

The wall tenements of Oxford in Domesday Book, and the process of burghal formation

Abstract

The incidence and character of the well-known *mansiones murales*, or wall tenements, of Oxford in Domesday Book, and their general connections with rural manors, are analysed to determine whether they were the particular result of a more general process of burghal formation in the late 9th century, as argued in the so-called 'garrison theory' by F.W.Maitland in 1897. It is concluded, however, that these were peculiar to Oxford alone, but are nevertheless the remnants of a more complete tally of such tenements which represent the survival of arrangements originating in the initial stages of burghal formation by the king.

The *mansiones murales* - the 'mural mansions', mural burgages or wall tenements - of Oxford in Domesday Book have gained a particular importance in the study of the early medieval borough in that they have formed one of the evidential bases for the so-called 'garrison theory' of F W Maitland. In this, he argues that the widespread attachment of urban tenements to rural manors as appurtenant holdings of the tenants-in-chief of the shire, shown in Domesday Book and earlier charters, represents the vestiges of arrangements whereby the land-holders of the shire were able to discharge their obligations for the defence of the borough (or late Saxon burh) to which the shire or burghal territory looked for its defence.¹ It will be argued in this paper, however, that these wall tenements are the result not of a general process of provision for the defence of the original burh, but of a secondary (but still comparatively early) development which was peculiar to Oxford alone. This body of evidence cannot be considered, therefore, as the unique survival of a ubiquitous situation in other boroughs from which general processes can be inferred - as assumed by Maitland. Nevertheless, they provide an important window into the processes involved in the creation of burhs in the

late-ninth and early-tenth centuries, and in an oblique way provide a body of evidence from which a new 'garrison theory' can be fashioned for the twenty-first century.

The references to these wall tenements have been discussed on numerous occasions, and are generally seen as evidence for the way that the new burghal extension to the east of the original burh of Oxford was created and maintained.² John Blair has tabulated some of the relevant information concerning the holders of the manors to which the majority of the wall tenements appear to have been appurtenant, though his list gives only the probable holders before the Conquest.³ He does not however give a full indication of either the total numbers of wall tenements or of their holders at the time of the Domesday Survey itself, nor does he explore fully the degree to which these tenements were appurtenant to rural manors. A full analytical list of all the evidence of holders of burgesses or tenements in Oxford in Domesday is therefore given below.⁴

Insert TABLE

The structure of the entry for Oxford, summarised in the table above, can be unpacked in terms of the division of the tenements into two broad categories - customary tenements (section B4 plus Robert d'Oilly's 50 tenements in section 28), from which dues are paid to the king alone; and non-customary tenements (sections B5-10), from which dues are paid to the various named tenants-in-chief of the shire, as well as various named burgesses with English names at the end of section 10. The tenements listed in sections B5-7 are held by the king only by virtue of the fact that they represent forfeits from former holders, who appear to have been the various earls who were dispossessed at or just before the Conquest. Also included in this category here are the 13 tenements in Oxford appurtenant to the manor of Steventon in Berkshire, which are listed in the Berkshire folios under the king's manors as having been held by Earl Harold, and stated by the men of the shire to be now held by Robert d'Oilly. As a group, therefore, the tenements formerly held by earls appear to have been non-customary - i.e. paying dues to the earl at the manor to which they were appurtenant. Only those described in section B5 are, however, described as wall tenements. The

others described in sections B6-7 (and including those appurtenant to Steventon in Berkshire), are not specifically described as such, though the implication is that they may well have been. The exceptions are the 50 customary tenements held by Robert d'Oilly (section 28), which comprised a separate urban fee around St Peter's in the East church ⁵, and which are customary tenements. Like the king's customary tenements (section B4) they paid 'tax and tribute', which may have gone either towards the £20 paid to the king by Oxford as a whole for 'tolls, tribute and other customary dues' (section B1), or may have formed part of the earl's third share itself. It is possible that Robert's tenements were also classed as wall tenements, though this is neither stated nor implied in the text.

The survival of the connections of these former comital holdings with rural manors shown in section B5 is a good illustration of the principle that these appurtenances, which (as argued below) appear to have belonged to an early stage in the formation of burhs and their territories, will have survived until the time of Domesday by virtue of the fact that, as comital holdings, they would not have been subject to the vagaries of the urban land market or gift-giving in the 10th and early 11th centuries. If the early *haga* around St Ebbe's church (B8) had not been given by Ealdorman Aethelmaer to Eynsham abbey in 1005,⁶ it might well have been included as an addition to the list in B5-7 of former comital holdings held by the king. The connection of the tenement with either Eynsham as an estate, or with another estate held by Earl Aethelmaer, could well, however, date back to before the time of this grant. The details of the rest of these holdings are of interest in themselves, but are, however, not directly relevant to the overall thesis of this paper.⁷ The distribution of the named manors to which some of the tenements were appurtenant are shown by John Blair,⁸ which diagram also shows how this distribution interlocks with the distribution of other manors which are contributory to other boroughs with similar appurtenant tenements.⁹

