

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, WING, FROM THE 7th TO THE 11th CENTURIES

RICHARD GEM

The church of Wing is a key monument for the study of Anglo-Saxon architecture in midland England, but despite this the building has never been subject to a comprehensive archaeological analysis of the fabric. To inform any future research, this article re-evaluates the structural evidence and offers a provisional interpretation of the broad phases of development of the fabric, as well as posing certain unresolved questions. A key to the structural sequence is provided by the apse in which two distinct phases of construction are evidenced: (i) the outer walls and windows of the crypt, and (ii) the apse, elaborately decorated with pilasters, standing above the crypt. The second phase can be dated by comparison with the early 9th century apse of Deerhurst Church, Gloucestershire. The primary phase must have preceded this and go back to the 8th or late 7th century. There is no direct documentary evidence for the history or chronology of the early church. Such documentary evidence as is extant for Anglo-Saxon Wing concerns the manorial estate, held in the 10th century within the royal kin group; but this does not relate directly to the church itself.

LOCATION

Wing is set within the landscape of the Vale of Aylesbury, at the watershed between two important river systems. The Vale is defined to the south by the scarp of the Chiltern Hills, parallel to which the river Thame flows south-westward to join the Thames at Dorchester. To its east the Vale is marked by the valley of the river Ouzel or Lovatt, which flows northwards from the Chilterns to join the Great Ouse near Newport Pagnell. The watershed between the two river systems is formed by a range of low hills, on an eastern spur of which lies Wing.

The village of Wing (NGR SP 88 22) is a hill-top settlement, bounded to its west and south by a brook that flows to join the Ouzel a short distance to the east. To the north-east an ancient trackway descended the hill to cross the river at a ford (see further below).

The village sits on the edge of the Cretaceous Upper Greensand and Gault formation that edges the chalk hills of the Chilterns. Immediately to the north west of Wing, the Cretaceous gives way to the Upper Jurassic series, starting with the Kimmeridge Clay formation, overlain further away by the Portland Beds. There is no high-quality building stone available in the immediate vicinity of the

village, though from the Portland Beds could be derived serviceable but not very durable stone for ashlar work. However, to date no detailed survey has been made of the lithology of the materials used in the church fabric.

FABRIC OF THE CHURCH

Overview of Development

Wing Church today incorporates exceptionally well preserved architectural elements surviving from the Anglo-Saxon period. This is because later medieval and post-medieval alterations to the fabric were on the whole fairly modest (Fig. 1). It may help at the outset to summarise the main periods of the medieval building, prior to analysing in detail the evidence for the early periods which are the subject of this paper.

Period 1 (late 7th or 8th century): the first stone church and alterations to it preceding the rebuilding of the apse.

Period 2 (early 9th century): the rebuilding of the apse.

Period 3 (10th and 11th century): other alterations, subsequent to the building of the apse and down

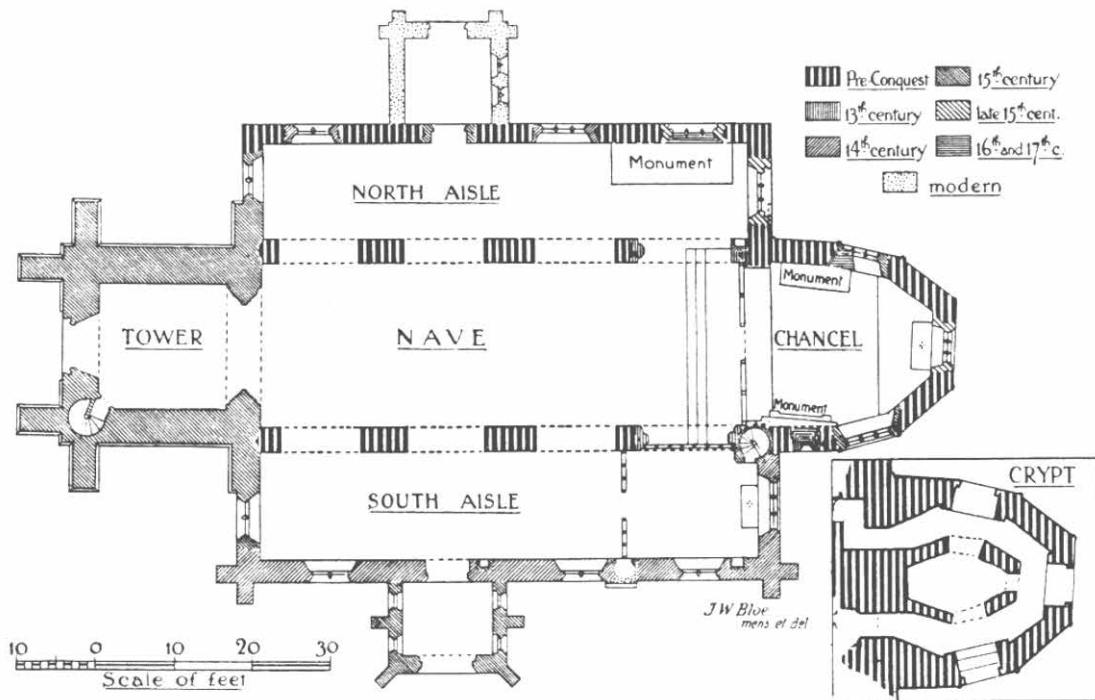


FIGURE 1 Plan of the church by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (1913)

to the decades immediately following the Norman Conquest, including the insertion of the nave arcades.

Period 4 (12th century): little remains in situ from this period.

Period 5 (13th century): the arches from the nave into the aisle east chapels.

Period 6 (beginning of 14th century): the re-fenestration of the south and north aisles – associated with the patronage of the de Warenne family.

Period 7 (15th century): the south porch; the west tower; the nave clerestory and roof.

Period 8 (16th century): changes up till the Reformation.

For later periods, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, there is little evidence in the structure of the building other than for repairs and for liturgical re-orderings. There are, however, many splendid

and important monuments, especially of the Dormer family.

The second half of the 19th century saw a series of restorations of the building, beginning with that by Sir G.G. Scott in 1850.¹ In 1881 the crypt was cleared out under G.G. Scott Jr.² In 1892–3 there was a further restoration under J.O. Scott, which included the removal of the external render from the building.³

These 19th-century restorations led to recognition of the importance of the Anglo-Saxon church and initiated the era of its detailed study by ecclesiologists and archaeologists. Useful accounts of the building as a whole were published by the *Victoria County History* and the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.⁴ However, the main published works concerned with the Anglo-Saxon fabric, on which more recent discussion has been based, are those of Dudley Jackson and Eric Fletcher⁵ and of Harold and Joan Taylor.⁶ It has to be said at the outset that any alternative views put forward here are based, not on a comprehensive new archaeological survey and analysis of the fabric (some-

thing much needed), but on provisional study of the building and on an assessment of comparative evidence from other churches.

Issues in Sequencing the Construction Periods of the Anglo-Saxon Church

The Crypt and Apse

Of critical importance for understanding the development of the fabric is the relationship between the crypt (with its clearly inserted vault) and the apse that stands above it (Fig. 2). Jackson and Fletcher initiated a discussion of this relationship when they suggested that the crypt and apse were basically contemporary, but that the apse walls had been remodelled in a process including the addition to them of a new decorative scheme of pilasters and arcading. They rightly observed that the arched windows of the crypt were of a unitary construction, but that the crowns of these arches rose above the level of the bases of the pilasters. However, the windows and the eccentrically placed pilasters did not seem to them to have been set out at the same time. They therefore concluded that the pilaster

decoration had been added, and the surfaces of the walls realigned, in a complicated programme of work that involved the partial cutting back and partial building forward of the standing wall faces. They also claimed that internally the wall faces had been built forward, to a point where in some cases they stood over the springing of the inserted crypt vaults.

