Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire, and the English Honour of Odo of Bayeux[1]

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SUMMARY

From an examination of Odo of Bayeux's estate as recorded in Domesday Book, together with an analysis of the excavated structural phases at Deddington Castle, it is suggested that Deddington may have been the caput *of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire parts of Odo's barony.*

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, was one of the greatest of the tenants-in-chief of his half-brother King William, outstripping in wealth even such a magnate as his own brother Robert, Count of Mortain. Odo held lands in twenty-two English counties, and Domesday Book lists holdings in 456 separate manors. In all, these lands amounted to almost 1,700 hides worth over £3,000, and of these some 274 hides worth £534 were retained in demesne. The extent of these lands is far too great to consider in any detail, so only the distribution of the estates will be discussed here.[2] Tables 1 and 2 list the extent of these holdings by county totals.[3]

The distribution of Odo's estates may be seen more graphically on the maps, Figs. 1 and 2. Fig. 1, which shows the distribution of the individual manors, demonstrates that this distribution is far from random, and that several distinct clusterings may be observed, notably those around the Thames Estuary, in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, in Suffolk and in Lincolnshire. The maps presented in Fig. 2 are perhaps even more enlightening. These show the proportion of Odo's estate in each of the twenty-two counties in which he held lands, and illustrate: the distribution of the total hidage; the value of the total hidage; the demesne hidage and the demesne value (the exact figures are listed in Tables 1 and 2). These maps clearly show a great concentration of land and wealth in Kent and the adjacent counties of Surrey and Essex. A second concentration may be observed centred around Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; and there are also considerable outlying estates in Lincolnshire and East Anglia. The remaining counties only contain a very small proportion of Odo's total fief. Two counties, Kent and Oxfordshire, stand out as forming the largest and richest parts of Odo's English honour. Oxford in particular is of interest, for while second to Odo's earldom of Kent, it is far richer than any of the other counties. If Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire are taken together, a unit rivalling even Kent is formed, though this cannot be compared with the vast wealth of Kent, Essex and Surrey. Indeed, it should be stressed that the value of the Kent estates was very much higher than those in Oxfordshire, or elsewhere. Kent's 393 hides (23 per cent of the total estate) were worth some £1,600 (53 per cent of the total estate), against Oxfordshire's 307 hides (18 per cent) worth only some £400 (13 per cent).

[1] My thanks to J. Green and T.E. NcNeill for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] For a full list of Odo's Domesday estates arranged by counties see: R.J. Ivens *Patterns of Human Activity in the Southern Midlands of England: Archaeological and Documentary Evidence* (unpublished Queen's University of Belfast doctoral thesis, 1980), Appendix XXXVIII, 351–82.

[3] The figures were compiled from the V.C.H. texts of Domesday Book.

Table1: The English Lands Held in Chief by Odo of Bayeux: By Counties

County	*Hides*	*Value*	*Demesne Hides*	*Value*
Kent	393	£1605 ls.	51.25	£201
Oxon.	307	£402 4s.	79	£160
Bucks.	223.75	£169 11s.	9.25	£5 10s.
Essex	191	£142 13s. 10d.	47	£47 5s.
Surrey	140.5	£148 13s.	56.5	£76 12s.
Lincs.	119	£112 9s.	6.75	£9 10s.
Herts.	66.3	£70 11s. 11d	12.5	£19 0s. 11d.
Norfolk	47	£100 15s. 2d.	?	?
Suffolk	39	£58 13s. 10d.	?	?
Hants.	34.375	£34 11s.		
Beds.	30.25	£40 6s. 8d.	12.25	£16
Warwicks.	18.625	£3 10s.		
Wilts.	18	£20 10s.		
N'hants.	13.85	£13 3s.		
Berks.	11.5	£8 10s.		
Worcester	10	£6 2s.		
Somerset	8	£10		
Cambs.	6.875	£16		
Notts.	6.3438	£10 2s.		
Dorset	6	£6		
Glouc.	3.875	£16		
Sussex	3	£30		
Total	1697.3	£3035 7s. 5d	274.5	£534 17s. 11d.

Table 2: The English Lands Held in Chief by Odo of Bayeux: By Counties

County	*Hides (%)*	*Value (%)*	*Demesne Hides (%)*	*Value(%)*
Kent	23.15	52.87	18.67	37.58
Oxon.	18.08	13.25	28.779	29.91
Bucks.	13.18	5.58	3.37	1.028
Essex	11.25	4.7	17.12	8.834
Surrey	8.28	4.9	20.58	14.32
Lincs.	7.011	3.7	2.46	1.776
Herts.	3.908	2.33	4.55	3.56
Norfolk	2.77	3.32	?	?
Suffolk	2.3	1.93	?	?
Hants.	2.02	1.14		
Beds.	1.78	1.33	4.46	2.99
Warwicks.	1.09	0.44		
Wilts.	1.06	0.68		
N'hants.	0.82	0.43		
Berks.	0.68	0.28		
Worcester	0.59	0.2		
Somerset	0.47	0.33		
Cambs.	0.41	0.53		
Notts.	0.37	0.33		
Dorset	0.35	0.2		
Glouc.	0.23	0.53		
Sussex	0.18	0.99		