Of particular interest is the inference from this analysis of Domesday that all the entries in sections B5-10, including those which had formerly belonged to Earl Algar, are either described as wall tenements or can reasonably be inferred to be wall

tenements because of their position in relationship to other entries where this function is specified. The total number of these is 297.¹⁰ It is possible that this total could be augmented to 310 by the addition of the 13 tenements appurtenant to Steventon., though the status of these as wall-tenements is not directly evidenced. The addition to this number of the 721 customary tenements stated in section B4, plus Robert's 50 tenements which can be most reasonably placed in this category, would make a combined total of 1081 tenements within the borough as a whole.¹¹

Attempts have been made to locate the majority of these non-customary wall tenements within the eastern extension of the burh at Oxford, in support of the hypothesis that the system of allocating the duties of the repair of the wall was occasioned by the process which brought this new defended *enceinte* into being.¹² The evidential basis for this general inference is however very shaky. Hilary Turner has listed and mapped a total of 41 wall tenements known to her, including those given in a document of 1227 as well as those already identified by H.E.Salter.¹³ Of these, however, only 23 can be shown to lie east of Catte St / Magpie Lane, the line which marks the beginning of the new eastern extension (see fig.1). Furthermore, Turner's list of 41 wall tenements in the area of the whole of the defended and extra-mural area of Oxford is less than 14% of the total of 297 enumerated in the Domesday entry (above),¹⁴ and the total of only 23 tenements lying to the east of Catte St / Magpie Lane is only marginally greater than half of the 41 identifiable in the two burhs put together. This is hardly a statistically valid sample to support, let alone demonstrate, Turner's conclusion that 'This concentration in the NE ward of properties liable to wall-service may show the transference of the duty from the men of the shire (and the manors in the county) to the town dwellers...'.¹⁵ Nor does it sit well with Julian Munby's conclusion that 'a significant majority of possible "mural mansions" occur within the eastern half of Oxford, possibly implying an imposition on landowners within the extended area of the borough'.¹⁶ These figures demonstrate, on the contrary, that the 297 non-customary wall-tenements in Domesday (not including Robert d'Oilly's 50 tenements in the eastern extension) are likely to have been distributed more or less evenly around the whole of

the two parts of the borough, intermingled in no apparent order with the 721 customary tenements of the king. There is no reason to believe that the arrangement at Oxford would have been any different from similar patterns shown for instance at Winchester and Wallingford.¹⁷ The upshot of these observations is that there is on this evidence no demonstrable spatial and therefore functional connection of the wall tenements with the construction of the eastern extension of the burh in c.911.

Insert FIGURE

As is clear from the table given above, the majority of the non-customary tenements in Oxford, most of which were also wall-tenements, were appurtenant to rural manors held by the tenants-in-chief of the shire. This pattern, described by Maitland as the 'tenurial heterogeneity' of the Domesday borough,¹⁸ indeed appears to be one of its defining characteristics, both before and immediately after the Conquest. The origin of the attachment of the non-customary tenements to rural estates, abundantly evidenced in most Domesday boroughs as well as in a number of pre-Conquest charters, has been the subject of considerable discussion since F W Maitland first put forward the so-called 'garrison theory' (above) to explain their ubiquity.¹⁹ Maitland's hypothesis was soon criticised by James Tait, who argued that the connections of tenements to rural manors were, on the contrary, the result of favourable 'proprietary or jurisdictional grants of a profitable nature' which were made as a result of the growth and trading activity of the borough as a town.²⁰ This interpretation, which has had the effect of setting up a dichotomy between the military and the commercial functions of the early stages of the Anglo-Saxon burh, has held the field ever since, apart from the work of A Ballard. Tait, indeed, later wrote that these connections were 'rather a natural and very general, but not universal, result of burghal growth than the essential pre-requisite implied in the "garrison theory" of Maitland and Ballard'²¹. It has been repeated and elaborated by almost every writer on Domesday and pre-Conquest urban development for more than a century. F M Stenton, for instance, writing in 1907, argued that the 'connexion . . . manifested between town and country property in Domesday has its origin rather in a desire for commercial advantage than in

any rule of public law', a view he was never to alter.²² Similarly, Geoffrey Martin has explained this heterogeneous tenure as arising from the need of manorial lords for 'privileged access to markets, an additional stake in the community, and the simple convenience of accommodation near the shire court', a view shared by Martin Biddle.²³ Nicholas Brooks has even remarked recently that Maitland's original hypothesis, 'exploded long ago by James Tait, should not be revived today'.²⁴ The need to make this remark testifies to the on-going importance of this controversy. However, the evidence from Oxford, examined here, makes it possible to put forward a rather different view in explanation of these connections.

If the wall tenements of Oxford cannot be called into play as evidence for Maitland's general hypothesis in the way that they have been treated, some other explanation has to be found for four aspects relating to the early development of Oxford which in combination are peculiar to itself:

- The addition of a secondary burh to a primary burh in the pre-Conquest period, which must reflect an unprecedented political and strategic context for its creation;
- The allocation of wall work to most if not all of the non-customary tenements (whose holders were in consequence relieved of other customs), but apparently not on the customary tenements, who paid customary dues and as a group were able to commute liabilities for military service by the payment of a fee (section B2);
- The attachment of most if not all of the identifiable non-customary wall tenements to rural manors, to which they were appurtenant;
- The distribution of these wall tenements around the whole of both the primary burh and its eastern extension.

