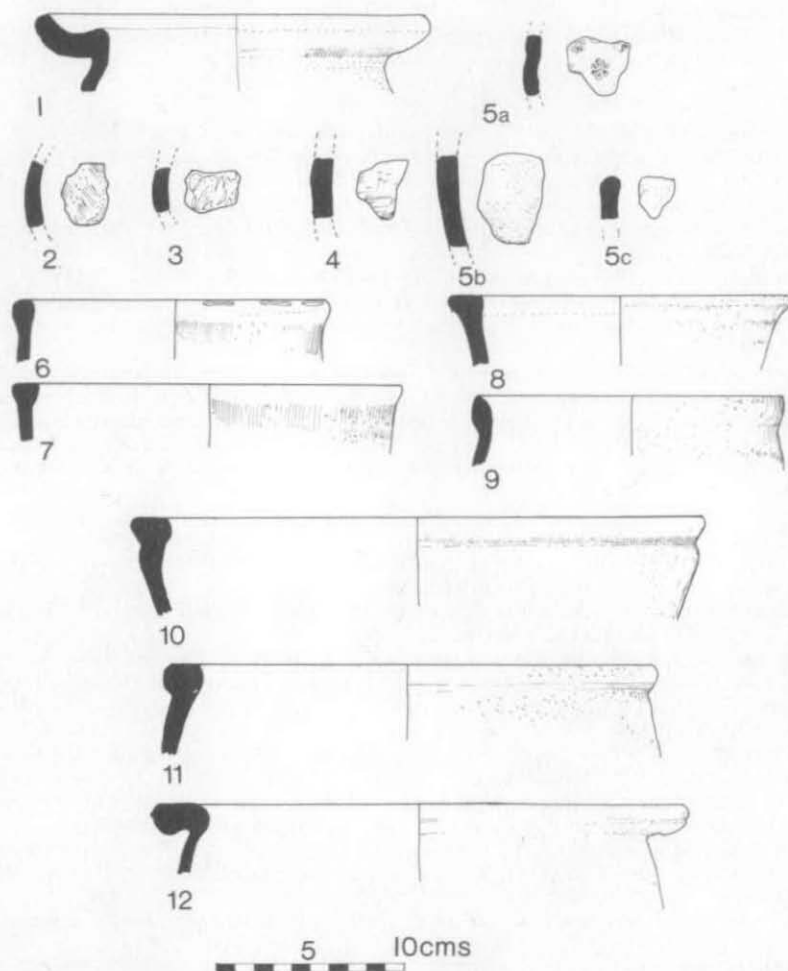


Fig.24. Cogges Priory, pottery (1:4): (1) Roman; (2-7) Anglo-Saxon; and (8-12) 12th century.

- Fig. 25.16 Fragment of cookpot with rounded and slightly everted rim. Flint-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (Unstratified)
- Fig. 25.17 Fragment of cookpot with rounded rim. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 7/4. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 25.18 Fragment of cookpot with very flared and flattened rim. Coarse oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L7)
- Fig. 25.19 Base of sandy-tempered jug or cookpot. Splash of glaze inside base. 7.5 YR 5/0. Mid to late 12th century. (F9)
- Fig. 25.20 Fragment of cookpot with rounded and slightly everted rim. (Unstratified)
- Fig. 25.21 Rim of small jar. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/4. Early medieval. (L7)

Later Medieval Wares

Sandy-tempered wares of a type made in the Brill-Boarstall kilns were found in L7c, F36, F25, F15 and F14. They were very prolific in L7a (86 sherds). They included fragments of green-glazed striped jugs of the late 13th to 14th centuries (fabric AM) such as were found at Oxford, St Aldates.¹⁵⁵ Also of this fabric and dating from this period were a fragment of a triple-decker jug,¹⁵⁶ and 6 fragments of a stout baluster or triple-decker jug. This was decorated with applied strips of buff clay, rouletted and covered with a rich, thick mottled green glaze. Five sherds of a similar vessel were also found with a composite pattern of applied strips in buff or red, some curvilinear and some impressed with a broad roulette. Parallels were found in Phase B II 1 at The Hamel, Oxford; they date from the late 13th to 14th centuries. Other parts of jugs included 4 rod handles with stabbing, covered with mottled green glaze, and a single handle with slashing and a rich green glaze, similar to those found at The Hamel, Oxford.