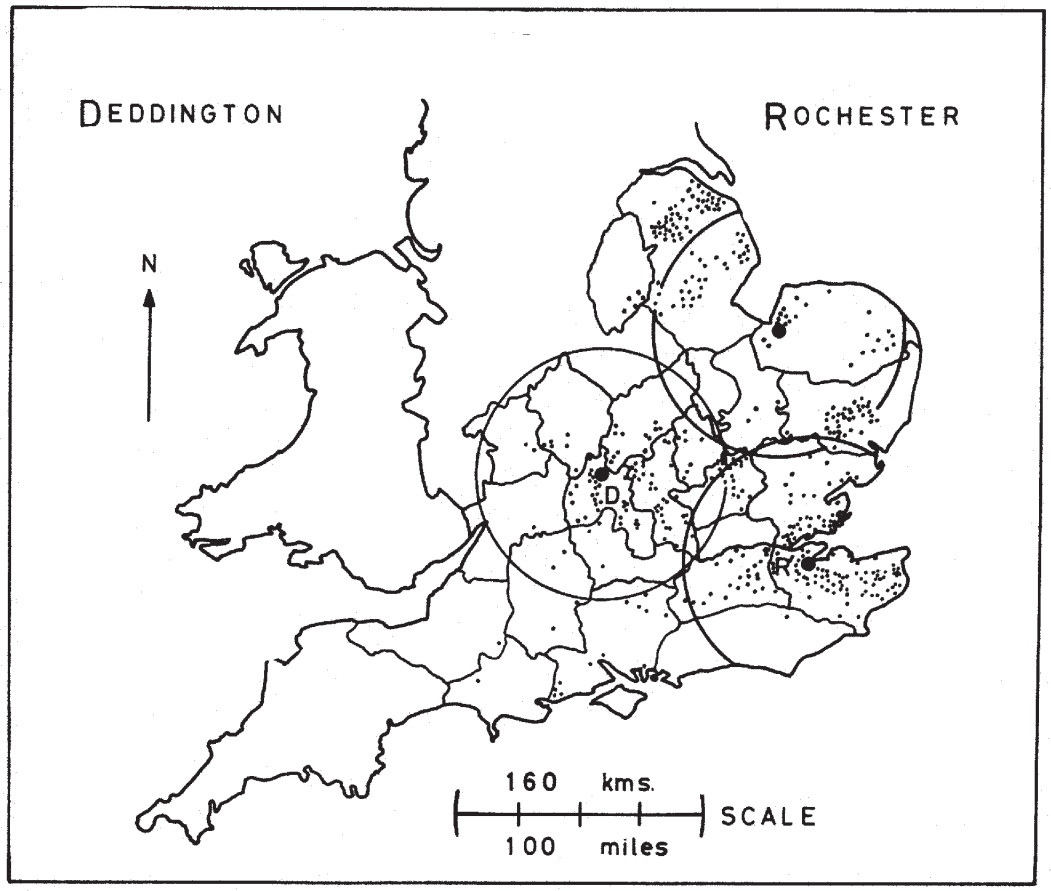


Figure 1: The Lands of Odo of Bayeux

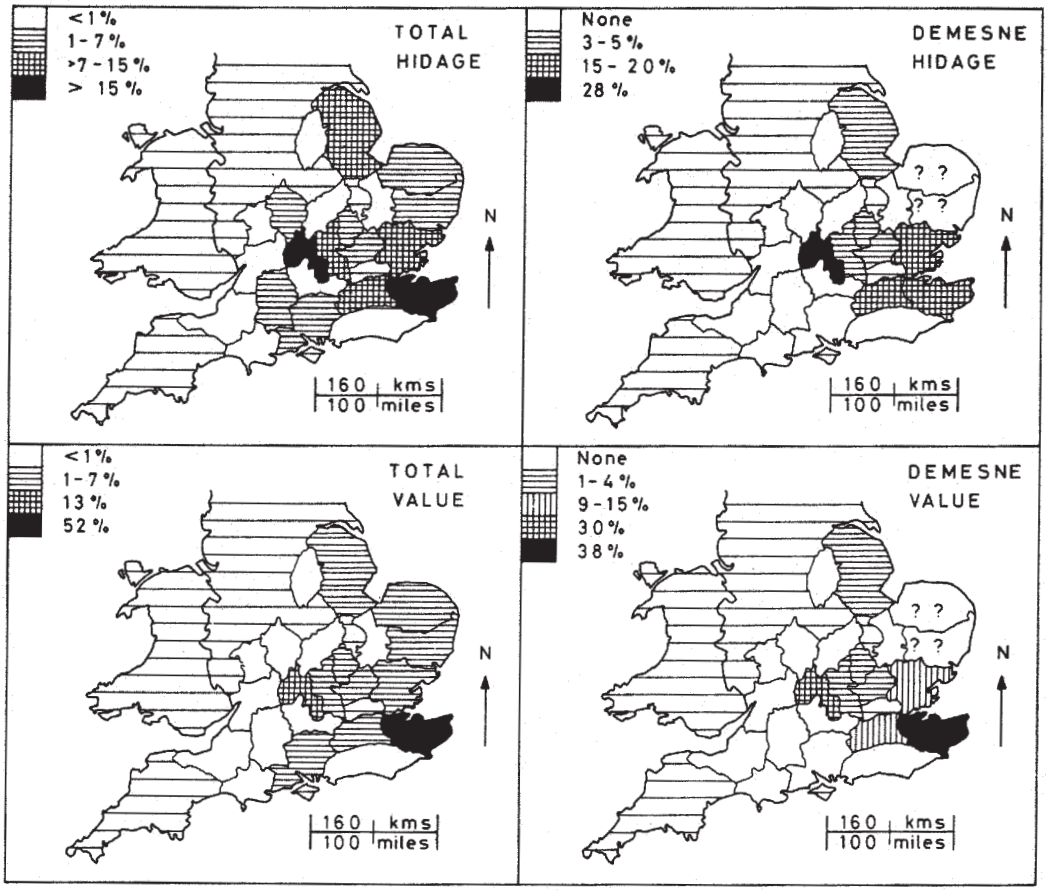


Figure 2: The Lands of Odo of Bayeux, % by County

So far it has been shown that there are distinct regional concentrations within the broad scatter of Odo's English estates. It is in fact possible to detect very marked and highly localised clusterings within these regional concentrations. The sub-groups that may be observed within the Oxfordshire-Buckinghamshire concentration provide a good example of this phenomenon. Examination of the map showing the distribution and size of Odo's holdings in the counties of Buckingham, Northampton and Oxford (Fig. 3) shows a very marked concentration around Buckingham, together with a second group in the middle of that county. In Oxfordshire a somewhat dispersed group may be seen to the south and south-east of Oxford, but there is a very dense concentration to the west of the River Cherwell, running from Deddington in the north to Stanton Harcourt in the south. This area conforms almost exactly to the hundred of Wootton, which not only contained almost half of Odo's Oxfordshire estates, but also all of his Oxfordshire demesne land and the majority of the manors which he held in their entirety.

The pattern and extent of the sub-infeudation of Odo's estates is of some relevance to these observed concentrations of power and wealth. Over his entire English honour Odo retained in demesne about 16 per cent of the total number of hides, and these accounted for a little over 30 per cent of the total value. When the extent of the demesne land is looked at on a county-by-county basis (see Tables 1 and 2), it will be noted that Odo only retained land in those areas which contained major concentrations of his estates, and of these Kent and Oxfordshire are by far the most significant. Together these two counties account for almost half of the demesne hides and for two-thirds of their value. Remembering that all of Odo's Oxfordshire demesne land was situated to the west of the Cherwell, in Wootton hundred, it may be seen that this small area formed a very valuable part of his fief.

Wootton hundred may serve as a microcosm of the pattern of sub-infeudation across the whole of Odo's vast English estate. In this hundred Odo retained in demesne almost half (79 hides) of his entire holding of 161¼ hides. Eight and three-eighth hides were held by: Hugh, Ansgar, Wimund, Godric, the Count of Evreaux and Roger D'Ivri. The remainder was held by three men: Ilbert had 10½ hides (probably de Lacy, who held of Odo elsewhere); Wadard had 16 hides (this may have been the father of Walkelin Wadard);[4] and Adam had 38 hides (the son of Hubert de Ryes).[5] In essence this pattern is repeated across the honour, with Odo retaining a substantial block of demesne land (though not as much as in Wootton), together with large number of undertenants holding relatively small estates (though some were great tenants in their own right), and a handful of favoured and liberally rewarded tenants holding extensive lands. These were men such as Ilbert de Lacy, Adam fitz Hubert, Hugh de Port, Wadard, and Ansgot of Rochester, who may perhaps be thought of as Odo's English barons. It is probable that such men were the leaders of Odo's forces at Hastings, and certainly a number can be traced as tenants of the bishopric of Bayeux. Significantly, these were usually men of humble origin who generally survived Odo's fall in 1088; indeed, Odo's liberality by no means purchased loyalty, as the vigour of one of his major tenants, Hugh de Port, in the proscription of the rebels demonstrates.[6]

[4] W. Farrer, *Honors and Knight's Fees* (Manchester, 1923–25) iii, 227; for a discussion of Wadard's sub-barony, and its later history under the Arsics, see J. Blair, and J. Steane, 'Investigations at Cogges, Oxfordshire, 1978–81: The Priory and Parish Church', *Oxoniensia* xlvii (1982), 37–126.
[5] Farrer op. cit., 165–9.
[6] D.R. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux 1049/50 1097', *Speculum* 1 *(* 1975), 1–50, esp. 11.

