

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, BLEDLOW: ORIGINS, CONTEXT AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

DANIEL SECKER

The church of Holy Trinity, Bledlow is now a well-appointed building of mainly 13th-century date, but surviving ex-situ Romanesque architectural fragments testify to the existence of an earlier phase of the church, which was certainly in existence by 1091. There is very fragmentary architectural evidence for an Anglo-Saxon building. The church was perhaps founded by New Minster, Winchester, in the late 10th century following the grant of the estate of Bledlow to that establishment by Ælfgifu, widow of King Eadwig, between 966 and 975. The prominent 13th-century west tower at Bledlow appears to be a rebuilding of a Romanesque structure.

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the early development of Holy Trinity Church, Bledlow, up to the time when the building attained its presently recognisable form at the end of the 13th century. Particular attention is focused on the structural and historical origins of the church. The church has been described before, but a new chronology is offered. There is tentative evidence that it originated as a late Anglo-Saxon cruciform structure. It is apparent that the church was planned on an Anglo-Saxon measurement, the short perch. The context of the origins of the church is discussed in relation to the church's location in one of the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury and the suggested origin of these hundreds as districts or *parochiae* appertaining to the certain Anglo-Saxon minster at Aylesbury and probable minsters at Haddenham and Princes Risborough. The 13th-century development of the church at Bledlow is explored. While future investigations could clarify the form and date of the early building proposed here, opportunities for such investigations are unlikely.

Location

Bledlow is located on the northern scarp-foot of the Chiltern Hills, some 13km SSW of Aylesbury and 3km WSW of Princes Risborough (Fig 1a). The settlement is on the interface between the chalk of the Chilterns and the Upper Greensand, the latter forming part of the Lower Cretaceous Selborne Group (Strategic Stone Study 2018, 2-4). Bledlow is near the sources of streams draining

into Aylesbury Vale to the north (Fig 1b). To the south, the Chilterns rise steeply to Bledlow Cop, the Bronze Age barrow or *Bleddan Hlaew* from which the settlement takes its name (Young 1964, 267). The church (SP 7783 0216) overlooks The Lyde to its east (Fig 1c). The latter is a small gorge containing springs forming the source of Lyde Brook. The alignment of the church on The Lyde may suggest the latter had some kind of religious significance, but there is no direct evidence for this. The present manor house is 17th century, and there are a number of 16th century cottages in the settlement core (CAA 1996). Some of the cottages are located within plots of presumed medieval date and are indicative of a planned settlement. The northern boundary of the churchyard is defined by a substantial revetted bank up to 1.8m high, the result of a build-up of grave-earth.

Documentary history

The documentary history of Bledlow has been discussed in some detail elsewhere (VCH 1908a, 247-53; Young 1964; Young 1965). It will thus be only outlined briefly here. The place is first mentioned in the will of Ælfgifu, then widow of King Eadwig (955-59). In the will, made in 966 x 75, she granted Bledlow to the New Minster at Winchester while Princes Risborough, which she also held, was granted to Winchester Old Minster (Sawyer 1968, No. 1484). The broader implications of this will are discussed towards the end of this paper. By the mid-11th century at the latest, Bledlow appears to have been acquired by the king, since in 1066 it was in the hands of the important