In his 1979 paper, Harold Taylor published his considered views on this relationship. He believed that the crypt preceded the apse in construction and that the apse walls themselves were in general of unitary construction from the Anglo-Saxon ground level upwards. It followed in his view that the misalignments between the apse and the crypt, including the relationship of the pilasters to the crypt windows, resulted from the attempt to space the pilasters of the new apse as evenly as possible, given the pre-existing crypt wall and recesses. Moreover, he suggested that the crypt at first may have been roofed at ground level, and may have stood beyond the east end of a first church: only later was the apse then built above the crypt so as to incorporate it beneath the chancel of the church, at which stage the internal walls of the crypt and the apse (which were separated only by a wooden floor) were given a coating of plaster.⁷ In a third phase a stone vault was added to the crypt, and possibly the north-east bays of the apse were thickened internally. In the same publication Taylor noted evidence for the internal plinths running round the interior of the crypt recesses, which seemed to point to the homogeneity of its construction at this level. He also noted the straight joints between the apse and the nave (observed by him and the author together on our joint field trip in 1970), which demonstrated that they were not contemporary.

In his interpretation Taylor rejected Jackson's and Fletcher's theory of the remodelling of already existing apse walls. However, he did not answer (though he acknowledged its relevance) one of the main arguments put forward by Jackson and Fletcher against the unitary construction of the apse walls from the Anglo-Saxon ground level upwards. This argument was that the semi-circular windows appeared to be of one build with the crypt recesses (there being no sign of any rebuilding), but that these rose up above the base level of the pilaster-decorated apse.

Evaluating these earlier arguments and the



FIGURE 2 The apse from the SE

fabric itself, it seems reasonably clear that the misalignments between the windows of the crypt and the bays of the apse walls are of such a nature as to suggest very strongly that they form parts of two different campaigns of work. If one takes as an example the case of the northern window of the crypt, the western jamb is clipped by one of the angle pilasters of the apse in a way scarcely conceivable unless the pilaster were a secondary feature. Against Jackson and Fletcher, therefore, it may be maintained that the apse walls are essentially a complete rebuilding above crypt level. However, against Taylor it may be maintained that the apse windows are of a uniform build with the crypt recesses: the apse, therefore, cannot have been rebuilt from a uniform horizontal base line. The crypt windows of the earlier phase were thus, it would seem, left standing on three sides; whereas

elsewhere the old walls of the first apse superstructure were demolished to ground level.

If one examines the fabric this sequence is exactly what the evidence seems to indicate. In the bays where the crypt windows were retained (Fig. 3), the existing masonry suggests that, first, the new angles with their pilasters were built up from the ground; only then were the spandrels between the angles and the retained window arches infilled with pitched masonry. The untidy construction in these bays is in striking contrast with the neat horizontally coursed stonework of the east-north-east and east-south-east bays where no crypt windows occur (Fig. 4).

If one accepts that the present polygonal apse indeed belongs to a secondary rebuilding, and that the geometry of its layout accords ill with the spacing of the crypt windows, it raises a question as



FIGURE 3 Irregularly pitched masonry around window in E bay of the apse

to the plan of the original crypt. The canted angle of the north and south windows demonstrates that the original crypt was not built on a rectangular plan. But the evidence that it had precisely the same polygonal plan as the later rebuilding is largely dependent on accepting Jackson's and Fletcher's view that the section of the outer face of the crypt wall they discovered outside the east-north-east bay belonged to the first building and not the rebuilding. Since they were able to follow this wall face down to about 0.6m above the crypt floor level, it seems reasonable to suppose that it did indeed belong to the crypt and was not merely a foundation for the rebuilt apse. Apart from this, the only sections of the first crypt incontestably visible are the recessed bays themselves, together with the return angle between the recesses and the inner face of the main walls (Fig. 5). If it were assumed

that the windows were set with greater regard for symmetry in the original crypt, it suggests that the original polygonal crypt was perhaps laid out on a slightly different plan from the apse as later rebuilt.

Another problem is constituted by the relationship of the rebuilt apse walls to the inserted crypt vault. Jackson and Fletcher maintained that the apse walls were, at least on the north side, built out over the thickening of the crypt walls which carried the vault and must, therefore, be posterior in construction. Taylor considered that there was no real evidence for this overhang, unless on the north side; but even this could be explained by a subsequent internal thickening of the apse wall. The resolution of these arguments can be attained only through an accurate new electronic survey of the crypt and the apse. However, it is questionable on the basis of straightforward measurements



FIGURE 4 Regularly coursed masonry in ESE bay of the apse



FIGURE 5 View down into crypt through E window. On left, primary jamb of niche with secondary masonry added in front to support vault; centre right, free-standing pier of added vault

whether there is in fact any overhang. That being said, there are other aspects of the crypt vault that call for comment.

The crown of the crypt vault in the outer corridor rises up in the recessed bays so that its soffit clears the crown of the crypt windows; accordingly the top surface of the vault itself rises up higher still. Assuming that the top of the vault when it was constructed provided a uniform level for the chancel floor, this floor must have been above the level from which the apse was rebuilt between the crypt windows. This suggests that the level from which the apse rebuilding could commence (external ground level) was not constrained by the pre-existence of the crypt vault (at a higher level). This only seems to leave two real possibilities: the first is that the vault was inserted at some time after the rebuilding of the apse; the second is that, if (which is not demonstrated) the apse walls sit

over the haunches of the crypt vault, the insertion of the crypt vault and the rebuilding of the apse were contemporary operations.

Conclusion

The sequence at the east end of the church appears to be as follows. In Period 1 a thin-walled polygonal crypt was constructed; it had recesses in three walls, surmounted by arched windows rising above ground level. What the superstructure of this crypt was like is unknown, although a full-height apse may seem more likely than Taylor's suggestion of a roof near ground level. In Period 2 (and defining this period) the superstructure of the apse above ground level was demolished except for the three crypt windows, and a new polygonal apse was built, decorated with a scheme of pilasters. Also secondary to the original crypt was the insertion into it of a stone vault, though on current evidence we cannot say whether this was contemporary with the new apse, or belonged to a later, third period.

The Porticus and Aisles

It has frequently been assumed that, to the west of the crypt and apse, the nave and aisles are of a single Anglo-Saxon phase of construction, but this is very questionable. Unfortunately, however, the thick layer of medieval plaster (much of it with wall paintings and, therefore, not to be removed) that covers the interior makes it impossible to carry out detailed analysis of the structure except externally. Nonetheless, there are certain observations that can be made.

Taylor's 1965 plan of Wing indicates the north aisle wall as of homogeneous Anglo-Saxon construction. However, a close examination of the masonry suggests this is not the case. The east wall of the north aisle, at a short distance above ground level, has coursing in pitched (so-called 'herringbone') masonry (Fig. 6). This coursing returns around the north-east angle and continues along the north wall for a distance of some 4.8m before it stops. This pitched coursing suggests very clearly that the eastern section of the aisle is distinct from the rest. Internally this length of the outer wall corresponds to the first bay of the nave north arcade. This bay opens from the nave through a 13th-century arch, which suggests that it was always distinct from the three bays further west with their semi-circular arches (Fig. 7). The

interpretation that suggests itself as a possibility is that the east bay, far from having formed initially part of an aisle, corresponded with a distinct porticus flanking the east end of the nave (whether of a single storey or two there is no visible evidence to indicate). The rest of the aisle, with the arcade leading to it, might then be seen as belonging to a later phase of development. There is no direct evidence that the semi-circular aisle arches further west are inserted, but the relationship of the arches to their supports, which look more like stretches of walling than true piers, is at least suggestive of the arches being pierced through a pre-existing plain wall.