Four other later medieval types were present: 4 fragments of oolitic limestone-tempered wares, Gloucester type TF44 (late 14th to mid 15th centuries); 3 sherds of a Brill type (mid 13th to 15th centuries); and 3 body sherds of a hard sandy buff coloured pottery decorated with bands of white paint; the type has been found at Wallingford, Newbury, Maidenhead and Abingdon, and was probably made in the Reading-Newbury region.¹⁵⁷ There was 1 fragment of a local late 15th-century tableware with a buff sandy fabric and a rich green glaze, probably a mug.

- Fig. 25.22 Rim of jar of smooth sandy ware. 7.5 YR 6/6. Early post medieval. (F14)
- Fig. 26.23 Rod handle of jug with stab marks. Smooth buff sandy ware. Clear orange glaze with green spots and mottling. 7.5 YR 7/6. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.24 Strap handle of jug with central channel and slash marks. Smooth sandy ware. Thick olive-green glaze. 7.5 YR 6/6. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.25 Strap handle of jug with central channel and slash marks on sides and three rows of slashes in channel. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 7.5 YR 6/6. 12th to 13th centuries. (Topsoil)
- Fig. 26.26 Strap handle of jug with central channel and slash marks. Thick green glaze. Smooth sandy ware. 7.5 YR 6/6. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.27 Three sherds of a large jug. Smooth buff sandy ware with olive-green glaze and brown bands of decoration. 7.5 YR 8/8. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.28 Fragment of large jug with composite pattern of applied strips of buff clay, rouletted and curvilinear strips, covered with rich green glaze. 7.5 YR 7/6. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.29 Fragment of a stout baluster or triple-decker jug, decorated with applied strips of buff clay, rouletted and covered with a rich, thick mottled green glaze. 7.5 YR 7/6. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.30 Circular lead rivet with fragment of a buff sandy jug held between its burred-over ends. The outer face is incised with a circle and a cross.¹⁵⁸ 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.31 Base of stout baluster jug, spotted green glaze on base. Pale sandy ware. 7.5 YR 8/2. 13th to 14th centuries. (L7a)
- Fig. 26.32 Fragment of jug with squared rim. Rich yellow-orange glaze. 7.5 YR 7/8. 14th to 15th centuries. (L7a)

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 118.

¹⁵⁶ D.A. Hinton, *Medieval pottery in the Oxford region* (Oxford, 1973), Pl. 13, illustrates the type.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. S. Moorhouse, 'The pottery', in C.F. Slade, 'Excavations at Reading Abbey', *Berks.Arch.Jnl.* lxxi (1971-2), 92-110.

¹⁵⁸ For parallels see J. Williams, *St Peter's Street Northampton: excavations 1973-1976* (1979), 265-6.