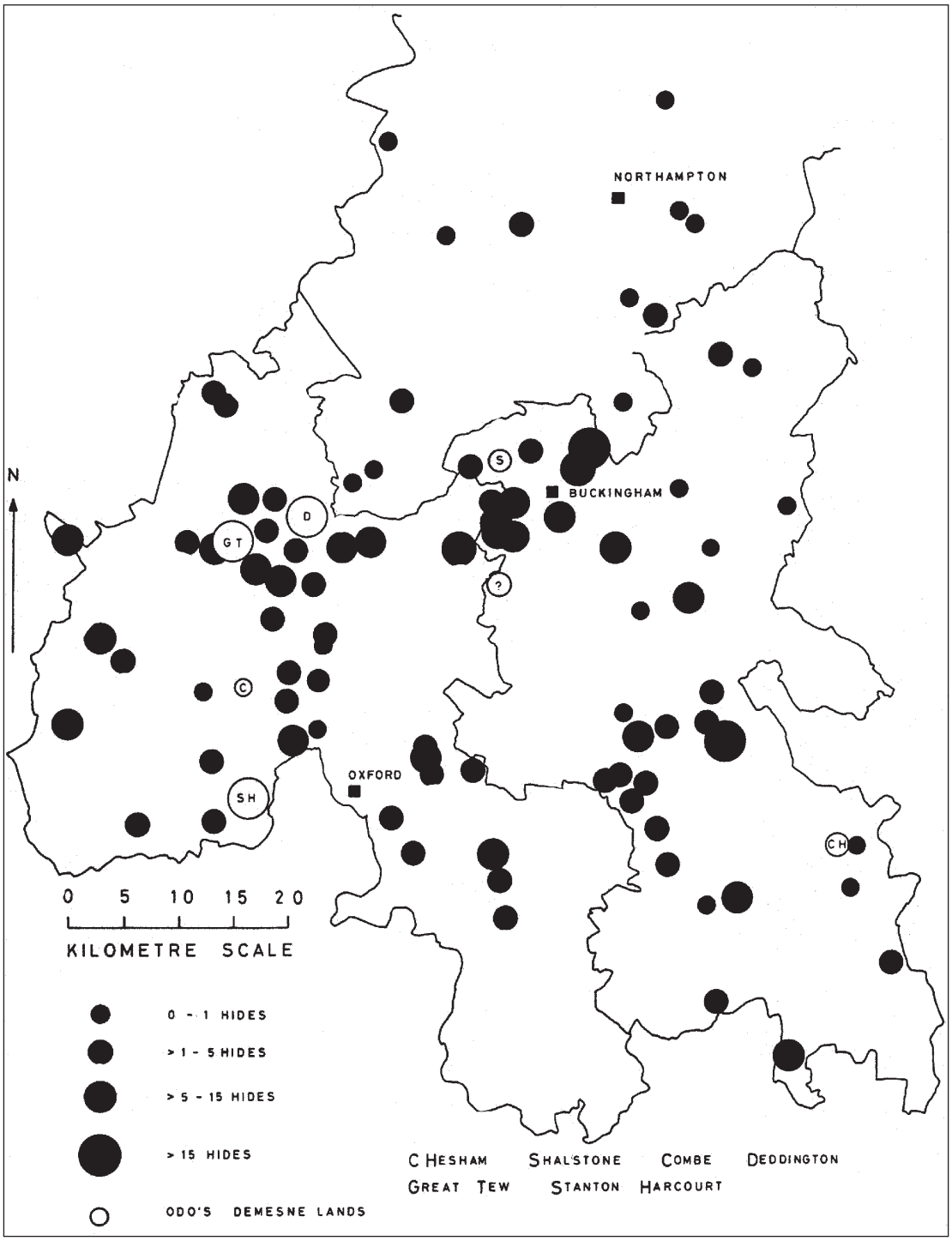


Figure 3: The Chief Lands of Odo of Bayeux in the Counties of Buckingham, Oxford and Northampton

It would appear that there is more order to the distribution of these estates than at first seemed likely. The picture that begins to emerge shows several broad concentrations of estates, within which are a series of very concentrated holdings containing substantial blocks of land linked to a number of estates held by Odo's chief lieutenants. This begins to look like a deliberate policy of estate management.

To some extent the distribution and sub-infeudation of these lands may be a function of the date and circumstance of their acquisition. Odo's lands in Kent were certainly granted shortly after 1066, and those in the counties immediately north of London in the following five years.[7] The close relationship between these two blocks of land

[7] Ibid 10.

has been noted by David Bates. Major Kentish tenants also held a northerly estate; for instance, Adam fitz Hubert the best-endowed Kentish tenant, also held lands in Oxfordshire and Hertfordshire. This close relationship in a sense continued the pre-Conquest tradition, for the grants in Kent, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire were dependent on the fall of the house of Godwine. Odo's considerable estates in East Anglia and Lincolnshire were later acquisitions.[8]

The great Domesday fee of the Bishop of Bayeux never seems to have been formally arranged into baronies, perhaps because of its rapid expansion, early forfeit and the subsequent fragmented and sporadic regranting. However, it is possible to see in these estates the beginnings of a geographical organisation around major central manors, which might be viewed as incipient or proto-baronies.

Considering the great wealth and power of Odo and the vast extent of his lands, it would be remarkable if there were no administrative divisions of his English fee. Equally remarkable, for a man known to have been a builder of castles and to have had a military leaning, is the strange difficulty in identifying the castles he must surely have possessed.[9] William of Poitiers wrote of him that 'he had no wish to use arms, but rejoiced in necessary war so far as religion permitted him'.[10] This double role, as bishop and warrior, is exemplified by his seal, which shows him as a knight on one side and a bishop on the other. [11]

The various chronicles attribute four castles to Odo: Dover, Pevensey, Tonbridge, and Rochester. Dover was granted to Odo along with his earldom of Kent, after which we hear no more of it.[12] William of Malmesbury is alone in describing Pevensey as a castle of Odo;[13] in fact it belonged to his brother Robert, Count of Mortain.[14] Tonbridge, which William of Malmesbury also attributed to Odo,[15] is described by Florence of Worcester as 'a place of Gilbert fitz Richard',[16] while Henry of Huntingdon describes how William Rufus laid siege to the castle of Tonbridge 'where Gilbert was in rebellion'.[17] Tonbridge is not mentioned in Domesday Book, but Richard of Tonbridge is a frequent undertenant of Odo in Kent and elsewhere. This Richard was the father of Gilbert fitz Richard, and had apparently died between 1086 and Odo's rebellion in 1088. Tonbridge was held as part of Hadlow, and so apparently of Odo.[18] Although Tonbridge was not retained in Odo's own hands it was at least in the possession of friends. Rochester Castle is perhaps the most likely of these four to have been Odo's main military base. Florence of Worcester says that 'Odo carried off booty of every kind to Rochester' and both William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon describe how Odo swore to surrender his castle of Rochester to William Rufus.[19]

In view of the hints that there was an element of deliberate planning in the structure of Odo's honour, the observed distribution and pattern of demesne and sub-infeuded lands, and the close relationship between Kent and the counties immediately north of London, a second northern *caput* located in Oxfordshire or Buckinghamshire would

[8] Ibid. 10.
[9] Ibid. 10, and D.N.B. xli, 424–6.
[10] William of Poitiers 209 A.B., quoted in *D.N.B.* xli, 426.
[11] L.C. Loyd, and D.M. Stenton, (eds.), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals (1950)* Pl. VIII facing 304.
[12] *D.N.B.* xli, 424.
[13] J.A. Giles, (ed.), *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle* (1847), 329.
[14] T. Forester, (ed.), *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester* (1854), 188.
[15] Giles op. cit., 329.
[16] Forester 1854 op. cit., 188.
[17] T. Forester, (ed.), *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon* (1853), 222.
[18] R. Mortimer 'The Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', *Proc. of the Battle Conference* iii (1980), 121.
[19] Forester 1854 op. cit., 187; Giles op. cit., 328–9; Forester 1853 op. cit., 223.

make excellent military and administrative sense. Such a *caput* should be seen as complementing and probably as subsidiary to Rochester. A third centre covering the most northerly lands is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

In an attempt to locate these possible *capita,* a search was made for a rich manor retained in demesne by Odo, together with evidence of an early castle, located within one of the concentrations of Odo's estates. Although a castle is not a necessary requirement for a *caput,* it was considered that in Odo's case a defensible position would be required, particularly in the early years after the conquest.

In addition to those castles already mentioned, a further ten are known to have existed on manors within Odo's estates. Eight of these manors were sub-infeuded at the time of Domesday, and may therefore probably be discounted as possible *capita,*[20] and indeed several of these castles can be proved to post-date Odo.[21] The remaining castle, that at Deddington in Oxfordshire, is more promising.