These considerations form a basis for a new way of interpreting these wall tenements which is consistent with a general model for the development of the two burhs at Oxford in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Given the premise that the general allocation

of wall work onto the non-customary tenements alone must have been occasioned by a new defensive initiative at Oxford, the most appropriate occasion would have been the new arrangements which would have had to have been put in place to support and uphold the defensive capability of the extra length of defended circuit which had been created in the new extension to the east of the original burh, arguably in c.911. This has, indeed, been generally recognised.²⁵ Nicholas Brooks has, however, suggested as an alternative that these new arrangements could have been occasioned by the replacement of the original timber revetment by a stone wall.²⁶ If this were so, it would be expected that similar arrangements for the redefinition of the responsibility for wall work would have been put in place for all the numerous other burhs where this replacement can be demonstrated archaeologically, in both Wessex and Mercia.²⁷ Though this is a reasonable suggestion in itself, involving as it would have done all of the non-customary tenements within the whole of the burh, no such reference to wall work in other burhs has survived.

The distribution over the whole of the borough of these tenements analysed above suggests that this allocation of wall work at Oxford would have been enforced upon all the non-customary tenements in the whole burh, including those already established in the primary burh before 911. Whether the wall tenements were or were not located in the eastern extension is, on this interpretation, beside the point. This process would therefore have involved a general redefinition of the obligations for the defence of the burh which had hitherto been merely one aspect of the general customs which every holder of a tenement (the late-ninth-century equivalent of a burgess) - customary and non-customary alike - would have been rendering from the inception of the borough as a new burghal community. The new arrangements involved in the setting up of the extension to the burh would also have involved a re-affirmation of the submission of the inhabitants of the burh, together with the whole population of the burghal territory, to the king, doubtless on the same terms as would have been involved in its initial foundation. This general submission would anyway be expected at the time of the transition of the control of 'London and Oxford and all the lands which belonged

to them' from Ealdorman Aethelred to King Edward the Elder in 911.²⁸ This whole process can be seen as being akin, if not exactly similar, to the processes evidenced on the foundation of the new burh at Cambridge in 917, in which all estate holders within the new burghal territory were confirmed in their holdings as bookland by virtue of the fact that they gave their formal submission to the king.²⁹ The operation of this process implies, in turn, that every holding within the burh attached to a rural manor would have been regarded as a species of bookland,³⁰ held of the king by virtue of the holder's submission to him. The provision of the duty of wall work at Oxford is thus a particular manifestation of the way in which the day-to-day upkeep of the physical fabric of the burh itself, as well as military obligation to the king in general, rested upon the dual foundation of the lordship tie and land tenure, examined in detail by Richard Abels.³¹

The functional association suggested here between the connection of all the non-customary tenements with rural manors, and the general redefinition of their obligations in the context of the need to facilitate the defence of the new burghal extension to the east of Oxford in c.911, also has a wider significance. It carries the implication, contrary to the views put forward by James Tait and every subsequent commentator, that the tenurial heterogeneity of the early medieval borough formed an important, ~~if not~~ perhaps crucial, component of the make-up of the burh from its inception. This is indeed implied in the distribution of non-customary tenements in Winchester over the whole of the late Saxon burh, which pattern Martin Biddle ascribes to the process of the apportionment of land on the occasion of the foundation of the burh.³² There is every reason for concluding, therefore, that this was the way in which land was subdivided and set out within burhs in general.

It would follow from these observations and arguments that at the time of the creation of a new burh by the king, every landholder above a certain status within the burghal territory is likely to have been allocated a tenement within the burh as a matter of course. This interpretation would shift the mechanism by which these connections were put in place from the landholder choosing to obtain an urban tenement for the benefits it gave him (which is the basic premise underlying all interpretations since the

time of Tait), to an imperative placed on him by the king to ensure that the tight obligations which constrained him could be more easily translated into effective action which served the king's agendas. The economic 'carrot' to this 'stick' would have been that the estate holder rather than the king would have received the dues payable by the urban tenement which was appurtenant to it, as well as acquiring a foothold which allowed him (as has been generally appreciated) to participate in the multifarious goings-on in the new centre of local if not also regional administration and commerce. The record of the attachment of non-customary tenements within all boroughs to rural manors, most fully recorded in Domesday Book itself but also shown in earlier charters in many shires, would, on this interpretation, be an attenuated survival of a once complete tally of the more significant thegns and other landholders within the burghal territory who held tenements within the burh.

The inclusion of the non-customary tenements within the layout of the new burh, as an essential component of its social substructure, is likely therefore to have been an important way in which the king would have consolidated the obligations of the landholders of the burghal territory, through the creation of bookland, to ensure the burh's long-term military, social and economic stability and sustainability. This would have been one aspect of the principle of reciprocity, in which a gift of land by the king (in this case a tenement within a burh which was attached to a thegn's manor, together with its rights and opportunities) constrained the thegn who received it to respond with a counter gift of loyal service.³³ Richard Abels remarks that 'In this way [a gift of] land cemented a man to his lord, compelling him to render whatever aid the lord might require.'³⁴ It does not require much of a leap of imagination to ~~suggest~~ **infer** that this service would have formed the basic mechanism which underpinned the way in which the king, who created the burhs as new communities, was able to prosecute his wider military and social - if not also economic - agendas. As Simon Maclean has remarked, 'members of the aristocracy [in Alfred's time] were never allowed to forget that, even when they were away from court, they were always on the king's time'.³⁵ The effectiveness of this policy is amply demonstrated by the success of King Alfred in his

defence of Wessex against the Vikings in the ninth century, and in the way in which Edward the Elder was able to extend his influence over the whole of Viking-held territory in Mercia and East Anglia in the early tenth.