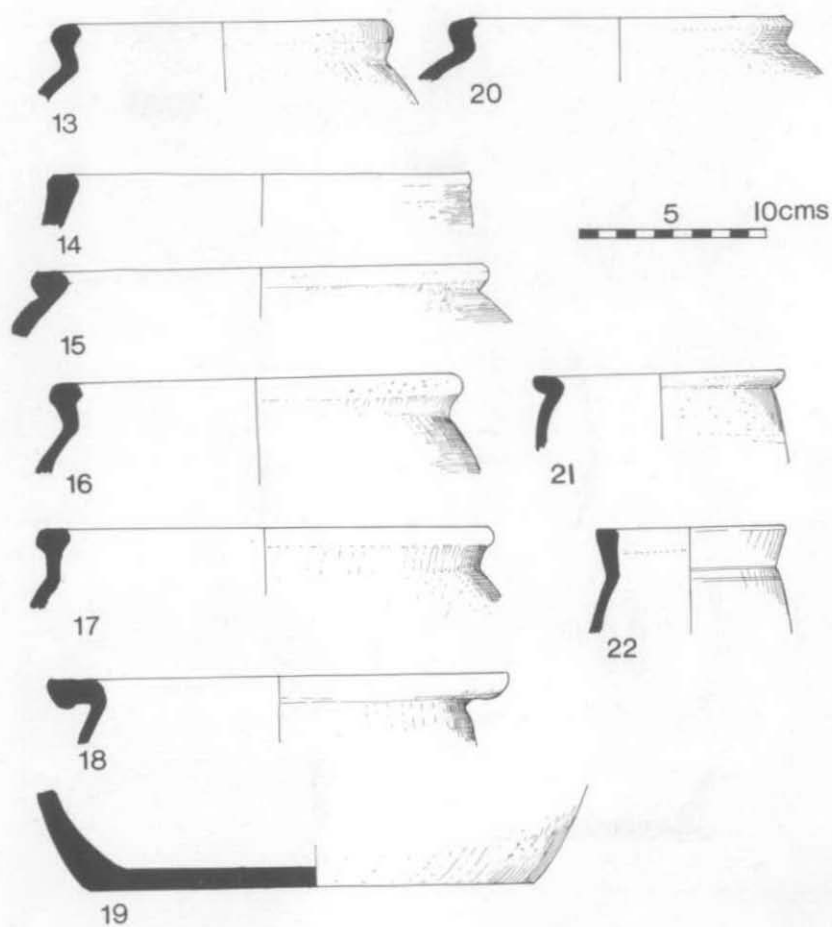


Fig.25. Cogges Priory, pottery (1:4); (13-21) 12th century; (22) early post-medieval.

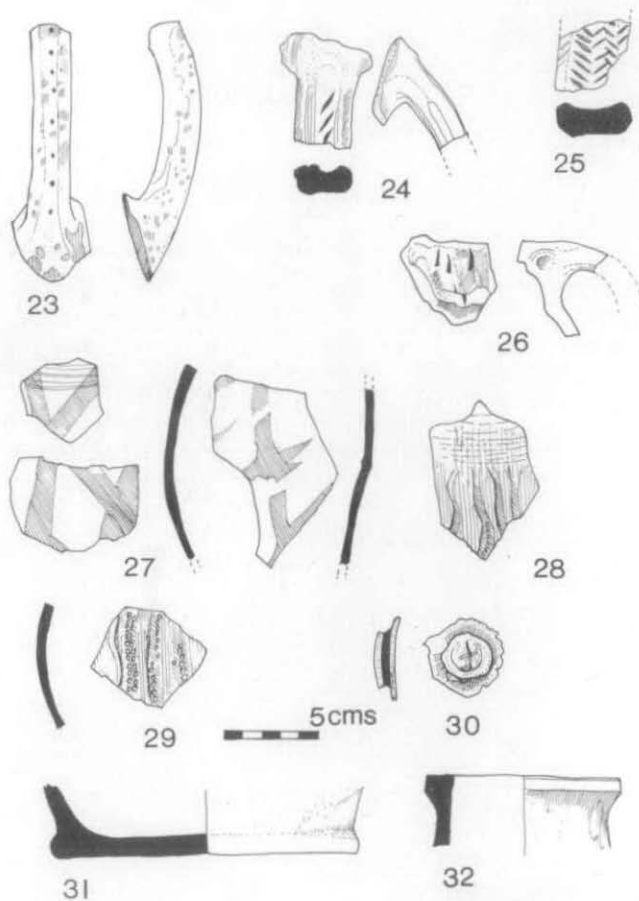


Fig.26. Cogges Priory, pottery (1:4): (22-31) 13th and 14th centuries; (32) 15th century.