The manor of Deddington is situated at the northern end of Wootton hundred (Fig. 3). It is thus well located as a centre for the large Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates, and is also an integral part of one of the most concentrated blocks of Odo's holdings (above and Fig. 3). Deddington was the richest of Odo's manors (along with Hoo in Kent and Bramley in Surrey) and was retained in demesne. Domesday Book describes it thus:

> The same Bishop (Odo of Bayeux) also holds Dadintone. There are 36 hides. Land for 30 ploughs. There were 11½ hides in demesne, besides the inland. Now in demesne 18½ hides; 10 ploughs; 25 serfs. 64 villeins with 10 bordars have 20 ploughs. 3 mills render 41 shillings and 100 eels. There is 140 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture; the meadow renders 10 shillings. In King Edward's time it was worth £40; and now £60. five thegns...[22]

The castle at Deddington is situated on the south-eastern edge of the town, and consists of an imposing bank and ditch enclosing an area of some 8½ acres, at the east end of which is an inner bailey of about I acre.

Documentary references to the castle are rare, and none is known before 1204 when King John ordered the sheriff to give Guy de Dive seisen of all his lands 'except the castle at Deddington which we wish to retain in our own hands'.[23]

If it is to be maintained that Deddington Castle was the *caput* of Odo's Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates, firm evidence is needed that the castle was built for Odo. It is inadequate merely to argue that this medieval castle was located in a particularly wealthy demesne manor in one of the areas especially heavily dominated by Odo's estates. Final proof requires a specific documentary reference, though the probability of such a reference being discovered is very low. However, if it can be demonstrated by archaeological means that the castle was built during the period

[20] Weston Turvill, Bucks. (Roger 19 h., Bishop of Lisieux I h.); Wootton St. Lawrence, Hants. (Hugh de Port 5 h.); Ascot Earl, Oxon. (Ilbert 4½ h.); Allington, Kent (Anschitil 1 s., Hugh de Port 3 s.); Leeds, Kent (Adelold 3 s.); Sutton Valance, Kent (Adam fitz Hubert 5½ s.); Tonge, Kent (Hugh de Port 2 s.); Godard's Castle in Thornham, Kent (in Thornham, Ralph Curbespine 3 s.; in Aldinton in Thornham, Ansgot of Rochester 2 s.).

[21] There is no archaeological or documentary evidence which places any of these castles before the 12th century. Wootton St Lawrence is probably the *castellum de Silva* stormed by Stephen in 1147 (D. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (1973)); the banks at Castle Rising were probably built at the same time as the keep, c. 1138. There is therefore no evidence of a castle at Rising at the time of Odo (B. Morley, pers. comm.).

[22] J. Morris, (ed.) *Domesday Book: Oxfordshire* (1978), 7.2.

[23] H.M. Colvin, *A History of Deddington, Oxfordshire* (1963), 23 n. 5.

of Odo's lordship of the manor, and that it was built on a rather grander scale than usual, then we have gone a long way (perhaps as far as we can ever go) towards proving our hypothesis.

Deddington Castle has been extensively excavated, although this work has been confined mainly to the inner bailey, so that little is known of the outer bailey and its defences.[24] While this is not the place to describe these excavations in detail, nor to discuss the archaeological minutiae, it will be useful to give a brief account of the site and its evolution in order to establish its nature and date. The history of the manors of Deddington has been well published, but a very brief summary is appended to this paper.[25]

THE MAIN STRUCTURAL PERIODS OF DEDDINGTON CASTLE[26]

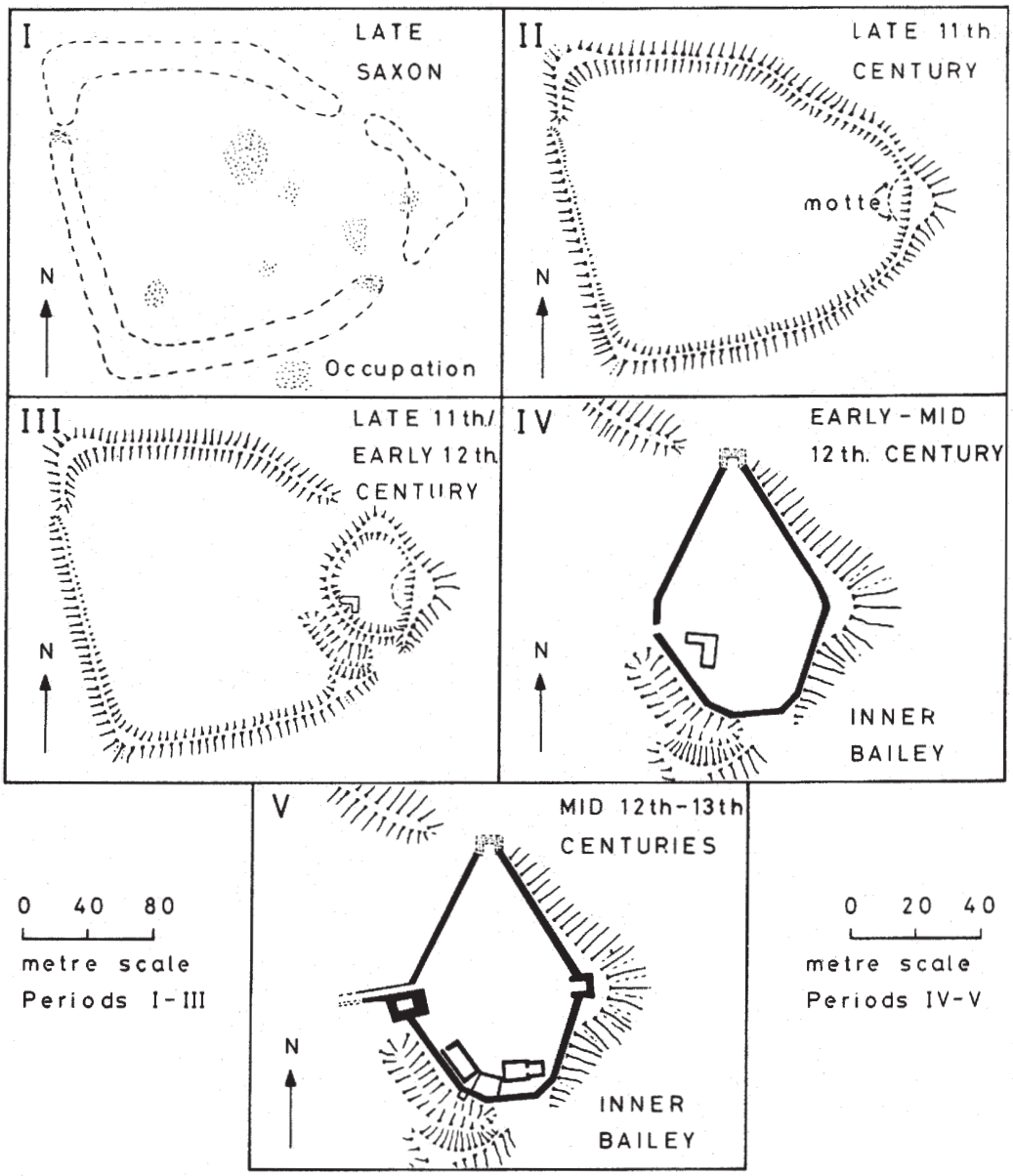


Figure 4: Deddington Castle, Structural Periods I–V

[24] E.M. Jope, and R.I. Threlfall, 'Recent Medieval Finds in the Oxford District', *Oxoniensia* xi/xii (1946/7) 165–171; and Ivens 1980 op. cit., 125–7. R.J. Ivens, 'Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire. A Summary of Excavations 1977–9', *South Midlands Archaeology* xiii (1983), 34–41.
[25] Farrer op. cit.; Colvin op. cit.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xii, 90–98.
[26] See note 24.

Before the construction of the castle the site was occupied in the late Saxon period (Fig. 4.I). Although little is known of the nature of that occupation, fragmentary remains of buildings and associated artefacts of the period, e.g. St. Neots-type pottery, have been found.