The establishment of this system of connections in every burh created by the king, in particular those formed in the late ninth and early tenth centuries by King Alfred in Wessex and by Aethelflaed and Edward the Elder in western and eastern Mercia respectively, can thus be seen as a fundamental to the way in which the military and social infrastructure of these new burhs was both created and sustained. Whether this had an economic - i.e. marketing - aspect, and whether these new burhs were therefore urban in any sense, is a matter for contemporary debate.³⁶ It would, furthermore, be but a short inferential step to suggest that the occupants of these non-customary tenements, each provided at no cost to the king from the landed resources of the estates within the burghal territory, would have comprised at least the backbone of the body of men which made up the new standing army, the *fyrd*, of King Alfred and of King Edward after him. As Richard Abels has emphasised, 'fyrd service as a burden upon the land was an outgrowth of the king's attempt to retain control over the land that he had granted out in book-right and over the men who held it.'³⁷ This would have represented the best way in which the deployment of men for service in the *fyrd* was organised in practice on the ground, as it were from the bottom up. The obligations of the holders of the non-customary tenements in the burhs, which were, as argued here, a ubiquitous and primary feature of burghal organisation, thus provides the essential practical connection between the strategies involving the creation, manning and continued upkeep of the burhs as sustainable communities, and the defence of the land by means of the universal obligations of *fyrdfaereld* and *burhbote*.

This arrangement would reflect the general premise that both the status and function of every burgess, both customary and non-customary, was determined by the king in his role as creator and upholder of the late Saxon burh as an effective community, which in the last resort was only sustainable by the way its multi-functional and inclusive character would have supported and underpinned the king's strategic and

economic objectives. It is these wider considerations which could well form the basis for a new version of Maitland's 'garrison theory', fit for the twenty-first century, in which the economic and administrative functions as well as of the obligations for defence would all have played their part in the creation and setting up of new burhs in the late Saxon period, as part of a new social contract (or perhaps an old social contract in a new guise) between the king and his thegns.

Acknowledgements

This paper has been read and commented on, to its considerable advantage, by both Julian Munby and David Roffe, though I would wish neither of them to feel constrained by its conclusions.

Endnotes

1. F.W.Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), pp.178-182.
2. H.E.Salter, *Medieval Oxford* (OHS, Oxford, 1936), pp.299-303; H.L.Turner, 'The mural mansions of Oxford, attempted identifications', *Oxoniensia* 55, 1990, pp.73-9; J.Munby, 'The eastern extension' in A.Dodd (ed.) *Oxford before the University*, (Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 17, Oxford, 2003), pp.24-5. Arguments have recently been put forward for the hypothesis that this new extension was the creation of King Edward the Elder, built as a political and strategic statement to ensure his control of the 'lands belonging to Oxford' which he had come to control after the death of Ealdorman Aethelred of the Mercians in 911 - see J.Haslam 'The origin of the two burhs of Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, **, 2011, pp.15-34.
3. J.Blair *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Alan Sutton: Stroud, 1994), pp.157-8.
4. In this discussion, an appurtenant tenement or burgess living within a borough was attached to a rural manor, to whose holder dues were paid. These tenements comprise the body of 'non-customary' tenements, as contrasted with the 'customary' tenements whose occupiers paid dues and taxes to the king alone. This aspect is discussed in D.Roffe *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.110-1. Section numbers are from the Phillimore edition of Domesday Book - J.Morris (ed) *Domesday Book, Oxfordshire* (Phillimore: Chichester, 1978).
5. Robert's holdings in St Peter's manor, described in section 28, is analysed in relation to the tenorial structure of the eastern extension of the burh in Haslam, 'Two Burhs of Oxford', pp.28-33. It is clear that these were part of an urban fee,

with its caput at or near St Peter's church itself, rather than being appurtenant to a rural manor outside Oxford.

6. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p.15; Dodd, *Oxford before the University*, p.30.
7. Many of them are also listed in Blair *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp.157-8, and further discussed in Dodd *Oxford before the University*, pp.29-31.
8. Blair *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p.118, fig. 69.
9. Blair's diagram follows that showing similar relationships by E.M.Jope - the first to represent the relationships of these connections in several places in diagrammatic form - see E.M.Jope 1956, 'Saxon Oxford and its region', in *Dark Age Britain* ed. D.B.Harden (London, 1956), pp.234-58 at p.245. This is an important aspect of the evidence which bears on the origin of the connections of tenements with rural manors, but cannot be pursued further here. For the distribution of manors contributory to Wallingford, some of them in the later shire of Oxford, see D.Roffe 'Wallingford in Domesday Book and beyond', in *The Origins of the Borough of Wallingford: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, eds. K.S.B.Keats-Rohan and D.R.Roffe, (BAR British Series 494, 2009), pp. 27-51, at fig. 5.10 & pp.38-43.
10. Hilary Turner gives a total of 282, which she points out is not the same figure as given by other writers - Turner, 'Mural Mansions', at p.77. Brooks also gives the figure of 297 - N.P.Brooks 'The Administrative Background of the Burghal Hidage' pp.128-50 in *The Defence of Wessex - the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (eds.) D.Hill & A.R.Rumble (Manchester UP, 1996), pp.128-150, at p.142.
11. Janet Cooper gives a total of 1018 houses, which does not, however, include Robert d'Oilly's 50 tenements in St Peter's parish or those appurtenant to