Thirty four fragments of rectangular roof tiles, calcareous fabric with double holes pierced for suspension, were found. There were also 2 large fragments of ridge tile: one with a circular louvre, pinched cresting and green glaze with incised hatching on the sides; the other with pinched cresting.¹⁵⁹

- Fig. 27.33 Large piece of ridge tile, with vent or louvre and pinched cresting. Also covered with wash of olive-greenish slip and glaze. Lines are incised obliquely on the sides. Sandy fabric 10R 6/8 with pale green 10R/6 glaze. 13th century. (L15)
- Fig. 27.34 Triangular and perforated cresting from ridge tile. Oolitic limestone fabric. 7.5 YR 6/6. 13th century. (L7a)
- Fig. 27.35 Large fragment of ridge tile with pinched cresting. Sandy fabric with wash of olive-green slip and decayed glaze. 10R 6/8 with 10R 6/6 glaze. 13th century. (L15)
- Fig. 27.36 Small fragment of ridge tile with pinched cresting. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware with olive-green glaze. 7.5 YR 5/8. 13th century. (L26)
- Fig. 27.37 Small fragment of ridge tile with pinched cresting. 7.5 YR 5/6. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 13th century. (From garden of Cogges Manor Farm.)
- Fig. 27.38 Corner of rectangular roofing tile with perforation for suspension. Sandy ware. 7.5 YR 5/8. 15th century or early post medieval. (L7a)
- Fig. 27.39 Fragment of rectangular roofing tile with perforation for suspension. Sandy ware. 2.5 YR 6/6. 15th century or early post-medieval. (L25)
- Fig. 27.40 Fragment of rectangular roofing tile. Oolitic limestone-tempered ware. 10 YR 7/3. 13th century. (L7a)
- Fig. 27.41 Fragment of roof finial with pyramidal point incised deeply. Oolitic limestone fabric. 7.5 YR 6/4. 13th century. (L15)

Early Post Medieval Wares

Most sherds of the period were Brill type wares with smooth, creamy, sandy fabric covered in a dirty olive-green or orange glaze, occasionally with green mottling (late 15th to 16th centuries). The majority were body sherds, but there was one base of a small vessel, possibly a bottle, only 5 cm. in diameter. One small creamy sherd was part of a very thick base (?) of a large jar with a bung-hole. Three fragments of a pure white sandy fabric with rich green glaze were the only examples of 'Tudor Green' pottery from Surrey.

Seven sherds of 17th-century Rhenish stonewares were found in L7a, F31 and F4. They included a sherd of a cream and blue Westerwald tankard, 1 strap handle and 4 body sherds of Bellarmine type vessels.

Two hundred and seven fragments of post medieval tiles were found in the later contexts. They varied in thickness from 13 mm. to 18 mm.; the holes were 15 mm. in diameter. A number had lines scored parallel with the sides. The fabric was fairly uniformly smooth and sandy. The building had probably been retiled in the early post-medieval period.

Later Post Medieval Wares

The most prolific were red earthenwares of the 17th to 19th centuries (194 sherds), mostly of a very smooth and sandy fabric. Most of the vessels were glazed internally, a small proportion in dark purple manganese and greater quantities in lead-glazed orange and olive-green. One or two vessels had white slip stripes under a green glaze. The forms included large pancheons, lidded bread crocks, bowls and cream pots. A likely kiln source for some of this red ware is Leafield.¹⁶⁰

Other later post-medieval wares were represented by a single sherd of stoneware from Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire (a small ribbed handle perhaps from a cup), 4 sherds of salt glazed wares, 3 of Staffordshire combed ware (probably a large dish), 7 of a manganese glazed tankard (Staffordshire 17th-century). Eighteenth-century wares included 3 sherds of Chinese porcelain, 1 of English porcelain, 7 of English stoneware, 1 of yellow coloured earthenware, 1 tin-glazed and 1 of Pearl ware (late 18th to 19th centuries). The later contexts produced 71 sherds of white earthenwares of the 18th to 19th centuries.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. E.M. Jope, 'The development of pottery ridge tiles in the Oxford region', *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 86-8.

¹⁶⁰ See N. Stebbing, J. Rhodes and M. Mellor, *Oxfordshire Potters* (Woodstock 1980), Fig. 21.4.