In its initial phase the castle consisted of a large motte together with an extensive embankment which surrounded a single and very large undifferentiated enclosure (Fig. 4. II). At this time or very shortly after, a small L-shaped, stone-built hall (with a garderobe pit at its west end) was constructed. While this building was in use, the design of the castle was modified by the insertion of an earthen bank and ditch, which formed and bounded an inner bailey (Fig. 4. III). This rampart lapped against the west end of the hall and sealed the garderobe. A stone building was then erected across the line of this rampart.

The line of the inner bailey was subsequently reinforced by the insertion of a massive, mortared ironstone-rubble wall, with a simple entranceway leading to the outer bailey (Fig. 4.IV; Fig. 4.IV and V show only the inner bailey). Later, the defences were strengthened by the addition of a gatehouse and an open-gorged wall tower situated on the now partially-demolished motte. Following the building of the curtain wall, a range of domestic buildings was erected; these include a chapel, a hall and a solar, as well as a number of other buildings (Fig. 4. V).

Following this major refurbishment and use of the castle (Period V) was a long phase of decline and decay, during which time numerous rather shoddy buildings were constructed within the inner bailey, particularly in its northern part. This in turn was followed by a period of deliberate demolition and robbing, which continued rather intermittently until the present century.

It should be noted at this stage that the continual rebuildings on the site, which involved the excavation of massive foundation-trenches, has seriously affected the survival of structural evidence of the earliest phases of occupation. The need to preserve the remains of the later medieval buildings also reduced the possibilities of examining the earlier levels archaeologically (see Fig. 5 for a general plan of the inner bailey).

THE DATING OF DEDDINGTON CASTLE

The very complexity of structures, which has so limited investigation of the earlier history of the site, has at the same time enabled the construction of a very detailed stratigraphic and structural sequence. This, in combination with the extensive and well-stratified artefactual evidence, particularly the pottery, has allowed the development of a very full floating pottery chronology.[27] It has proved possible to fix certain points of this floating chronology fairly precisely. This has been achieved by the use of internal evidence from the castle, such as the association of stratigraphic and ceramic sequences with datable objects such as coins, and contexts sealed by *in situ* architecturally datable features. The traditional archaeological method of cross-dating with independently dated finds, assemblages and contexts has also, of course, been used. Consequently, the pottery sequence, and therefore the stratigraphic and structural sequences from Deddington Castle, may be claimed as amongst the most closely dated so far.

The justification of the nature and dating of this ceramic sequence requires a lengthy and detailed account of the very complex stratigraphic relationships of the many

[27] Ivens 1980 op. cit., 196–222. It is proposed to publish full details of this elsewhere.

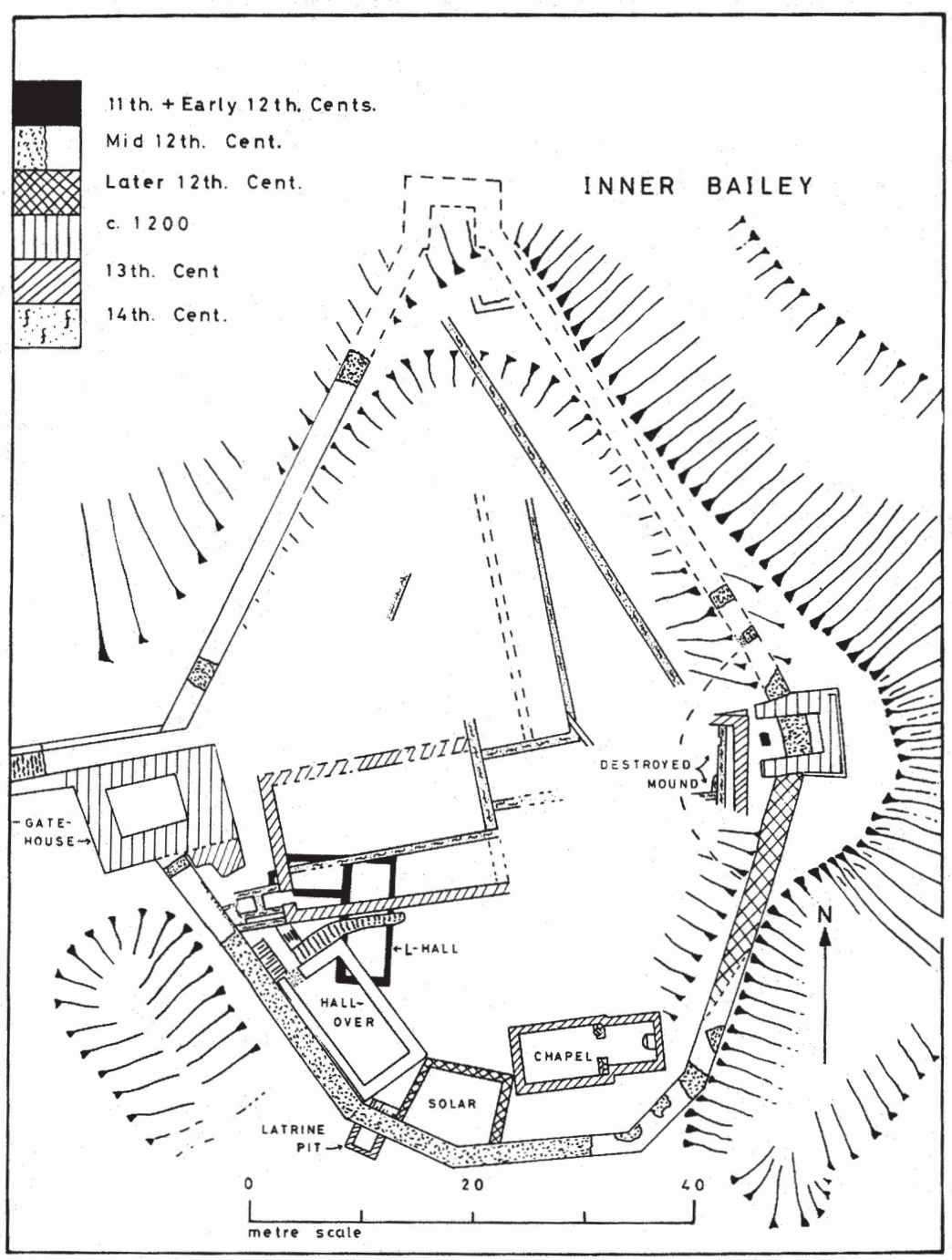


Figure 5: Deddington Castle

layers and structures, and of the distribution of the various ceramic types through the strata. This information will of course appear in the final excavation report; only a brief outline of the major points is given here, but a fuller account of the material and methodology may be found in Ivens 1980 (see note 27).

Based on the procedures described above, it can be deduced purely on the archaeological evidence that major robbing and demolition took place in the later 14th century, and then continued in a rather haphazard manner right up to the 1940s. Before this demolition phase was a long period of decay and decline, which began shortly after the middle of the 13th century. The documentary evidence provides confirmation of this dating.[28] All the 14th-century references describe the castle as old or decayed, and in 1377 specifically note the demolition of the castle walls. The attack by Robert of Aston in 1281 suggests that the castle was of no great strength at that time (see appendix).

[28] The documentary evidence is summarised and referenced in the appendix.

Architecturally, Deddington Castle was at its peak during the period which began with the insertion of the massive curtain walls, and continued with several modifications to the defences and the erection of a number of major domestic buildings (Fig. 4.IV-V). The structural and artefactual evidence indicates that this period of refurbishment and major building began in the middle of the 12th century and continued into the early decades of the 13th century. It seems probable that it was William de Chesney who built the first stone defences and started the internal refurbishments, which appear to have been continued under his successors, Ralph Murdac and Guy and William de Dive. It is certain that the castle was already old by the time William de Chesney acquired it in 1157, and while he probably substantially rebuilt it, he did not and could not have founded it.

The reasons for attributing the first stone fortifications to William de Chesney are twofold. First, because the construction of the defences can be dated to the mid 12th century on the basis of a combination of the architectural dating of the hall (see note 24), which post-dated the construction of the curtain wall, and on the basis of artefacts found in strata both pre- and post-dating the construction of the curtain wall. Secondly, because of William de Chesney's certain lordship of the manor from 1157 (and probably earlier), and his documented military governorship and castle building activities during the civil war (see below).