That the north-east porticus (if such it was) formed a part of the fabric contemporary with or later than either the first or second apse of the church is indicated by the fact that its east wall

overlaps marginally the apse and must always have abutted some structure at this point. This east wall is pierced by a doorway leading to the east. This may simply have led out of the building into the open: however, if it led to a structure such as a further eastern porticus, this cannot have extended further east than the edge of the first window of the crypt without obscuring it. Also, it would be likely to have preceded the construction of the second apse, for otherwise the structure would have obscured the apse's pilaster decoration. That the present apse is indeed of later construction than the east wall of the existing north aisle is at least a possible interpretation of the evidence at the point of their junction. There is also some very slight evidence that a wall may formerly have run east from the north-east corner of the present aisle.



FIGURE 6 E end of N aisle, incorporating masonry of former NE porticus



FIGURE 7 Nave interior looking NE

Conclusion

It seems likely that the Period 1 building had an un-aisled nave, flanked at its east end by porticus on the north and, it may be assumed for symmetry, south sides. A doorway led eastward from the north porticus for uncertain reasons. The extension westward of the main porticus to form aisles, with arches being cut through the nave walls, could have belonged to either Period 2 or a much later period of activity.

The Nave Elevation

Turning from the aisles or porticus to the nave itself, a prominent feature is the way the nave walls rise vertically to an internal set-back and then reduce markedly in thickness (Fig. 7). This set-back, however, does not seem to indicate the full height of the Anglo-Saxon walls. The Period 2 apse walls rose above the height of the set-back,

and must have butted against a nave of at least equal height. What is difficult to demonstrate is whether the set-back divided two periods of Anglo-Saxon construction, or whether it served a functional purpose in a unitary construction. Externally it may be seen that the south nave wall is constructed with a large quantity of dark ferruginous stone, starting at about the level of the internal set-back (Fig. 9). Higher up, this stone is interrupted by a lighter band (two-thirds way up the present 15th-century clerestory windows), corresponding in level with one remaining section of an Anglo-Saxon string course on the north elevation: this evidence may mark the level of a once-continuous string course around the nave. Such a string course, although corresponding in height to the apse walls, was not a unifying feature forming part of a single operation to heighten the nave and rebuild the apse, since



FIGURE 8 SW corner of nave showing upper doorway leading to probable former W gallery in nave

the apse is clearly secondary to the nave. This is demonstrated by the fact that there is a straight joint between the apse and the nave clearly visible (notwithstanding later repairs) at this level on the south side, and that the apse is also slightly wider than the nave at this point (Fig. 10). The string course could have had a decorative function, such as marking the line of springing of the arches of the nave windows, and the sills of these windows could have coincided internally with the change in wall thickness.

Conclusion

The Period 1 nave was already of considerable height, with an external decorative string course, perhaps relating to high-level windows. Whether the height of the nave was the result of two phases of construction within Period 1 is uncertain. In Period 2 the new apse was built against the already tall nave.

Relationship of Nave, Crypt and Apse

If the apse walls are secondary to the nave, and also secondary to the crypt outer walls, what is the relationship between the nave and the first phase of the crypt? This is very difficult to determine because of the later insertion of the vault and associated thickening of the walls in the crypt, and also because of the absence of a detailed archaeological survey of the fabric, particularly at the west end of the crypt.

If one were to accept Jackson' and Fletcher's view (which was followed by Taylor), it would appear that the piers for the chancel arch in the east wall of the nave continued down to crypt floor level, and defined one side of each of the dog-legged passageways leading up from the crypt to the nave. These passageways were considered by Jackson and Fletcher to have formed part of the Period 1 crypt. This would suggest that the first crypt and the east wall of the nave were planned as an integral construction. However, without further archaeological analysis and recording of the masonry in the western part of the crypt, it is doubtful whether any such interpretation can be sustained. On the presently available evidence it cannot be excluded that the crypt was added against a pre-existing nave east wall, and that in the process the foundations of this wall were adapted to permit the formation of the crypt entrance passages and the central feature between them. Alternatively it seems possible that whereas the crypt may indeed be of Period 1, the entrance passages are not, and that the crypt was originally accessed in a different way.

The presumed steps leading up from the crypt, along the partly-surviving passages, emerged into the church alongside the inner faces of the north and south walls of the nave. This raises a problem in relation to the access into the porticus, which it has been argued flanked the east bay of the nave on the north and south sides. The sections of wall here are now pierced by the wide 13th-century chapel arches. However, if the earlier porticus were entered by arches in a similar position, these would have been encumbered by the steps. A number of alternative solutions to this problem are theoretically possible, but cannot be judged in the absence of evidence. The porticus may indeed have been entered through archways in this position but, if so, these were not contemporary with the steps up from the crypt which subsequently encumbered them. Possibly, therefore, the crypt was initially



FIGURE 9 Exterior of nave and apse from S

approached by lateral steps accessed via the doorways in the east wall of the porticus. Alternatively, the porticus and steps may have been contemporary, but the porticus may have been entered on their west sides. If so, one would then have to suggest the existence of chambers serving as entrance vestibules, flanking the nave on the west side of the porticus proper.

As to the precise floor level in the original apse, before the construction of the vault, and as to the original archway between the nave and apse, we have no evidence. The present chancel arch, while it may or may not stand on Period 1 footings, is more likely to belong at the main upper level to the same period as the rebuilt apse. However, it is probable that the arch has been modified at a later date, since the rough surface of the masonry on the reveals and soffit suggests the removal of an inner order. Further evidence pointing in the same direction is the existence of a hood-moulding, which

may be expected to have outlined the voussoirs of an arch. The removal of the inner order displays to view from the nave the 1590 tomb of Sir William Dormer on the north wall in the apse, and could well be a modification of that date: in any case, it is anterior to the construction of the tomb of Sir Robert Dormer (ob. 1616) which is built against the present south reveal of the arch.

Above the arch is a double opening (unblocked and restored in 1892–3). Following the construction of the present apse, this opening would have been an internal feature rather than a window, if the apse had a steeper pitched roof than at present. However, it is possible that the primary apse was lower than the later one, and that the opening did at first serve as a window into the nave.

Conclusion

In the light of the present limited archaeological recording and analysis of the crypt fabric, it cannot



FIGURE 10 SE angle of nave clerestory with apse butt-jointed against it

be settled whether the first crypt was contemporary with the basic structure of the nave. Nor is it clear whether the partly surviving access passages from the crypt to the nave are contemporary with the first stage of the crypt. The present chancel arch, although later modified, probably belongs with the surviving rebuilt apse. For simplicity in this account the rebuilding of the apse defines Period 2, while everything preceding it is assigned to Period 1 without prejudice to whether there were several stages of development in this first period.