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF POT-SHERDS AND TILE FRAGMENTS FROM COGGES PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, AREA 1

	F38/46	F45	F9	L7c	F47	F36	F34	F27	L7a-b	L15	L25/6	F17	F8	F14	F31	F2	F4
<i>Romano-British</i>																	
Grey wares: 2nd to 4th centuries	1			5					4								
Colour-coated Oxford wares: 4th century				2							1						
Colour-coated Oxford wares; Samian copy: 3rd century				1													
<i>Early to Mid Saxon</i>																	
Grass-tempered wares: 6th to 8th centuries				1					2								
Grass- and limestone-tempered wares: 6th to 8th centuries				1													
Coarse shelly limestone-tempered wares: 6th to 8th centuries				1													
Shelly and oolitic limestone-tempered wares: 6th to 8th centuries	1																
Hard sandy-tempered wares: 6th to 8th centuries	2			1					2								
<i>Late Saxon</i>																	
Shelly limestone-tempered wares: 9th to 10th centuries	1																
Oolitic limestone-tempered wares: mid 11th to 12th centuries				1													
Sandy with angular glassy quartz-tempered wares:	2		1						1								
Shelly limestone-tempered wares (St. Neots type): 10th to 11th centuries	11			1		1			3								
Sandy-tempered wares: 10th to 11th centuries	1																
<i>Early Medieval</i>																	
Oolitic limestone-tempered wares; 11th to 13th centuries		53		9	6	3	10			21							
Coarse oolitic limestone-tempered wares, ? from Wilts-Glouce.: 12th century									72					29			
Flint-tempered wares, ? from Newbury region: late 12th to 14th centuries		1		1	2	1							2				
Sandy-tempered wares; fabric unknown in Oxford region: 12th century		2	1	1	2								1				
<i>Later Medieval</i>																	
Sandy-tempered wares; a Brill type: Mid 13th to 14th centuries				2		4			86	2	10			4			
Miscellaneous fabrics: 12th to 14th centuries									40	17				2	10		

F38/46 F45 F9 L7c F47 F36 F34 F27 L7a-b L15 L25/6 F17 F8 F14 F31 F2 F4

	F38/46	F45	F9	L7c	F47	F36	F34	F27	L7a-b	L15	L25/6	F17	F8	F14	F31	F2	F4
Tiles; calcareous fabric: 13th to 14th centuries								1	17	1	5	1		7	2		
Tiles; sandy fabric: 12th to 15th centuries					1				1	1							
Oolitic limestone-tempered wares; Gloucester type TF 44: late 14th to mid 15th centuries					1					3							
Sandy wares; a Brill type: mid 13th to 15th centuries								2			1						
Hard sandy wares; from Reading — Newbury region: 13th century								3									
Sandy local Tudor type: late 15th century										1							
<i>Early Post-Medieval</i>																	
Smooth sandy ware; a Brill type: late 15th to 16th centuries								1			20			1			
Pure white sandy fabric; ?										1							2
Tudor Green: 16th century																	
Rhenish stoneware: 17th century								1							2		4
Tiles; sandy fabric								1	118	18	18	5	5	24	3	1	14
<i>Later Post-Medieval</i>																	
Red earthenware, glazed and unglazed: 17th to 19th centuries								121		8	14				5	15	31
Stonewares; from Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire: 18th century																	1
Salt-glazed ware: 18th century								4									
Staffordshire combed slip ware: 18th century								2								1	
Staffordshire manganese glazed tankard: 18th century								2			4						2
Chinese porcelain: 18th century								1								2	
English stoneware: 18th century								5								2	
White earthenware: late 18th to 19th centuries								42		1						23	5
Yellow coloured earthenware: 19th century								1									
Pearl ware: late 18th to 19th centuries								1									
Tin-glaze: late 18th to 19th centuries																	1
English porcelain: 19th century																	1

(Contexts which produced no pottery are omitted.)