That the castle was already ancient by the mid 12th century can be shown by the length of occupation from its first construction. The construction of the hall has been placed in the mid 12th century on the basis of associated artefacts and architecturally dated stonework (note 24). This hall post-dates the curtain wall, which in turn post-dates the earthen ramparts of the inner bailey. Indeed, there was a sufficient interval between the abandonment of these earthwork defences and the construction of the curtain wall for a large stone building to be erected across the line of the defences and to be used and abandoned. The L-shaped hall was sealed by the mid 12th-century hall, and the earthen rampart of the inner bailey was dumped against its west end. Clearly, for all these events to have taken place a considerable time must have elapsed. Just how much time is critical in arguing the date for the foundation of the castle.

Since late Saxon pottery was found sealed beneath the castle ramparts at a number of points, it is evident that these are not re-used prehistoric earthworks (as has sometimes been suggested). Since there is no reason to challenge the well-established model that earthwork castles were introduced into England by the Normans in the years following the Conquest, Deddington Castle cannot be earlier than 1066.

The ceramic material associated with the L-shaped hall, and found within and beneath the inner bailey rampart, suggest that the occupation of the upper two floors of this hall and the erection of the rampart were archaeologically contemporary events. Particularly significant is the occurrence (for the first time on the site, though other vessel forms in the same fabric have been found in earlier contexts) of pot sherds of the type generally known as Oxford tripod-pitchers. Conventionally the introduction of this ware is dated to about 1120, though there have been recent suggestions of an earlier date, perhaps as early as the late IIth-century.[29] The cutting of the

[29] R. Haldon, and M. Mellor, in B. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia* xlii (1977), 138; E.M. Jope and W.A. Pantin, 'The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia* xxiii (1958), 1–129; and Ivens 1980 op. cit., 196–222.

inner bailey rampart by a large stone building suggests that its construction was a temporary expedient, perhaps dictated by some emergency such as the invasion of Duke Robert in 1101 or the White Ship disaster of 1120. Given this intense building and rebuilding, all of which must pre-date the mid 12th century, this inner bailey bank must date to the first quarter of the 12th century, and probably early in that quarter-century.

The lower floors of the L-shaped hall must therefore pre-date the earlier 12th century. The original erection of this hall of course pre-dates the inner bailey rampart, as that rampart was dumped against its west end. The ceramic material associated with the hall's lower five floors does not permit any refined dating, as all were types current during the later 11th and for much of the 12th century. However, if the upper two floors of this building are to be dated to the early 12th century (and perhaps earlier) then the lowest floor must be dated well back into the 11th century.

It is by no means certain that this L-shaped hall belongs to the first occupation of the castle (it is merely the earliest yet found). In fact, significant differences between the pre-castle pottery and that associated with the early floors of the L-shaped building suggest that it was not a primary structure. Consequently, the initial building should probably be seen as pre-dating the first occupation of the L-shaped building.

Thus, there appears to be no doubt that Deddington Castle was erected during the 11th century, and almost certainly quite soon after the Conquest, during the lordship of Odo of Bayeux. To argue a later foundation requires too great a telescoping of the structural sequence and radical revision of very well established pottery chronologies.

In its earliest, early post-Conquest, phase, Deddington Castle consisted of a large undifferentiated enclosure with a substantial motte at its east end. This is a very unusual form, and unique in the Oxford area. It has been argued elsewhere that the normal manorial castle in the Oxford area was initially the ringwork, and then, in the 12th century, the small-scale motte-and-bailey castle whose earthen mounds often conceal complex stone structures.[30] Since Deddington does not fit this model, its great size and early date may suggest that it was of more than ordinary importance, in fact a baronial castle. Recent research on earthwork castles in France has led to very similar conclusions: that the normal form of the later 11th-century baronial castle was a large enclosure of the Deddington type, and that the smaller motte and bailey castles were manorial residences, and may even be a little later in date.[31]

While there is no direct evidence that Deddington Castle was the *caput* of Odo's estates in the Oxford area, this does seem highly probable in view of its early date, its location in relation to the distribution of Odo's estates, and the scale of the enclosure and defences. The most recent study of Rochester Castle argues that the primary defences, which may be associated with the lordship of Odo, consisted of a large enclosure defended by a massive rampart and ditch, with slight indications of a motte in the south-east corner:[32] an arrangement not dissimilar to that found at Deddington Castle.

Two of the three large circles drawn on the general distribution map (Fig. 1), of 80 km. (50 mile) radius, are centred on Rochester and Deddington: Rochester as the

[30] Ivens 1980 op. cit., 125–62.
[31] J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des Seigneuries chatelaines dans le Grand-Caux a L'epoques ducales'. *Archaeologie Medievale* vi *(1976*), 5 148, especially Section IV–V, 83–107.
[32] C. Flight and A.C. Harrison, 'Rochester Castle, 1976' *Archaeologia Cantiana* xciv (1978), 27–60.

probable head of Odo's English honor, and Deddington for the reasons discussed above. The third covers those areas outside of the spheres of influence of Deddington and Rochester, though no probable or even suitable third site has been identified; it may be that these eastern and northern lands were never incorporated into quite such an organised system as is proposed for those surrounding Rochester and Deddington, perhaps because of the different circumstances of their acquisition, or because these northerly lands were administered directly from Rochester.

The circles are in no sense boundaries, but only approximate areas of influence. For example, there is no reason why the possible third and northern *caput* might not be located in Lincolnshire, rather than south of the Wash as suggested on Fig. 1.

The centres of these circles are situated so that almost every one of Odo's Domesday estates lies within fifty miles of one of them. The arguments and admittedly circumstantial evidence for Deddington acting as a second-level *caput* to the main centre at Rochester are strong, and do suggest that this is a likely and convincing mechanism for the organisation and administration of Odo's extensive lands. It should not be forgotten that Odo had been Bishop of Bayeux from an early age, and would therefore have had considerable experience in the administration of large estates. The results shown by the see of Bayeux under Odo's rule suggest that he had considerable talent as an administrator.[33]

A more detailed study of the descent of Odo's fee after 1088 might throw some light on to his administrative system. Following Odo's rebellion, his fief was taken, for a time at least, into the king's hands. Subsequently much of the Deddington 'barony' appears to have been granted to the major undertenants; for example, the large holding of Adam fitz Hubert passed shortly after 1086 to his youngest brother Eudes the Sewer. Following Eudes's death in 1120, the whole of his honour was taken into the hands of Henry I, who retained a part and dismembered the remainder. The parts retained by the king remained crown land until Henry II granted them to his chamberlain, Warin fitz Gerold, from whom they descended to the lords de L'Isle and Albermarle.[34] The other major estates in Wootton hundred met a similar fate: that of Ilbert de Lacy passed into the fee of Coldbridge in Kent, and that of Wadard, as elsewhere, into the fee of Arsic.[35] The four demesne manors in Wootton seem to have been granted separately. The fate of Deddington before 1157 is uncertain. Great Tew remained in the king's possession until 1130, shortly after which it was granted to Earl Ranulf of Chester, but was back in royal hands by 1165.[36] Very little is known of the descent of Combe, and it generally seems to have been retained as crown land, perhaps because it formed part of the royal park at Woodstock.[37] Stanton Harcourt was held early in Henry I's reign by Rualon d'Avranches,[38] one of Henry's new men from western Normandy who was here endowed from royal demesne. While the Deddington barony seems to have been thoroughly broken up before it was ever able to emerge into formal, legal existence, this is not true of the whole of Odo's fee. The barony of Swanscombe, which was built on a portion of Odo's estates, owed 30 of the 60 knight's fees due to Rochester Castle, and long survived Odo's banishment from England.[39]

[33] Bates op. cit., 1–20.
[34] Farrer op. cit., iii, 165–69.
[35] Ibid., and Blair and Steane op. cit.
[36] A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta,* (1955), 54.
[37] *Rot. Hund.* ii, 41b.
[38] *R.R.A.N.,* ii, No. 528 (from Abingdon Chronicle).
[39] J.H. Round, 'Castle Guard', *The Archaeological Journal,* lix (1902), 144, 159, 145, 158.