Steventon (J.Cooper, 'Medieval Oxford', in *VCH* vol iv, (City of Oxford) 1979, pp. 3-73). Julian Munby's suggestions that the 721 geldable (customary) tenements of the king represent the total of all tenements, and that the total number of 260 wall tenements in sections B8-10 are the same as the 243 geldable tenements in section B4 are not, however, tenable - J.Munby, 'Oxford in Domesday Book', in Dodd 'Oxford before the University', pp.50-1. These conflation ignore the fundamental differences between the customary burgesses or tenements of the king, and the non-customary tenements owing dues to other lords - of which differences the compiler of the Domesday entries was perfectly well aware.

12. Turner, 'Mural Mansions'; Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p.158; Brooks, 'Administrative Background' p.142; J.Munby 'The Eastern Extension' in A.Dodd, *Oxford before the University*, pp. 24-5.
13. Turner, 'Mural Mansions' fig.1 pp.74, 78.
14. Even with the inclusion of Robert's 50 tenements in this equation, the proportion is still only 26%.
15. Turner 'Mural Mansions', p.77.
16. Munby, 'Eastern Extension', p.24.
17. The Winchester evidence, derived from the two twelfth-century surveys as well as from Domesday, is described in considerable detail in M.Biddle & D.Keene, 'General survey and conclusions' in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, (ed.) M Biddle (Winchester Studies 1, Oxford, 1978), pp.349-69, 449-508, and in diagrammatic and plan form in Tables 11-19, 21, 22, & Figs. 14-16, 19. This pattern has been ascribed to the processes involved in the 'apportionment of land in the city [of Winchester] at the time of the reorganisation under Alfred.'

- (*ibid.*, p.349). For similar evidence relating to Wallingford, see D.Roffe, 'Wallingford in Domesday Book and Beyond', in *The Origins of the Borough of Wallingford: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, eds. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and D.R.Roffe, (BAR British Series 494, 2009), pp. 27-51 at pp.35-6.
18. Maitland *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p.178.
 19. Maitland *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp.186-92.
 20. J.Tait, 'Review of F W Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*', *Eng. Hist. Rev* XII, 772-7.
 21. J.Tait, *The English Medieval Borough* (Manchester), 1936, p.64; A.Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs* (Oxford, 1904).
 22. F.M.Stenton, 'Introduction to the Domesday Survey', VCH Leicestershire, i.1907, p.303; F.M.Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), p.531.
 23. G.H.Martin, 'The Domesday boroughs' in A.Williams & R.W.H.Erskine (eds.), *Domesday Book Studies* (Cambridgeshire Domesday, 3,1987), pp. 56-60 at p.60; Biddle (ed.), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, pp.340-2, 382-5, 453.
 24. Brooks, 'Administrative Background' p.142. For some other modern takes on this theme see for instance Biddle (ed), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, pp.382-4; C.Phythian-Adams 'Leicester and the emergence of its county', pp. 9-11 in *The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland* ed. C. Phythian-Adams, (Leicestershire Museums, Leicester, 1986), at pp.10-11; N.Baker & R.Holt *R Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.263-7, 368-9; D.Roffe *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.110-1; R.Holt 'The urban transformation in England, 900-1100', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 32, 2009, pp. 57-78, at pp.67-71. For

comments on the Oxford evidence, all of which follow the accepted paradigm, see F.M.Stenton, 'Introduction to the Oxfordshire Domesday, *VCH Oxon I* (1939), at pp.388-9; M.D.Lobel, 'Notes on the history of mediaeval Oxford', *Oxoniensia* 3, 1939, pp.**; Jope, 'Saxon Oxford', pp.244-6; Cooper, 'Medieval Oxford', pp.64-5; T.G.Hassall 'City walls, gates and posterns', *VCH Oxon 4* (City of Oxford) (1979), pp.300-4, at p.302; Turner, 'Mural Mansions', pp.77-8; Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire', pp.117-9, 158; and Brooks, 'Administrative background', p.142. David Roffe, however, discusses the issue in relation to the evidence from Wallingford and Oxford from a fresh perspective. He breaks the current paradigm in ascribing primary military functions to the connections of urban tenements in Wallingford with rural manors in Oxfordshire, and uses these as evidence for a reconstructed the original burghal territories of Oxford, Wallingford and Sashes - Roffe, 'Wallingford', pp.41-5.