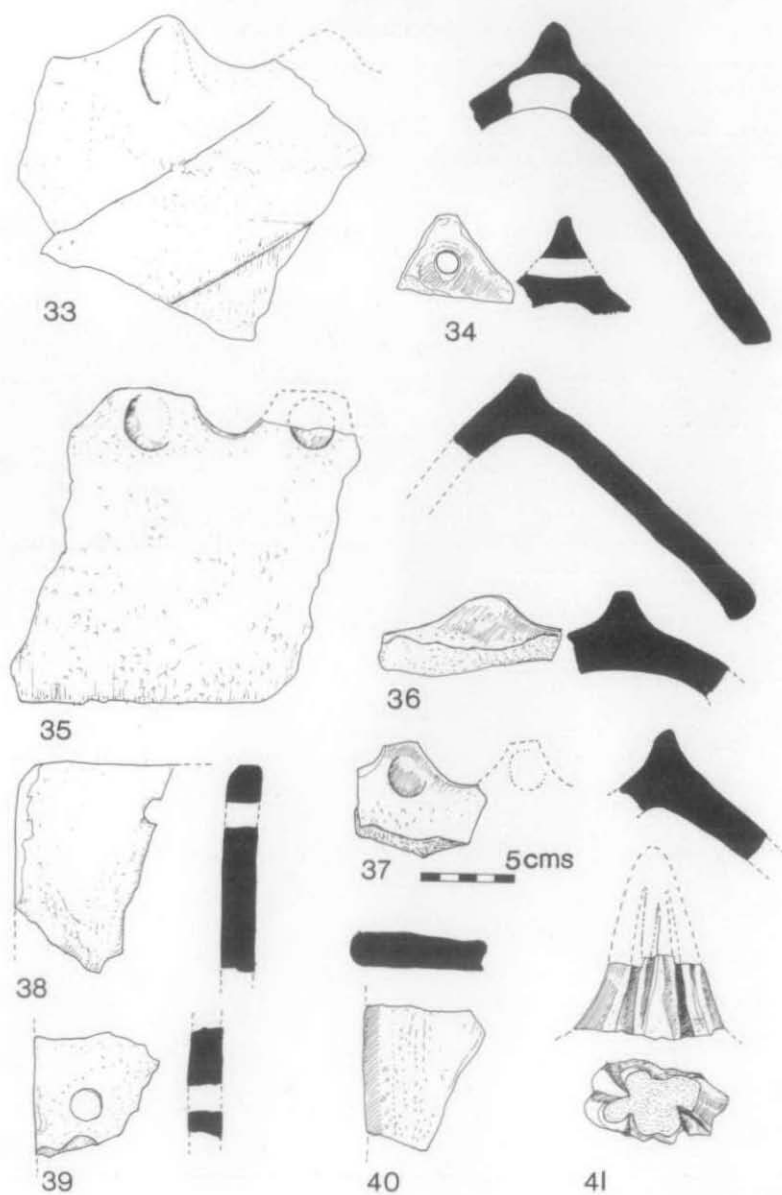


Fig.27. Cogges Priory, roof-tiles (1:4).

APPENDIX F

THE SMALL FINDS (Fig. 28)

Copper alloy objects

1. Part of a skimmer, for removing fat from the stewpot or cream from milk. It consists of a sheet perforated with holes; three rivets indicate the position of the socketed handle. A more complete example was found at The Hamel, Oxford,¹⁶¹ and another with the handle intact is in the Museum of London. Such 'skymours' are frequently mentioned in medieval cookery books such as *The Forme of Cury*, and a cook is seen using one in the Luttrell Psalter. (Context L7a, c. 19th century)
2. Part of the rim and sides of a bowl or small cauldron. The rim has been bent over and perforated so that a rim stiffener can be attached by means of rivets. A complete medieval bronze bowl with rim stiffener and dome-headed rivets intact is in the Museum of London.¹⁶² Three fragments; only the rim is illustrated. (Context L15, c. 19th century)
3. Skillet handle with incised decoration of three fleurs-de-lys and a chevron pattern. Three-legged skillets with projecting strip handles are found from the 13th century onwards.¹⁶³ (Context Topsoil)
4. Small bell, decorated with triangular piercings. The clapper is an iron pin hanging from an iron loop in the dome of the bell. Perhaps from a harness or dog-collar; hounds wearing such bells are depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. Late Saxon. (Context F46, c. 10th-11th century)
5. Part of a buckle. A plate, hinge and pin; the loop is missing. Probably 12th or 13th century. (Context L7a, c. 19th century)