APPENDIX: A SUMMARY HISTORY OF THE MANORS OF DEDDINGTON[40]

Of the history of Deddington prior to the Norman Conquest virtually nothing is known. Only the Iron-Age Hill Fort at Ilbury, the Late Saxon occupation of the castle site, and scattered prehistoric, Roman and Saxon finds attest to any earlier occupation; though the name Deddington, that is the place of Daeda or of Daeda's people, does suggest a 6th- or 7th-century Mercian settlement.[41] It is with Domesday Book and the lordship of Odo that Deddington first enters the historical record.

What happened to Deddington after Odo's fall is far from clear, though it is possible that the manor was in the hands of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester in 1130, as he was excused Danegeld in that year on 36 hides in Oxfordshire:[42] Deddington is the only manor of 36 hides listed in the Oxfordshire Domesday Survey.

However, it is certain that Deddington was held by William de Chesney in 1157 as he was granted the manor by a charter of Henry II, and was excused 72 shillings Danegeld on 36 hides in Oxfordshire; indeed, he probably held the manor earlier along with a number of other Oxfordshire estates.[43] During the civil war William de Chesney was one of Stephen's most active local supporters. He is described in the chronicles as the military governor of Oxford and its neighbourhood, and is known to have had several castles under his command.[44] It is also known that William was a builder of castles, or at least of castle defences, for he is so described in a letter from his nephew Gilbert Foliot.[45] It seems likely that Deddington was one of these castles.

William de Chesney died between 1172 and 1176, and the descent of the manor becomes a little tangled at this point, due to the differing stories told by the claimants in the lawsuit of 1241/42.[46] What actually seems to have happened is that sometime after 1172, Henry II granted the manor to Ralph Murdac, nephew of William de Chesney.[47] This is confirmed by Ralph's gift in 1187 of a mill called Westmill (in Clifton, a hamlet of Deddington) to the monks of Eynsham Abbey, for the soul of his uncle William de Chesney,[48] and by his payment of scutage on two knights' fees for his Oxfordshire lands (Deddington was always assessed at two fees).[49]

With the death of Henry II Ralph Murdac lost royal favour, and on Richard I's accession was obliged to pay 200 marks for the 'goodwill of the lord king'.[50] Taking advantage of this situation, two other de Chesney heirs successfully claimed two-thirds of the manor: Matilda de Chesney and Guy de Dive. Matilda, wife of Henry fitz Gerold, was the daughter of Roger de Chesney (William's brother); she offered 50 marks for one-third of the manor, which she was duly granted. This debt was still outstanding at the time of her death, probably in 1192/93, as this was the last occasion on which she paid any of the debts incurred for having the custody of her

[40] See note 25.
[41] E. Eckwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Place Names* (1960); M. Gelling, *Places Names of Oxfordshire,* ii (E.P.N.S. xxiv, 1954), 256.
[42] P. R. 31 Hen. H. 4
[43] Colvin op. cit., 19 20, 20 n. 1, appendix 1.
[44] Ibid. 19; H.E. Salter *Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham,* i *(*Oxford Hist. Soc. xlix, 1907), 415 416, and 411–23 for a general account of the de Chesney family.
[45] A. Morey, and C.N.L. Brooke, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (1967) 54-55, No. 20.
[46] Colvin op. cit., 20 22, and *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi*, 91* for a further discussion of this problem.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Salter op. cit., *89.*
[49] P.R. 33 Hen 11, 50.
[50] P.R 2 Ric. 1, 14.

Table 3: The de Chesney Lineage

Roger de Chesney = Alice de Langeot
dead by 1109

had the following issue

Hugh = Denise of Barford
dead by 1166

William = Margaret de Lucy
died 1172–76

Robert, Bishop of Lincoln
dead by 1166

Ralph
dead by 1154

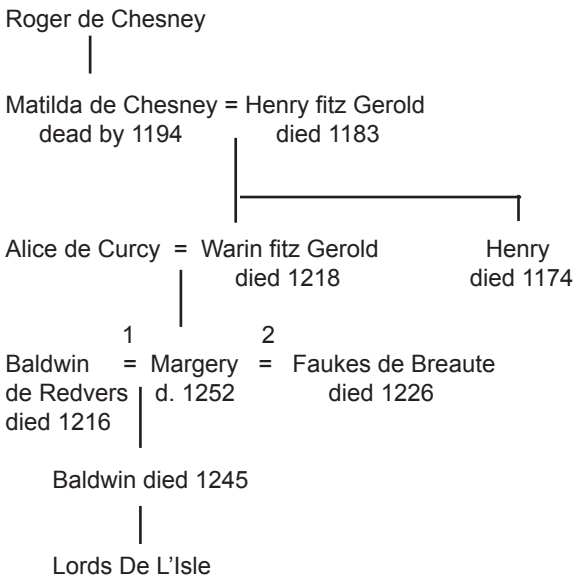
Roger
dead by 1147

Hawise

Isabel

Beatrice = Ralph Murdac I

Table 4: The Descendants of Roger de Chesney



son Warin and his lands. Matilda's third of the manor was escheated and farmed out from 1194 to 1197. The following year Warin fitz Gerold inherited the lands of both his parents and all his mother's debts.[51] Guy de Dive also offered 50 marks for one-third of the manor, which was granted, and the debt paid at Lyons in 1192.[52] The de Dive claim was via Guy's wife Lucy, the daughter of Ralph, son of Hugh de Chesney (the brother of William) and Denise of Barford.[53] The relationships of these and subsequent holders of the manors are explained in Tables 3–6.

This threefold division of the manor lasted throughout its history, and each third must be recounted separately. Since this later history is more than adequately published, and since it is not really relevant to this paper, only a short sketch of the history of the Castle Manor is included here, together with the barest outline of the descent of the other two manors of Deddington (see note 25 for further details).

[51] P.R. 2-10 Ric. 1.
[52] P.R. 2 Ric. 1, 14; 3 Ric. 1, 102; 4 Ric. 1, 270.
[53] P.R. 33 Hen. 11, 50.