25. Turner, 'Mural mansions'; Brooks, 'Administrative background'; Munby 'The Eastern Extension'.
26. Brooks, 'Administrative background', pp.142-3. For the evidence for the added wall at Oxford see B.Durham *et al*, 'Oxford's northern defences: archaeological studies 1971-82', *Oxoniensia* 48, 1983, pp.13-40; Dodd (ed.), 'Oxford Before the University, pp.**; D.R.P.Wilkinson, 'Excavations at 24A St Michael's Street, 1985', in Dodd, *Oxford Before the University* 2003, pp. 140-52; Munby, 'The eastern Extension'; D.Poore, N.Norton & A.Dodd, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle: Oxford's Western Quarter from the Mid-Saxon Period to the Late Eighteenth Century' [Interim report], *Oxoniensia* 74, 2010, pp.***; J.Haslam, 'The development of late Saxon Christchurch, Dorset, and the Burghal Hidage', *Medieval Archaeology* 53 2009, pp.95-108, at pp.98-104; J.Haslam 'The origin of the two burhs of Oxford', *Oxoniensia* 2010, pp.22-5.
27. Haslam, 'Origin of the two Burhs at Oxford', pp.103-4; for Mercian examples, see various instances discussed in S.Bassett, 'The Middle and late Anglo-Saxon

defences of western Mercian towns', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15, 2008, pp.180-239 - though Bassett holds to the alternative paradigm that these walls are of early eleventh-century date.

28. D.Whitelock *English Historical Documents* 1 (London,1979), p.211. For the principle of the submission of populations of the territories of new burhs on their formation, which can be so clearly seen in the Chronicle entries of the second decade of the 10th century, see R.Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988), pp.89-90; and J.Haslam, 'The location of the burh of *Wigingamere* - a reappraisal', in *Names, People and Places* (eds.) A.R.Rumble & A.D.Mills (Stamford, 1997), pp.111-30.
29. R.Abels *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp.79-96. As Simon Keynes has made clear, however, certainty on the issue as to whether and in what way bookland was created as a matter of course in these circumstances is not helped by the almost total lack of documentary evidence for the process - see S.Keynes, 'Edward, king of the Anglo-Saxons', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. N J Higham and D H Hill (London, 2001), pp.40-66, at pp.50-6.
30. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp.89-90.
31. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp.79-96.
32. See note 17 above.
33. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp.30-4.
34. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, p.31.
35. S.Maclean, review of D.Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), in *EME* 17,1 (2009), pp.108-9.

36. G.Astill 'General Survey, 600-1300', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1, 600-1540*, (ed.) D Palliser, (Cambridge, 2000), pp.27-49.; G.Astill, 'Community, Identity and the later Anglo-Saxon Town: the Case of Southern England', in *People, Space in the Early Middle Ages, 300-1300*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 233-54; R.Holt 'The urban transformation in England, 900-1100', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 32, 2009, pp. 57-78.; D.Roffe 'A Tale of Two Towns and Two Castles - Nottingham and Wallingford compared', Conference paper, Wallingford 9 October 2010, online at <http://www.roffe.co.uk/Wallingford4.htm>. The reassessment here of the origin and function of the urban-rural connections of the late Saxon and Domesday burh and borough casts Richard Holt's arguments, which are in part based on his interpretation of the generally mid- late-10th century origins of these connections in Worcester, in a rather different light.
37. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp.97-131, at p.117.
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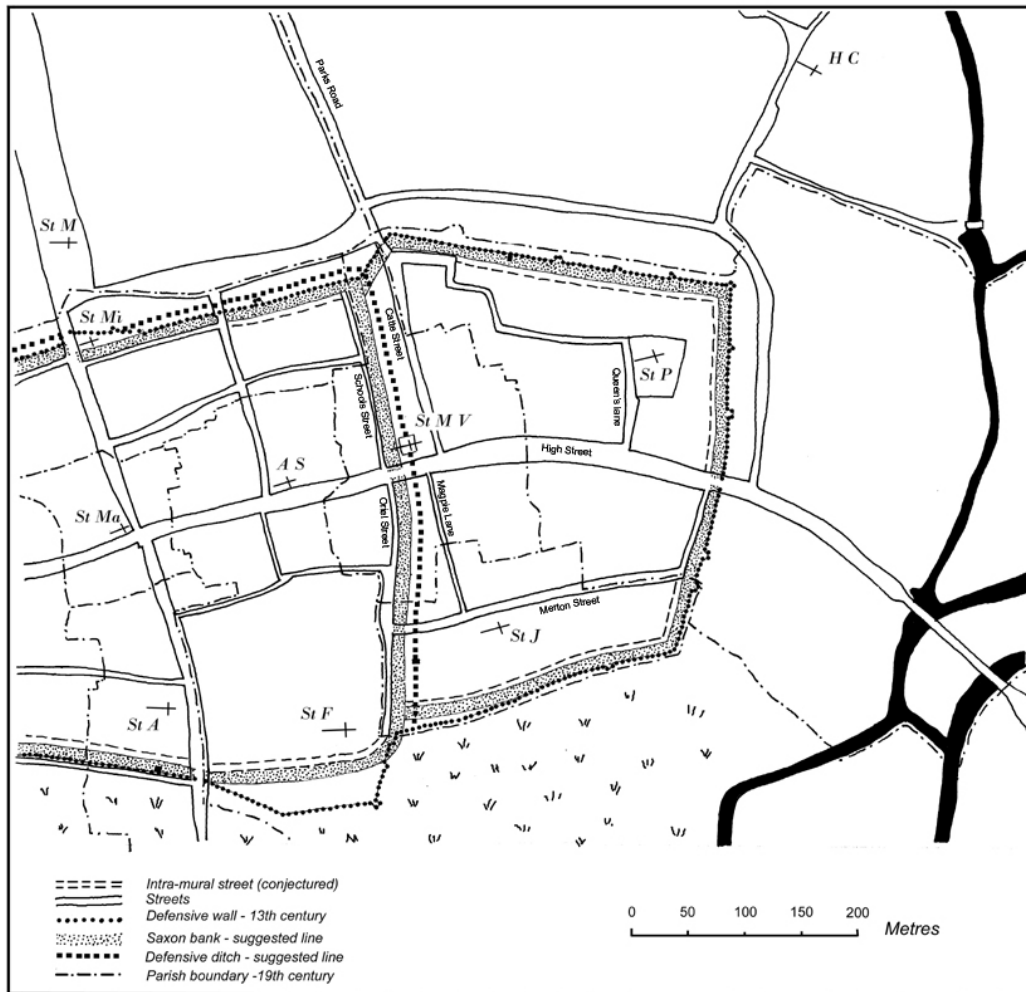