Stone objects

6. Fragment of a whetstone with a groove down the centre of a flattened and worn face. R.W. Sanderson, Petrology Unit, Institute of Geological Sciences, South Kensington, writes: 'I regret to say that I am unable to suggest a satisfactory source for this material after an extensive search through our collections. The rock is a fine-grained sandy limestone containing small ovoid calcareous pellets. Superficially it resembles some of the sandy facets of the Portland stone from Oxfordshire but does not contain the common grains of glauconite which occur in these rocks. An educated guess suggests, that although matching material has not come to light, it could have been derived from the Jurassic lower cretaceous belt of the south-east Midlands.' (Context L15, c. 19th century)
7. Fragment of a honestone. One face is convex and smooth from use. (Context Topsoil)
8. Fragment of a quernstone. R.W. Sanderson writes: 'This specimen is a scoriaceous lava (tephrite) of the common rock type which was exported from the Neidermendig-Mayen area of the Eifel district in Germany from Roman times onwards.' (Context L7a, c. 19th century)

Iron objects

9. Casket key. Oval bow. Solid shank bored at end to leave a conical hole. X-ray photographs revealed the toothed wards. 12th or 13th century. (Context L7a, c. 19th century)
10. Horseshoe, with a suggestion of wavy edges. 12th or 13th century. (Context Topsoil)

Bone object

11. Small fragment of the mid-rib of a bone comb decorated with incised lines. Late Saxon. (Context L7c, c. 13th century)

APPENDIX G

THE ANIMAL REMAINS

By BOB WILSON

All the normally collected bones were examined, but only those from better stratified, less disturbed features were recorded. Fragment numbers are given in Table 4. A small amount of additional data is recorded on the primary record sheets.

A half-bucketful (c. 7 litres) sample of soil from F45 (c. mid 12th century) was washed through a 2.5 mm. mesh sieve, leaving a residue containing 2.05 kg. of oolitic gravel. The bones were in a good state of preservation. The following identifications were made:

¹⁶¹ *Oxoniensis*, xlv (1980), 186.

¹⁶² *London Museum: Medieval Catalogue* (1967), Fig. 66.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 205-7, Pl.LV.