5. The West End of the Nave

The construction of the 15th-century west tower removed entirely the west wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave, and with it any evidence above ground for the possible existence of an antecedent west entrance porticus.⁸ However, the side walls of the nave retain a pair of doorways, at a level above the aisle arcade and below the set-back in the wall, which

must relate to the west-end arrangements of the Anglo-Saxon church in one of its periods (Fig. 8). These doorways could have led onto a west gallery within the nave space, but it is unclear what they led from on their outer faces. The difficulty in interpretation may reflect the possibility that the doorways formed part of a quite complex western structure, of which they are the only remaining indicators.

Conclusion

Very little can be said about the original form of the west end of the Anglo-Saxon church, or about the different periods of construction that may have succeeded one another there. The surviving doorways may relate to a west gallery and to other more complex arrangements. At the least it may be assumed that there was a west porch, and possibly this was flanked by further side chambers.

Discussion of the Form and Chronology of the Anglo-Saxon Church

The Period 1 Building

The earliest phases of construction visible in the existing masonry building point to what may be considered the first stone church on the site (Fig. 11). This church comprised a rectangular nave measuring 18.6m by 6.4m in plan internally (*i.e.* a ratio of nearly 3:1), with walls rising to a height of around 8m before they narrowed in thickness and continued upwards. An external string-course at a height of 9.8m may have marked the level of the springing of high level windows in the side walls, while in the east gable wall the sill of the two-light window is set at around this height. At the west end of the nave there is no visible evidence for the original arrangements, except for lateral doorways (which may or may not belong to Period 1) with their sills at about 5.5m: these may have been connected with a west gallery.

Possibly the eastern one-third of the nave may have been segregated from the two-thirds further west by a transverse wall with an arch opening

through it, thus forming a separate choir bay. In any case, the eastern part of the nave was flanked by lateral porticoes 3.8m square internally. Initially these porticoes seem to have been self-contained spaces, rather than forming part of a continuous aisle. Possibly the porticoes, on analogy with some other Anglo-Saxon churches, were two-storied. The porticoes had eastern doorways, the purpose of which is uncertain. The original access arrangements into the porticoes do not survive, but probably involved doorways or larger openings into the nave.

From the start, the nave may have been planned in conjunction with the polygonal crypt to its east, the floor level of which was 1.8m below the nave. The primary access to this crypt may have been by way of steps leading down along the surviving passages against the north and south walls of the nave, turning inward against the footings of the chancel arch piers in the east wall, and then east again into the main chamber. Alternatively, this arrangement may be secondary and the original entrance possibly could have been through openings in the north and south walls of the crypt (which

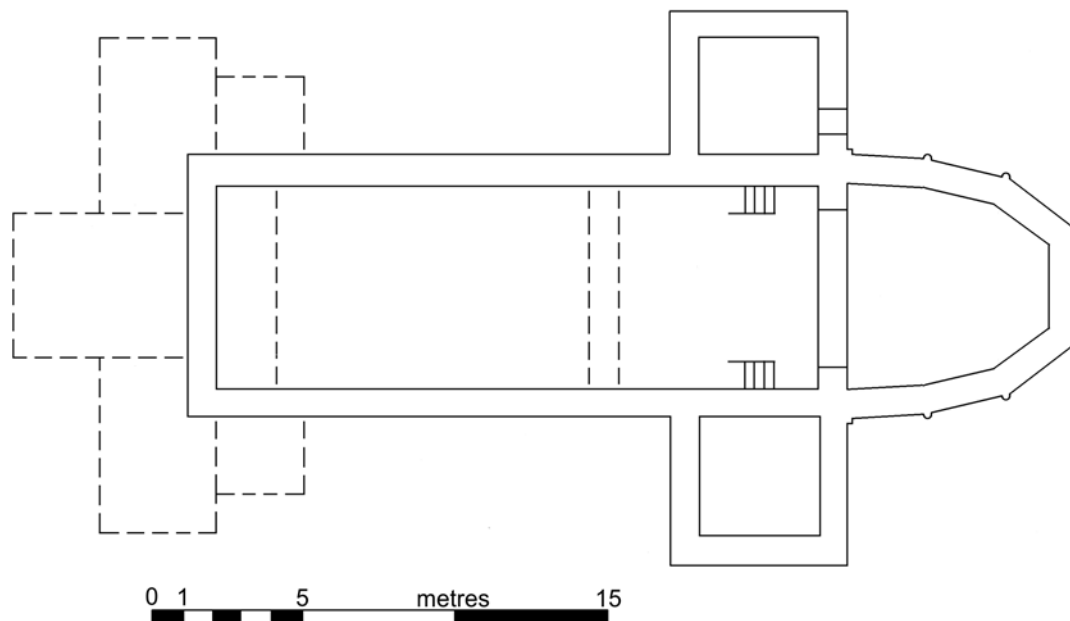


FIGURE 11 Reconstruction plan of the Anglo-Saxon church in Period 2 (early 9th century): solid line, certain elements; broken line, conjectural elements

would be obscured by the later internal thickening of these walls), approached down steps leading from the doorways in the east walls of the north and south porticoes. The crypt in plan was probably a stilted half-decagon. On three sides recesses were placed in the thickness of the walls and, above ground level, the recesses were arched over to provide windows lighting the crypt. The crypt in its central part did not continue as far west as the line of the east wall of the nave, but terminated with a wall set forward from the latter. Jackson and Fletcher investigated behind the crypt west wall and concluded there had been a fair-faced chamber here. The function of such a chamber would be uncertain, though G.G. Scott who cleared the crypt in 1881 thought there was here a *fenestella* or window allowing a view through into the crypt from the nave.⁹ Above the crypt would have arisen a primary apse, which later was rebuilt.

There is very little in the construction or character of the various parts of this first building that allows a precise date to be assigned to it. The one exception to this may be the manner of construction of the crypt windows, formed by setting recesses into the crypt walls below ground and arching these over above ground level. This is very similar to the crypt at Repton, Derbyshire, though the latter crypt is rectangular and not polygonal in plan.

Repton may have been founded as a minster dependent on the abbey of Peterborough following a grant of land made c.675x691 by Frithuric, a sub-ruler under King Æthelred of Mercia. In any case by c.697 there was in existence there a double monastery ruled over by an abbess. In 757 King Æthelbald of Mercia was buried at Repton, while later King Wiglaf (died c.839) was buried in his own mausoleum there, and in 849 the same mausoleum received the burial of his grandson Wigstan who was subsequently accorded a cult as a saint.¹⁰ A series of excavations in the 1980s have thrown considerable light on the development of the site and, though these are not yet fully published, have demonstrated that the construction of the crypt post-dated a coin of c.715.¹¹ It seems very plausible that the crypt at Repton was used for some of the recorded royal burials of the 8th and 9th centuries, even though this cannot be clearly demonstrated.

The suggested parallel between the crypts of Wing and Repton allows the possibility that the former may be dated to the early or mid-8th

century. It could further suggest that a purpose of the crypt was to contain a series of important burials, possibly placed in the arched recesses and lit by the windows above them. A further comparison with Repton, however, would raise the question of whether any structures of the 8th century at Wing were the first on the site, or whether there were earlier phases of timber buildings going back to a primary church usage of the site in the 7th century. Only future excavation at Wing may have the chance of answering this question.