Fig. 1 The area of the eastern extension to the burh at Oxford [low res image]

Table

<i>Customary and non-customary tenements / burgesses in OXFORD</i>					
[Places in square brackets are inferred]					
Section	LORD / holder of tenements	Number of tenements in Oxford	Contributory estate, where given; [] = inferred	Number of manors held in Oxfordsh	Section describing holdings
B4	The king	243 478 (waste)	Customary tenements ditto		B4
		TOTAL: 721			
28	Robert d'Oilly	50 customary tenements (not specified as wall tenements)	A separate urban fee (intra-mural and extra-mural)	1	28,8; 28,28
B5	The king (formerly held by Earl Algar)	20 wall tenements	Non-customary tenements TRE - app. Estate(s) not given		
B5	The king (probably also former comital holdings)	5 wall tenements	• Shipton under Whychwood (1)	1 1	B5. 1,9. 58,15 1,7a-b

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bloxham (1) • Princes Risborough (Bucks) (1) • Twyford (Bucks) (2) 	1 2	BUK 1,3 BUK 37,1
<p>“The reason that they are called Wall-messuages is that if there is need and if the King commands, they repair the wall.” [A scribal gloss, but not postscriptal]</p>					
B6	The king (formerly held by Earl Aubrey)	2 + St Mary’s ch 1	Iffley (Blair 1994, 158 n. 63) Burford	2	18,1 7,36
B7	The king (formerly held by Earl William)	9	?	?	-
BRK - B1,39	The king (formerly held by Earl Algar, now by R d’Oilly)	13 in Oxford	Steventon, Berks	-	BRK B1,39
		TOTAL (B5-7) - 37 Plus 50 of R d’Oilly, + 13			
B8	Archbishop of Canterbury	7	[Newington]	1	2,1
	Bishop of Winchester	9	[Witney] [Adderbury]	2	3,1 3,2
	Bishop of Bayeux	18	?	65	7
	Bishop of Lincoln	30	[includes Thame, Gt		6

			Milton, Banbury, Cropredy]		
	Bishop of Coutances	2	[Compton (Berks)]	None in Ox, 1 in Berks	BKS 6
	Bishop of Hereford	3	Bampton (Blair 1994, 157 n.56)	none	-
	St Edmund's Abbey	1	Taynton (Blair 1994, 158 n.60)	1	13,1 (See Note)
	Abingdon Abbey	14	1 at Lyford, Berks 1 at Tadmarton, Berks (Blair 1994, 157 n.57)	7	9
	Eynsham Abbey (manors held by Columban from the bishop of Lincoln)	13 + St Ebbe's ch (Blair 1994, 158 n.58)	Eynsham (Blair 1994, 151 n.21) These probably originated as one grant in 1005.		6,6-8
		TOTAL (B8) 97			
B9	Count of Mortain	10	[Horley] (Blair 1994, 158 n.65)	5	16
	Earl Hugh	7	[Pyrton]	5	15

			(Blair 1994, 157 n.55; Dodd 2003, 30)		
Count of Evreux	1	?		None in Ox; 13 in Berks	Berks 13
Henry of Ferrers	2	?		None in Ox; 22 in Berks	Berks 21
William Peverel	4		Crowell Emmington	2	23,1 23,2
Edward the sheriff	2		North Aston Hempton	2	41,1 41,2
Arnulf of Hesdin	3		[Black Bourton] [Ludwell] [Chipping Norton]	3	40, 1 40,2 40,3
Berengar of Tosny	1	?		3	34
Miles Crispin	2	?		34	35
Richard of Courcy	2	?		3	32
Robert d'Oilly	12	?		29	28
Roger of Ivry	15		Includes Whitehill (Blair 1994, 158 n.59)	23	29
Ranulf Flambard	1		[Milton-under- Wychwood]	1 (from the king)	14,6
Guy of Raimbeaucourt	2		[Wroxton]	1	36
Walter Giffard	17	?		17	20
Gernio	1		Hampton	none	58,16
Manasseh's son	1		Bletchington	none	-
		TOTAL			