Table 5: The Descendants of Hugh de Chesney

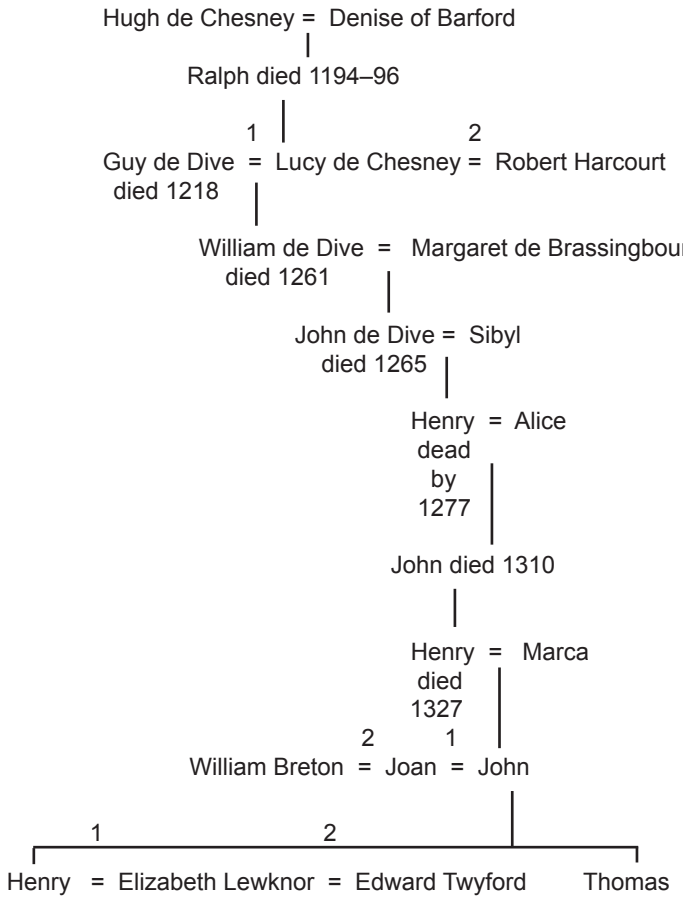
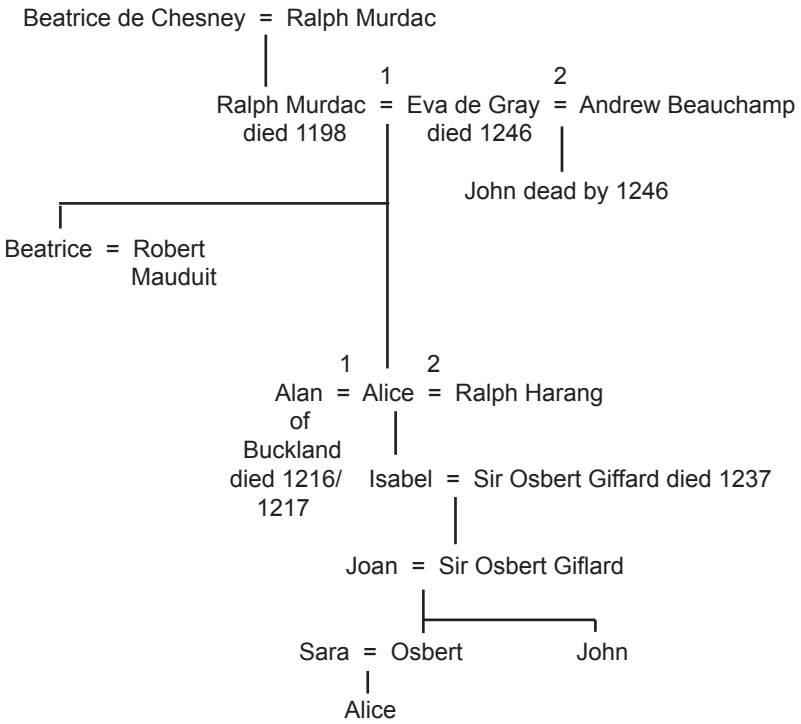


Table 6: The Descendants of Beatrice de Chesney



The Windsor or Castle Manor

The de Dive third of the manor, which included the castle, remained the property of that family until 1364 when Thomas de Dive sold it to the Canons of Windsor, at which time the estate included 'the site of the castle, with its park and meadow (formerly a stew-pond) known as the 'fishwar', a demesne of four yardlands in the common fields with appurtenant rights of pasture and the profits of the court baron'.[54]

Direct references to the castle are scarce. In 1204 it was in the king's hands, but was returned to Guy de Dive the following year.[55]; In 1277 the castle is described as being decayed and old,[56] and two years later is recorded as being in the custody of Alice the mother of John de Dive (a minor).[57] In 1281, Robert of Aston and others broke down the gate and door of Deddington Castle, the only warlike event ever recorded there.[58] John de Dive eventually inherited in 1295 and died in 1310, leaving his son Henry as heir to what was described as 'the decayed castle with a chamber and a dovecote' .[59] When the Canons of Windsor bought the estate in 1364, we hear only of the site of the castle. The ruins must have been substantial, however, for in 1377 Bicester Priory was able to buy dressed stone from the walls of the castle.[60] By the time Leland visited the town he was able to say no more than 'there hath bene a castle at Dadintone'. [61]

The Bicester or Christ Church Manor

This is the manor which Warin fitz Gerold inherited, in 1198, from his mother Matilda de Chesney. The estate had been under escheat since 1192/3, in the farm of William of St. Mary's and William de Sobbington.[62] Warin's lands were confiscated in 1216 when he joined the rebellion against King John, and were given into the custody of the two sons-in-law of Ralph Murdac.[63] Following Warin's death in 1218 his daughter Margaret, wife of Baldwin de Redvers, seemed to have recovered the estate, as she is credited with one-third of two knights' fees in Deddington in 1230.[64] Eve de Gray, relict of Ralph Murdac, also seems to have had an interest in this manor.[65]

By 1276 the manor was part of the endowment of Bicester Priory, by gift of the Basset family, though quite how they acquired it is unknown.[66] What is clear is that the Priory received the lands from Philip Basset between 1259 and his death in 1271, and that he in turn had inherited from other members of the Basset family and from Roger de Sampford, son of John de Sampford.[67]

The Priory retained the manor until the Dissolution in 1536, when Sir Thomas Pope first purchased it and then exchanged it with the king for other lands. In 1546 the king bestowed the land on Christ Church, Oxford, who retained it until 1954.[68]

[54] Colvin op. cit., 27.
[55] *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 91b n. 15–16; Colvin op. cit., 23 n. 5; Salter op. cit., 157; *Book; of Fees* i, 103.
[56] Farrer op. cit., iii, 231, V.*C.H. Oxon.* xi, *90* n. 91.
[57] Farrer op. cit., iii, 232.
[58] Colvin op. cit., 13-14; V.*C.H. Oxon.* xi, *90* n. 90.
[59] Colvin op. cit., 26, 14; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, *90* n. 91.
[60] Colvin op. cit., 14; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, *90* n. 92.
[61] Colvin op. cit., 14; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, *90* n. 93.
[62] PR 6-9 Ric. 1, 15, 43, 202, 39–40.
[63] Colvin op. cit., 40.
[64] Ibid., 40; Farrer op. cit., iii, 8, 231; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 94 n. 75
[65] Farrer op. cit., iii, 63; *Book of Fees* i, 251, 318.
[66] *Rot. Hund.* ii, 35a, 36b.
[67] *V.C.H. Oxon. xi,* 94 n. 79 85; G. Lipscombe, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (1847), 32, states that John Sampford was married to Alice the daughter of Alan Basset.
[68] Colvin op. cit., 42–46; *V.C.H. Oxon*. xi, 94.

The Duchy Manor

The origins of this part of the manor can be traced back to the lands which Ralph Murdac was able to retain in 1190. Murdac still held the estate in 1192, as he confirmed the gift of one-third of a mill in Clifton to the monks of Eynsham [69] but following his rebellion in the next year he forfeited all his lands.[70] From 1194 to 1197 the Pipe Rolls list the Duchy manor as escheated, and in the farm of William of St. Mary's and William de Sobbington (along with the de Chesney manor) .[71] On the accession of King John, Murdac's estates were restored to his daughters. Deddington was granted to Alice, the wife, first of Alan of Buckland and then of Ralph Harang.[72] Alice died in 1247, and manor passed to her grandson Sir Osbert Giffard.[73]

The Duchy manor remained in the possession of the Giffards until 1304, when it was granted to John Abel. By 1318 the estate was in the hands of Hugh le Despenser, and on his death and forfeiture in 1326 the manor was granted to Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk. In 1332 it was surrendered and regranted to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and nephew of de Brotherton. The estates remained in the de Bohun family until it was inherited by Henry V in 1419 and transferred to the Duchy of Lancaster. With a few short breaks, the manor remained crown land until 1604/5 when it was sold by James 1.[74]

[69] Salter op. cit., 84.
[70] Farrer op. cit., iii, 62; *V.C.H. Oxon*., xi, 91 n 13.
[71] See note 62, especially P.R. 6 Ric. 1, 15, which states that all of Deddington had been escheated except the part held by Guy de Dive.
[72] *V.C.H. Oxon*. xi, 93 n. 44-46; Colvin op. cit., 30–31.
[73] Colvin op. cit., 31; *V.C.H. Oxon*. xi, 93 n. 47.
[74] Colvin op. cit., 31–39; V.C.H. Oxon. xi, 93–4.

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