The Period 2 Rebuilding of the Apse

The apse of the church as rebuilt retained above ground level only the crypt windows from Period 1. The new apse was perhaps taller than the original superstructure above the crypt, with its walls rising to about 9.8m above nave floor level. The roof, with a steeper pitch than the present structure, would have enclosed the double-arched opening in the east gable wall of the nave. The walling of the apse is in irregular stone, but the decorative elements are in finely dressed stone: albeit they include some reused lumps of mortar with brick inclusions, used as though they were stone. Such mortar with brick inclusions is typical of Roman *opus signinum*, but is also found in some Anglo-Saxon flooring. If it is here derived from a Roman building it raises a question as to whether the same was the case with the fine stone for the decorative elements.

Externally the apse walls were decorated with a scheme of decoration using narrow pilasters carrying blind arcading. The pilasters marking the angles of the polygon are 0.16m wide and have canted faces. They rise 4.8m to imposts from which spring semi-circular blind arches across the adjacent wall faces. Above this, the pilasters (now much eroded) continued up to give rise to a second register of blind arcading, with the 'arches' of triangular pedimental form. The upper pediments contained windows (now blocked) in every second bay, while a second series of windows was probably disposed in the lower register in the alternate bays.

There is a very good parallel to the decorative treatment of the apse, though much less well preserved, at the church of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. The principal difference between the two apses is that at Deerhurst the blind arcading is so arranged that blind pediments occur in the lower register (the upper register does not survive),

while in the surviving bay the pediment encloses a sculptured panel depicting the bust of an angel. Deerhurst has been the subject of ongoing archaeological research and analysis, as a result of which the apse with much of the fabric is now dated to the early 9th century.¹² A second parallel between the 9th-century work at Deerhurst and the rebuilt apse of Wing is provided by the chancel arch: this is outlined by a hood moulding of square section. The actual arch at Deerhurst has three-quarter columns built up of drums set *en délit* against the jamb, and these could well illustrate the sort of arrangement that has been removed at Wing.

Before leaving the subject of Deerhurst it is also worth noting that the church, as it developed down to the 9th century, displayed a parallel to the form of Wing in Period 1 as proposed here. The basic form of Deerhurst comprised an un-aisled nave, flanked at its east end by major porticus on either side (and by porticoes midway along the nave), and to the east a polygonal apse approached through a major archway.

On the basis of the comparison with Deerhurst it is here suggested that the apse of Wing was rebuilt around the early years of the 9th century. This would be consistent with the preceding crypt and nave being of 8th-century date.

Other Modifications in Periods 2 and 3

Either contemporary with the construction of the new apse, or a later modification, was the insertion of the vault into the crypt. This work involved the re-use of a certain amount of Roman brick, a material that was not present in the walls of the apse above. The source of this Roman brick is unknown. It could have come from a local Roman site: but no potential site has been identified so far.¹³ Alternatively it could have been imported from further afield, as was the case for the late-8th-century church of Brixworth, Northants. However, the quantity of Roman material at Wing does not suggest a comparable situation to Brixworth.¹⁴ The vault required the erection of supporting piers of masonry, and these re-defined the internal space of the crypt. A corridor circulated around the outer walls and gave access to the recesses and windows retained from the earlier structure. In the middle of the crypt a new central chamber was formed, and this was probably the focal point in terms of the usage of the space. In plan the remodelled crypt looks rather strange, but this is in large part

because of the polygonal plan dictated by the earlier structure. Looking beyond this particular feature, the crypt resembles in its layout the type of ring-crypt seen elsewhere in England and on the Continent between the late 8th and the early 11th centuries. In England the best example is the partly-excavated structure at Cirencester, which was probably early 9th-century,¹⁵ while an 11th-century documentary description of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral of Canterbury indicates a similar structure existed there.¹⁶ A 9th-century date would seem perfectly feasible for the remodelled crypt at Wing, but a later date certainly cannot be ruled out on typological grounds.

Turning to the nave, it has been argued above that the original un-aisled form of this was modified at a later date when arches were pierced through the walls giving access to flanking aisles. It would be extremely hazardous to suggest a date for this operation in the absence of any real evidence. However, some reasonable parameters may be suggested. Churches with nave arcades giving access to flanking porticus or aisles are exemplified in some major buildings of the late years of the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century, as at Brixworth, Wareham, Cirencester and Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁷ However, the un-aisled plan also continued to be used for important churches through the 10th century and right up to the 11th century, as at St Oswald's, Gloucester, and St Mary in Castro, Dover.¹⁸ In the case of Deerhurst, the 9th-century church was still un-aisled and, although it may have received porticoes added along the whole length of the nave by the 11th century, regular arcades apparently were not pierced through the nave walls to give access to these until the late 12th century. In many parish churches of the post-Conquest period in England, where aisles were being added to previously un-aisled structures, arcades were inserted using plain rectangular piers looking much like retained sections of walling (e.g. Walkern, Hertfordshire; Piddinghoe, Sussex). Such plain wall-like piers continued into the early 12th century, while the use of more elaborate pier forms for inserted nave arcades only became fairly standard in the mid and late 12th century. On this basis little can be said about the case at Wing, except that while the addition of the arcades and aisles possibly could have been conceived in the context of a major minster church of the 9th century, there is no reason to

favour this rather than a later date – even a date in the early years after the Norman Conquest.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION IN THE GRAVEYARD

An archaeological excavation in 1999 in advance of development on the edge of the churchyard revealed important evidence for the cemetery dependent on the church and this provides a measure for the chronology of the site as a whole.¹⁹ A curving boundary ditch was found, the lower fill of which contained Anglo-Saxon pottery, suggesting that the ditch had an 8th-century or 9th-century origin. Within the area bounded by the ditch were found inhumation burials conforming to two successive phases of the cemetery. In the first phase, the burials were laid out in neat rows running north and south; radiocarbon dates from three of the burials suggested that the cemetery came into use in the mid-Anglo-Saxon period and continued in use thereafter. In the second phase of development, further graves were cut among the earlier neat rows; radiocarbon dates from two of these secondary burials indicated that they were not earlier than the late-Anglo-Saxon period, while one burial had placed beneath it a coin of King Æthelred II from the York mint, issued between 978 and 985.

The 1999 excavation site lay outside the southern boundary of the present churchyard. In the 1960s other burials were discovered outside the churchyard to the east, on the far side of Church Walk. It is clear, therefore, that the church once had an extensive cemetery surrounding it, a feature characteristic of early minster churches. It would also seem to be significant that the burials to the south, while beginning in the mid-Anglo-Saxon period, were at some distance from the church itself. This would suggest that still earlier burials might lie closer to the church.

Excavations in advance of development elsewhere in the village have taken place in 2015–16 on a site some 250m north-east of the church and have revealed evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement. In addition, a community archaeology project led by the Wing Heritage Group is exploring the development of the village more widely. It is to be hoped that this work will lead to a better understanding of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon church and its surrounding settlement.

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Since none of the phases of the Anglo-Saxon building is dated by documentary sources, it is right that the sequence established by an analysis of the fabric should provide the primary framework for understanding the building, while the archaeological excavation in the graveyard provides complementary primary evidence. The evidence for the historical context of the building remains essentially secondary.

The Mid-Anglo-Saxon Context

Unfortunately there is no contemporary mid-Anglo-Saxon evidence in the form of charters or chronicles that refers to Wing, nor even later sources referring back to the period of the church's origins and early development.