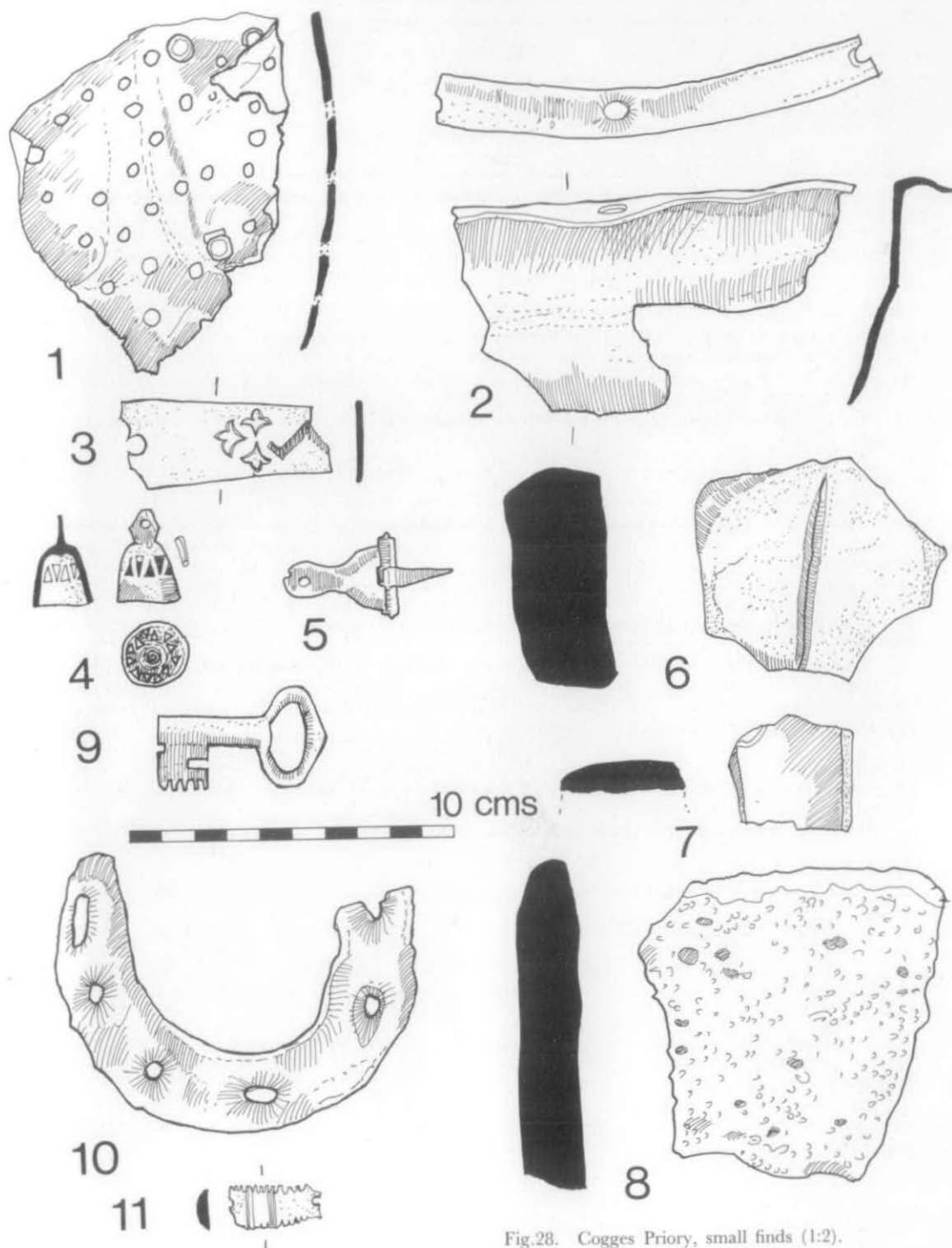


Fig.28. Cogges Priory, small finds (1:2).

1. Fish. Eel, *Anguilla anguilla*, 1 vertebra; 7 unidentified fragments.
2. Bird. First phalanx of medium-sized wild bird; 2 unidentifiable fragments.
3. Mammal. Humerus of small rodent.

The frequency in this sample of unidentified fragments without new breakages (excluding obvious fish and bird bones) was as follows:

	length of fragments (cm)		
	0 - 1	1 - 2	2 - 3
Unburnt	28	11	-
Burnt	1	-	-

Discussion

The bones and shells appear to be domestic debris. At The Hamel and other sites in Oxford, red and roe deer are represented better in the earlier deposits, indicating a varied meat diet which probably declined in quality during the medieval period. The eel bone is another useful record of fish once commonly eaten.

TABLE 4
BONE FRAGMENT FREQUENCY IN COGGES PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, AREA 1

Feature	10th to 12th centuries				Including post-medieval bones	
	F38/46	F45	F9	L7c	L7b	F36
Cattle	6	8	-	11	25	-
Sheep	12	3	1	14	29	1
Pig	7	7	1	6	15	1
Horse	1	-	-	2	-	-
Dog	1	-	-	-	1	-
Red deer	-	1	-	-	-	-
Roe deer	-	1	-	-	1	-
Sub total	27	20	2	33	77	2
Unidentified	56	22	1	37	64	6
Total	83	42	3	70	135	8
Domestic fowl	-	-	-	1	-	1
Domestic goose	-	1	-	-	-	-
Other bird	1	-	-	-	-	-
Oyster shell	-	1	-	3	-	-

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