		(B9) 83			
<p>“All the above [in sections B8 & B9] hold the aforesaid messuages free, because of repairing the wall. All these called Wall-messuages before 1066 were free from all customary dues except [military] expeditions and wall repair.”</p>					
B10	Canons of St Frideswide’s	15	[Manor ‘near Oxford’] [Cutteslow]	2	14,1 14,2
	Priests of St Michael’s	2		none	-
	Saewold of Rofford	9	?	5	58,31-4; 58,19
	Others	54	[possibly customary tenements, i.e. not necessarily wall tenements]		
		TOTAL (B10) - 80			
<p>“If the wall is not repaired when needed by him whose job it is either he shall pay the King 40s, or he loses his house.”</p>					

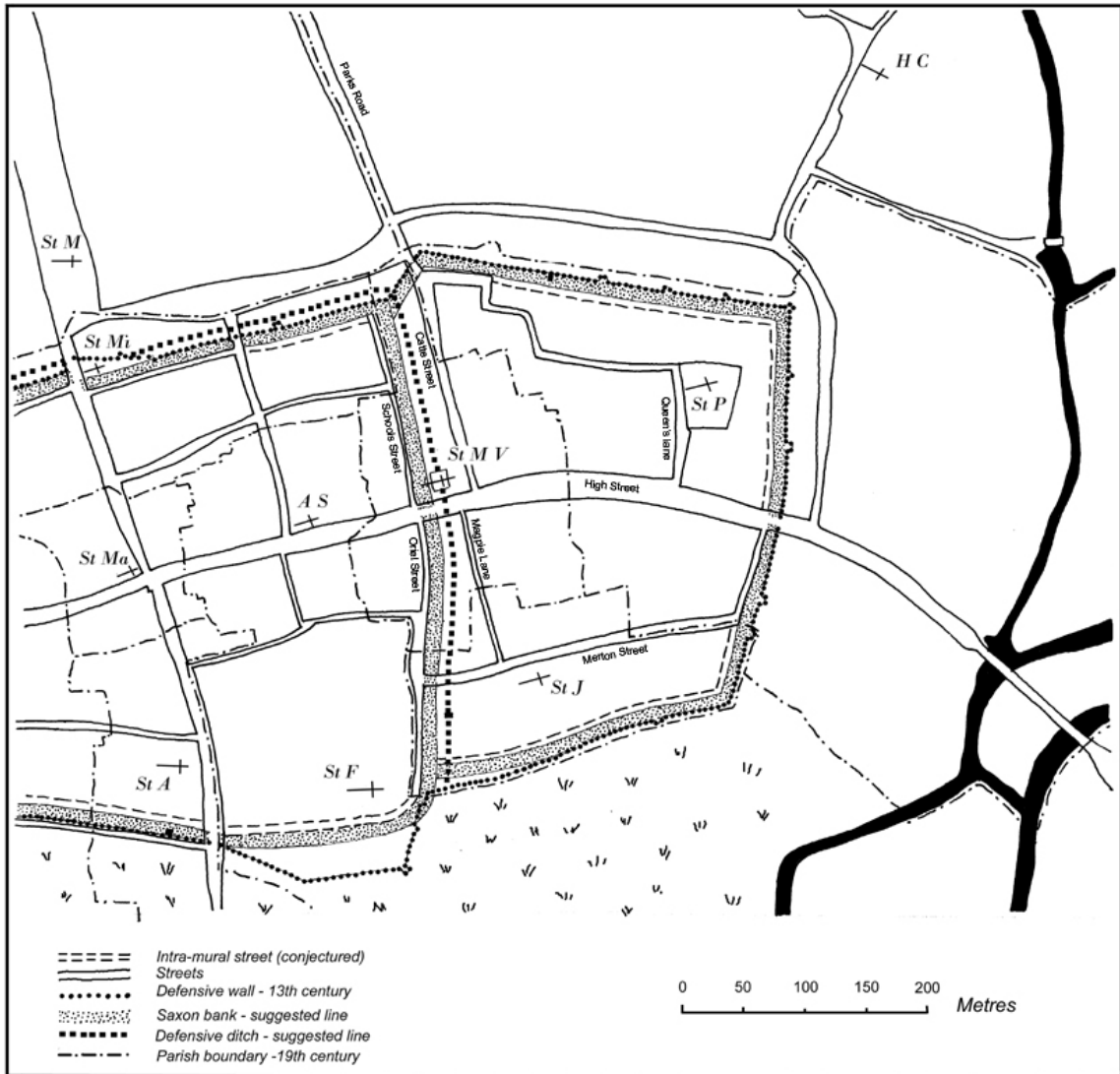


FIG. 1 - Detail of eastern half of the defended *enceinte* of Oxford [*Low resolution version*]

Churches: St M - St Mary Magdalen. St Mi - St Michael's. HC - Holy Cross. St P - St Peter's. St MV - St Mary the Virgin. AS - All Saints. St Ma - St Martin's. St A - St Aldate's. St J - St John's. St F - St Frideswide's.