The closest we may come to early evidence is the place-name 'Wing'. This has long been the subject of discussion, but new light was thrown on it by John Dodgson in 1987, shortly before his death.²⁰ The name is first recorded in a 12th-century copy of the 10th-century will of the lady Ælfgifu (discussed below), where it appears as *aet Weowungum*.²¹ Dodgson has argued convincingly that this was an incorrect transcription of what in the original would have read *aet Weohungum*, the dative plural of a name **Weohungas*, otherwise **Wihungas*. The basic elements in this name would be *wēoh*, *wīoh*, *wīh*, *wīg*, meaning 'a heathen holy place, an idol', combined with *ungas*, *ingas*, the people associated with the former.

The place name of Wing is cognate with other local place names. Thus Dodgson concluded that Wingrave probably represents an Old English original **Weoh-* or **Wihung(a)-graf*, 'the grove of the people of Wing'. He further suggested that the Old English name *Wigingamere*, which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records as a place where King Edward the Elder built a *burh* in 917, might be related as the 'mere, pool, lake' of the people of Wing. This suggestion was taken up by Jeremy Haslam, who proposed that *Wigingamere* may have been located at Old Linslade on the river Ouzel, and that the river formed the eastern boundary of the territory of the people of Wing.²² Wing, therefore, may have been the central place of an early to mid Anglo-Saxon folk group occupying a block of territory defined by the Ouzel on the east, and on the south by the Thistle Brook, a tributary

of the river Thames. Such a territory lay near the south-eastern boundary of the kingdom of Mercia, and in the late 7th century was probably included along with Aylesbury in the area ruled by the sub-king Frithuwold, whose influence extended as far as Surrey.²³

A 10th-century perambulation of the parish boundary between Wing and Linslade, contained in a charter of King Edgar to Ælfgifu dated 966, records that specific points on this boundary were marked by mounds or barrows.²⁴ A single group of seven *hlawan* (mounds) mentioned in the perambulation lay about 1 mile (1.6 km) north-east of Wing church. Out of this former group of seven, a single mound survived until road widening around 1953. It was excavated at that time and finds from the construction included Roman material: it was therefore late Roman or Anglo-Saxon in origin.²⁵ The name of this mound was Hawkeslow, and this perhaps denotes an Anglo-Saxon origin as the *hlæw* of a person whose name included the element *hafoc* (hawk) – there is no recorded example of this as a simple name. If the other six mounds were of similar date, the group possibly constituted an early Anglo-Saxon barrow cemetery of the **Weohungas*.

Whether the site of the later village of Wing was itself the central heathen holy place of the surrounding people is unknown.²⁶ If it was, then this might have provided the context for the foundation of the church on the site in the period of conversion of the region to Christianity.²⁷ The foundation is perhaps unlikely to have preceded that of the royal minster at Aylesbury, established under Eadgyth, the sister of King Wulfhere of Mercia (675–674), which was to develop as the most important church in the region.²⁸ The actual founder of Wing church is quite unknown, but is likely to have been a person belonging to the local élite. The original dedication of the church is likewise unknown, since dedications to All Saints started to appear only in the latter part of the 8th century.²⁹

The Later Anglo-Saxon History of Wing

The late 9th and early 10th centuries brought considerable political change to the region. The kingdom of Mercia collapsed in 874 when King Burgred went into exile and much of his territory was taken over by the Danish Vikings. However, a little later, south and south-west Mercia came under

the control of the Mercian ealdorman Æthelred, who allied himself politically with the West Saxon dynasty through his marriage to Æthelflæd, the sister of King Edward. At the beginning of the 10th century Wing lay very close to the boundary with Danish-occupied Mercia. The *thiodweg* ('people's way'), the trackway that ran north-east from the village down to the river Ouzel, crossed the latter at *Ytingaford* where, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a peace conference took place in 906 between King Edward and the Danish armies of East Anglia and Northumbria, suggesting that the Ouzel, rather than the Watling Street, was at that moment the effective boundary between the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.³⁰

When Æthelred died in 911, King Edward moved swiftly to incorporate south-east Mercia into the West Saxon kingdom, and started to push back the frontier with the Danes, establishing the new borough of Buckingham in 914. It must have been sometime after these events that the shire was formed and divided into hundreds. In Domesday, Wing and Wingrave formed part of the hundred of Cottesloe, which comprised 142 hides, extending along the north side of the headwaters of the river Thames above Aylesbury. Its natural eastern boundary was formed by the Ouzel. The hundred takes its name from Cottesloe in Wing parish and presumably derives from a hundredal meeting place on a mound known as Cotta's *hlæw* (Cotta's mound).³¹ From the pattern of its constituent parishes on a map, it is not obvious that Cottesloe hundred originates as a single early territorial unit, and it may rather be seen as a later pattern imposed for administrative convenience. However, the hundred may have retained at its core the ancient territory of the **Weohungas*.

A concrete link between Wing and the currents of 10th-century history is established in the person of one member of the West Saxon royal family, the lady Ælfgifu, who was the great-great-granddaughter of King Æthelred of Wessex (865–871) and the sister of the ealdorman Æthelweard; she also may have been the Ælfgifu whose marriage to King Eadwig was annulled in 958 on the grounds of consanguinity. It is in the will of Ælfgifu, drawn up between 966 and 975, that the first reference to Wing occurs, which has been referred to already.³² By this will, Ælfgifu asked the king to execute the dispositions that she wished to make. She left her body to be buried in the Old Minster at Winchester,

together with a landed estate, a sum of gold and 'her shrine with her relics'. Lands were left also to other important reformed monasteries, including the New Minster at Winchester and the abbeys of Romsey, Abingdon and Bath. Further estates she bequeathed directly to King Edgar, including Wing, Linslade and Marsworth. Bequests were also made to other members of the royal family and to her own relatives. The estate at Linslade and another at Newnham had been granted to Ælfgifu by Edgar himself in 966.³³ It is possible that other estates referred to in the will had also been personal grants by the crown to Ælfgifu during her lifetime: on the other hand, some of the estates may have been inherited by her. Another important question (but one which we are not able to answer) concerns the extent to which West Saxon royal landholdings in south-east Mercia in the second half of the 10th century were inherited or taken over in the first half of the century from the preceding Mercian royal estate: could Wing have formed part of that earlier royal estate?

Despite the light that the will of Ælfgifu and related documents throw on the 10th-century history of the manorial estate of Wing, none of this has any very direct bearing on the history of the church, though this may not be altogether surprising. If the church had its origin in the heyday of the Mercian kingdom, it could have passed through into the changed political landscape of the 10th century with little alteration in its status. Indeed, the legislation of the 10th-century kings safeguarding the status of ancient minster churches is likely to have reinforced its position, particularly since the manorial estate of Wing was in royal hands. But it should be emphasised that the existence of documentary evidence for the royal connections of the manor in the 10th century does not constitute evidence of any sort for dating the existing fabric of the church.

From Old Minster to Alien Priory

It is only following the Norman Conquest that there appears the first documentary evidence relating to the church of Wing.

In 1066, as recorded in the Domesday survey, the 5 hide manor of Wing, then valued at £32, had been held by Edward *Cilt*, Earl Harold's man, and he could sell it.³⁴ The same Edward had held another 2½ hides in Crafton, valued at £6, which he could also sell. A second manor in Crafton,

also of 2½ hides but valued at £4, had been held by Blackman, Earl Tostig's man, but he could not sell it without permission. None of this land by 1066, therefore, seems to have been under direct royal control.

For the period between 1066 and 1087, a lost document of key importance is recorded in a confirmation granted on 16th November 1317.³⁵ This recorded that previously Bodin de Ver had granted to the abbot and monks of St Nicholas of Angers the church of Wing after the death of Goldric the priest, together with all the land that the said Goldric held in that place, and also a moiety of Crafton and his common pasture in Wing and Crafton, and the tithe of his demesnes.

The thread is picked up again by the Domesday survey in 1086, which records that the Count of Mortain now held in demesne the 5 hide manor of Wing, valued at £31. The Count also had acquired Edward *Cilt*'s 2½ hides in Crafton, now valued at only £4, but this estate was held from him by the monks of St Nicholas. The second Crafton manor now belonged to the Bishop of Lisieux, and was valued at 60s, but was held of him by Robert of Noyers.

Piecing this together, the following picture emerges. In the immediate post-Conquest period we see a minster community at Wing represented by the priest Goldric, who held certain lands in Wing itself. But Bodin de Ver had acquired a right to dispose of the church and Goldric's land on the latter's death. Bodin had also acquired 2½ hides in Crafton, and could apparently dispose of these, as could Edward *Cilt* in 1066: we do not know whether these lands had any connection with the church, but it is possible. Bodin decided to grant the church and the lands in Crafton to the abbey of St Nicholas in Angers, and this took effect. Thus by 1086 the monks were in possession of the Crafton estate, but apparently held this from the Count of Mortain, indicating perhaps that it was not entirely separate from the main Wing manor (Crafton has remained part of the ecclesiastical parish of Wing till modern times).

St Nicholas at Angers was a Benedictine foundation, and the purpose of bringing Wing church under its control may have been to encourage the foundation of a new Benedictine priory in Wing. However, Bodin's initial intention may have come to very little because neither he nor other patrons followed up the first steps by providing any more

extensive endowment. Thus, while Wing may have become a priory in name, conventual life was never properly established.

CONCLUSIONS

The Primary Church

It has been seen from the historical evidence that Wing is likely to have been founded as a minster church in the mid Anglo-Saxon period, possibly to serve the territory of a folk group living in the Wing area. Its establishment is not likely to precede in date the royal foundation, probably during the reign of King Wulfhere of Mercia (657–674), of a minster at Aylesbury. This royal minster, if it was a double community of nuns and clergy, may have served as the ecclesiastical focus for a wider administrative region along the headwaters of the river Thames. On the basis of the architectural evidence we can only say that there was a stone church at Wing by the early or mid-8th century, and that the scale and characteristics of this show it to have been a building of considerable importance.

The primary church had a lofty unaisled nave, flanked at its east end by porticus. It may be compared with other major mid Anglo-Saxon churches such as the Old Minster at Winchester (c.648) or the church of Deerhurst. What was unusual about the building was the particular polygonal form of its eastern apse and crypt, although somewhat different polygonal forms are known elsewhere in the 7th century, as in the apse of Reculver (c.669). If not in its plan, at least in its constructional details the crypt at Wing shows parallels with the early or mid 8th-century crypt at Repton. Accepting a similar date for the crypt of Wing would then allow its polygonal plan form to have developed from 7th-century prototypes.

In terms of its liturgical function, we have little direct evidence that can be derived from the fabric. In a number of known 7th-century churches that bear some similarity in plan to Wing, the main altar was placed in the eastern bay of the nave, with the apse or east porticus behind it serving as an area reserved for the officiating clergy. However, in the case of Wing the raising of the apse floor over a crypt (even though the floor level may not have been so high before the insertion of the crypt vault) gave it a certain degree of dominance over the nave, and it is difficult to imagine that the main

altar was not placed within the apse. This would have left the porticus which flanked the nave, and which in earlier buildings would have been in direct contact with the altar area, somewhat distanced from the altar in the apse. This raises a question as to whether they served adequately or solely as sacristy or vestry, or whether they had already taken on the function of side chapels housing subsidiary altars.

The crypt itself must be interpreted in terms of known functions for such semi-subterranean structures elsewhere, in England and on the Continent, where they served for the housing of relics and for other burials. It is tempting to think that the three recesses were specifically designed as *arcosolia* or wall-recesses for the housing of coffins or sarcophagi, though this leaves open the question of what (if anything) stood in the centre of the crypt. Any burials in the crypt are likely to have been of the highest status, and possibly related to the family of the founder of the church.

The Rebuilt Apse and Remodelled Crypt

The rebuilding of the apse with an elaborate scheme of exterior decoration in the early 9th century, and the remodelling of the crypt with a vault at an uncertain date, both drew attention to the significance of the east end of the building. The remodelled crypt in particular suggests a specific reason for this: it provided a structure which, on Continental parallels, served to house the relics of a saint in a central chamber below the main altar, with a passageway running around this to give access from the church above. This need not suggest that in the later period Wing had acquired an important set of relics from elsewhere; it would be equally consistent with making new provisions at a pre-existing tomb which was starting to attract pilgrims. Typically in the Anglo-Saxon period local saints might, on the one hand, be holy bishops or monastic founders or, on the other hand, members of royal families who had a reputation for sanctity or who simply had met untimely deaths.³⁶ In the absence of any specific historical references to the early history of Wing church, we cannot tell who may have been commemorated centrally in the crypt there.³⁷

Later Developments

Without more certainty than is available as to the date at which the nave received aisles, it is difficult

to place this development of the church in context. Equally, the lack of any evidence for dating parts of the fabric (if any) to the 10th or 11th centuries, when the manor of Wing was in royal hands, prevents any conclusions being drawn as to whether Wing continued as an important ecclesiastical focus into the late Anglo-Saxon period, or whether it went into decline following the absorption of south-east Mercia into the new English kingdom.

The fundamental change in status following the Norman Conquest, whereby the old minster church became a dependency of an overseas abbey in Anjou, was a pattern followed by similar institutions elsewhere in England. In some cases this led to a new vitality as the minster was refounded as a Benedictine or Augustinian priory which was fully conventual. However, in the case of Wing, whatever the initial intentions, a substantial new religious house never developed and the church was left to serve a purely parochial function, supported by only part of its revenues (the other part being appropriated to the abbey of St Nicholas). It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, to find there is little evidence for major architectural activity in the immediate post-Conquest period.

QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

This article has sought to set out an interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon church based on the observations of previous researchers, combined with a re-evaluation of currently accessible evidence to be seen in the fabric of the building itself. In doing so, it has highlighted several questions that for the present there is insufficient evidence to answer. Outstanding among these are certain key relationships: of the crypt vault to the upper apse walls; of the first phase of the crypt to the nave; of the lower to the upper nave walls. One key to begin answering some of these questions would be an accurate electronic survey of the church in plan and elevation, accompanied by detailed stone-by-stone drawings of the extant Anglo-Saxon fabric. It is to be hoped that opportunities may be found by future researchers to carry further such investigation of the fabric, and thereby to provide a fuller understanding of one of the most important surviving buildings of its period, while at the same time throwing light on the early development of church and community in the region.

NOTES

1. *Ecclesiologist* **10** (1849–50), 230; *ibid.* **11** (1850–51), 58–59.
2. *Records of Bucks* **5** (1878–86), 147–8.
3. *Records of Bucks* **7** (1892–7), 153, 328–31.
4. *Victoria History of the County of Buckinghamshire*, vol. 3 (London 1925), 449–458; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Monuments of Buckinghamshire*, vol. 2, *North* (London, 1913), 331–5.
5. E.D.C. Jackson & E.G.M. Fletcher, ‘The apse and nave at Wing, Buckinghamshire’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., **25** (1962), 1–20.
6. H.M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols, (Cambridge 1965 & 1978), vol. 2, 665–672; H.M. Taylor, ‘The Anglo-Saxon church at Wing, Buckinghamshire’, *Archaeological Journal* **136** (1979), 43–52. The present author contributed to a seminar on Wing Church convened by Dr Taylor in Cambridge in April 1970, and subsequently joined him in a day’s fieldwork at the church.
7. In proposing this sequence he was influenced by his thinking on the development of the crypt and chancel at Repton, Derbyshire, in the study of which he was involved.
8. Limited archaeological recording in the west tower by Michael Farley in 2001, prior to the construction of a new organ loft, involved the unblocking of a doorway in the stair vice, but threw no light on the Anglo-Saxon west end. Manuscript report 2001.
9. See the discussion by Taylor, ‘Anglo-Saxon church at Wing’ (as n. 6), 50.
10. For full references see M. Biddle & B. Kjølbbye-Biddle, ‘The Repton Stone’, *Anglo-Saxon England* **14** (Cambridge, 1985), 233–292.
11. M. Biddle, ‘Archaeology, Architecture and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England’, in L.A.S. Butler & R.K. Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church* (Council for British Archaeology Research Report **60** (London 1986), 1–31; D.M. Metcalf in M. Biddle *et al.* ‘Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Period from Repton, Derbyshire’, in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History* (Leicester, 1986), 124–6.
12. The literature on Deerhurst is extensive,

- but key items include: P. Rahtz & L. Watts, *St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: fieldwork, excavations and structural analysis, 1971–1984* (London, 1997); R. Bailey, *Anglo-Saxon Sculptures at Deerhurst* (Deerhurst Lecture 2002; Bristol 2005); S. Bagshaw, *The Building Stones of St Mary's Church, Deerhurst* (Deerhurst Lecture 2003; Kings Stanley 2014); R. Gem & E. Howe, 'The ninth-century polychrome decoration at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire', *Antiquaries Journal* **88** (2008), 109–64; M. Hare, 'The 9th-century west porch of St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: form and function', *Medieval Archaeology* **53** (2009), 35–93; R. Bryant, M. Hare & C. Heighway, 'Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst in 2012: an interim report', *Glevensis* **45** (2012), 20–26; R. Bryant, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, vol. 10, *The Western Midlands* (Oxford 2012), 161–90.
13. The nearest identified villa sites are over 4½ miles (7km) away – see E. Scott, *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain* (Leicester Archaeology Monographs **1**; Leicester 1993). The small town at Fleet Marston on Akeman Street is 8½ miles (13.5km) away.
 14. D. Parsons and D.S. Sutherland, *The Anglo-Saxon Church of All Saints, Brixworth, Northamptonshire: survey, excavation and analysis, 1972–2010* (Oxford 2013), 147–55, 226–27
 15. D. Wilkinson & A. McWhirr, *Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey* (Cirencester Excavations **4**, 1998).
 16. H.M. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Church at Canterbury', *Archaeological Journal* **126** (1969), 101–30; R. Gem, 'The rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Wulfred (805–32)', in A. Bovey (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions **35**; Leeds 2013), 26–40.
 17. R. Gem, 'Architecture of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 735 to 870: from Archbishop Ecgberht to Archbishop Ceolnoth', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* **146** (1993), 29–66.
 18. R. Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture in England', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 38 (1991), 803–836; reprinted, R. Gem, *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture* (London [2004]), 277–308; C. Heighway & R. Bryant, *The Golden Minster: the Anglo-Saxon minster and later medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester* (CBA Research Report **117**; York 1999).
 19. M. Holmes, A. Chapman *et al*, 'A middle-late Saxon and medieval cemetery at Wing church, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks* **48** (2008), 61–123.
 20. J. M. Dodgson, 'Wigingamere', in A.R. Rumble & A.D. Mills (eds.), *Names, Places and People: an onomastic miscellany for John McNeal Dodgson* (Stamford, 1997), 383–89.
 21. D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), 20–23, no. 8.
 22. J. Haslam, 'The location of the burh of Wigingamere – a reappraisal', in Rumble & Mills, *Names, Places and People* (as n. 20), 111–130. Online at <https://jeremyhaslam.wordpress.com>.
 23. J. Blair, 'Frithuwold's Kingdom and the Origins of Surrey', in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester 1989), 97–107; K. Bailey, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Territorial Organisation in Buckinghamshire and its Neighbours', *Records of Bucks* **36** (1994), 129–143
 24. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated list and bibliography* (Royal Historical Society Handbook; London 1968), nos. 737, 738; M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester 1979), 75, 173–78; A.H.J. Baines, 'The Lady Elgiva, St Æthelwold and the Linslade charter of 966', *Records of Bucks* **25** (1983), 111–38.
 25. An all-too-brief note by the excavators was published in *Records of Bucks* **16** (1953–54), 48–9. The nature and origins of the very substantial mound much closer to the church are uncertain
 26. The village of Weedon lies 5 miles (8km) to the south-west of Wing, and 3½ miles (5.5km) from Wingrave. The place name is from the Old English *wēoh-dūn*, 'heathen holy place, idol' + 'hill'. But whether the place lay in the western part of the territory of the **Weohungas* is unknown.
 27. K. Bailey, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks* **43** (2003), 61–76.

28. The relevant texts are cited by D. Bethell, 'The Lives of St Osyth of Essex and St Osyth of Aylesbury', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 88 (1970), 75–127. See also C. Hohler, 'St Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Bucks* 18 (1966), 61–72; R.P. Hagerty, 'The Buckinghamshire saints reconsidered, 2: St Osyth and St Edith of Aylesbury' *Records of Bucks* 29 (1987), 125–32; K. Bailey, 'Osyth, Frithuwold and Aylesbury', *Records of Bucks* 31 (1989), 37–48; M. Farley & G. Jones, *Iron Age Ritual: a hillfort and evidence for a minster at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire* (Oxford 2012), 112–120.
29. R. Gem, *Architecture, Liturgy and Romanitas at All Saints' Church Brixworth* (27th Brixworth Lecture, 2009; University of Leicester, 2011), at 33–43.
30. F.G. Gurney, 'Yttingaford and the tenth-century bounds of Chalgrave and Linslade', *Bedfordshire Historical Records Society* 5 (1920), 163–180; Haslam, 'The burh of Wigingamere' (as n. 22); E. Baker, *La Grava: the Archaeology and History of a Royal Manor and Alien Priory of Fontevrault* (CBA Research report 167; York 2013), 42–55.
31. M. Farley, 'Buckslow at Swanbourne and other Saxon mound names in Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks* 39 (1997), 59–62.
32. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (as n. 21), 20–23, 118–121; P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (as n. 24), no. 1484.
33. See n.24 above.
34. J. Morris (ed.), *Domesday Book*, vol. 13, *Buckinghamshire* (Chichester 1978), 146b.
35. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward II*, vol. 3, 1317–1321 (London 1903), 52; *Victoria History of the County of Buckinghamshire*, vol. 1 (London 1905), 396; vol. 3 (London 1925), 452, 457.
36. S.J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1988).
37. J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300–1200* (Oxford 2000), 130–32, records an earlier suggestion that a shrine and relics belonging to the Lady Ælfgifu had some connection with Wing. This suggestion appears to be based on the reference in Ælfgifu's will (cited above) to *hire scrin mid hirae haligdomae* ('her shrine with her relics'), which she bequeathed to the Old Minster at Winchester. However, the will provides no evidence whatsoever that these items had any association with Wing.