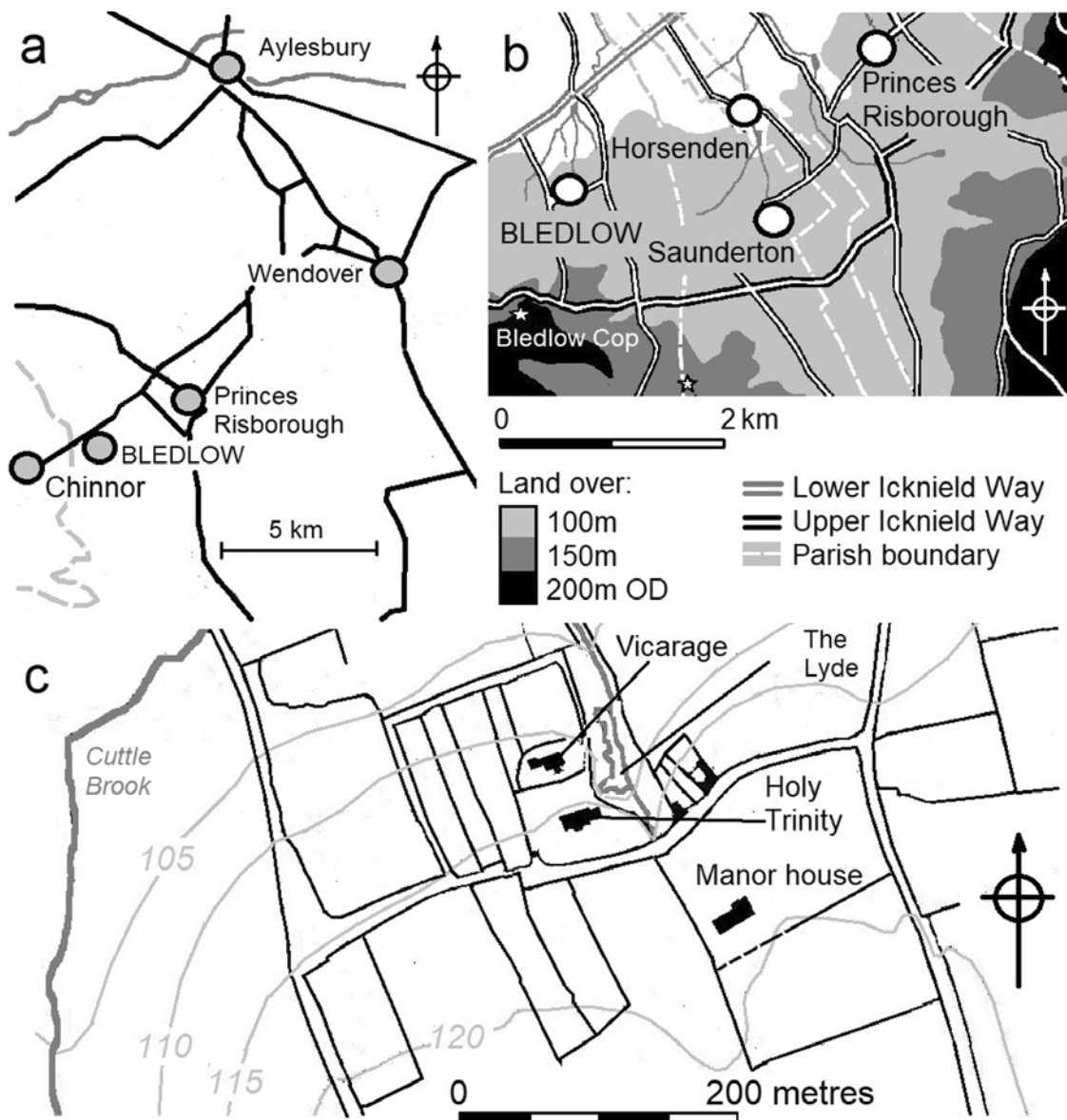


FIGURE 1 Bledlow (a) location (b) situation (c) settlement.

royal thegn Eadmer Atule. It was a substantial estate, comprising 30 hides with a pre-Conquest value of £22 and a population of 32 household of villeins, three of bordars and two slaves (Williams & Martin 2002, 401). Despite Bledlow's importance, it is more likely that Eadmer's *caput* was at Berkhamsted, where his Norman successor and William I's half-brother, Robert of Mortain, was

to establish his castle. It was Robert who in 1086 x 1091 granted the church at Bledlow together with a hide of land pertaining to it to his father's foundation of Grestain Abbey in Normandy. Grestain's English possessions were administered by Wilmington Priory in Sussex (Young 1965, 367–69). The main part of the estate remained with the Counts of Mortain but Robert's son, William

forfeited Bledlow, with his other estates, for rebellion in 1102, after which it passed to the de Gurnay family. Hugh IV de Gurnay granted Bledlow to the abbey of le Bec-Hellouin in 1198 (*ibid*, 268–69). Bledlow was thus entirely in the hands of alien priories by the end of the 12th century. In 1291, the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV valued the church at £22, 10s, £2 10s of this forming part of the pension of the Abbot of Grestain (Denton 2014). The church changed ownership as a result of Edward III's wars with France, being granted to St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster in 1352 (*ibid*, 370). The manor, which had been farmed by John, Duke of Bedford, since 1404, continued to be farmed by him after the suppression of alien houses in 1414 (Young 1964, 275).

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

The church occupies a north-facing slope into which the building has been partly terraced (Fig 2). The external impression is largely that of a late 13th-century building. The fabric of the church is of flint rubble. This comprises both cortical and cut flint, though the latter is largely a result of Victorian re-facing. At that time, a rubble plinth was applied around the entire building save the chancel. Dressings are mainly of two types of stone. Firstly, Upper Greensand, a locally sourced relatively friable creamy sandstone. Secondly, a honey-coloured Oolitic limestone fits descriptions of Taynton stone (Strategic Stone Study 2017, 4)



FIGURE 2 Bledlow, Holy Trinity Church, general view from south-east

Description

The church comprises a chancel, nave with aisles and a west tower which is clasped by lateral compartments (Fig 3). It was planned and described early in the 20th century the *Victoria County History* (VCH 1908a, 251–53). Both their plan and description are broadly accurate, but there are some discrepancies regarding dimensions and especially phasing. The full description will not be repeated here. Where features of the church are not mentioned below, it is because the VCH account appears to be correct. The church is described here beginning from east to west, with northern features described before southern ones.

Chancel

The fabric of the chancel is entirely of the second quarter of the 13th century. The east wall with its triplet lancet is thicker than other walls and with a considerable original plinth to counteract the fall in ground level at this point. In the north wall are two original trefoil-headed lancets, while in the south is a blocked priest's doorway (Fig 4). The

exterior formerly had an 18th-century 'gothick' archway (*ibid*, 251). The rear-arch is round-headed and chamfered. This has led to a suggestion that the doorway was part of the Romanesque church (Baxter undated a). The doorway is however clearly contemporary with the string-courses of the chancel and therefore appears an integral part of the 13th-century structure.

The chancel arch of c.1200 is of two squared orders with a somewhat damaged label on its western face, which was originally continued as a string-course towards the nave north and south walls (Fig 5). The inner arch rises on corbels from squared jambs with slight chamfers. It is however noticeable that below the chamfer-stops, the lowest course of the north jamb and the lowest two of the south jamb are of considerably rougher construction (Fig 5; Fig 6a-b). They are of Upper Greensand and retain some rough diagonal tooling. The lower eastern face of the south respond is obscured by a modern cupboard. On the eastern side of the north respond, the east quoin of the base of the chancel arch is 0.45m long. To the north of

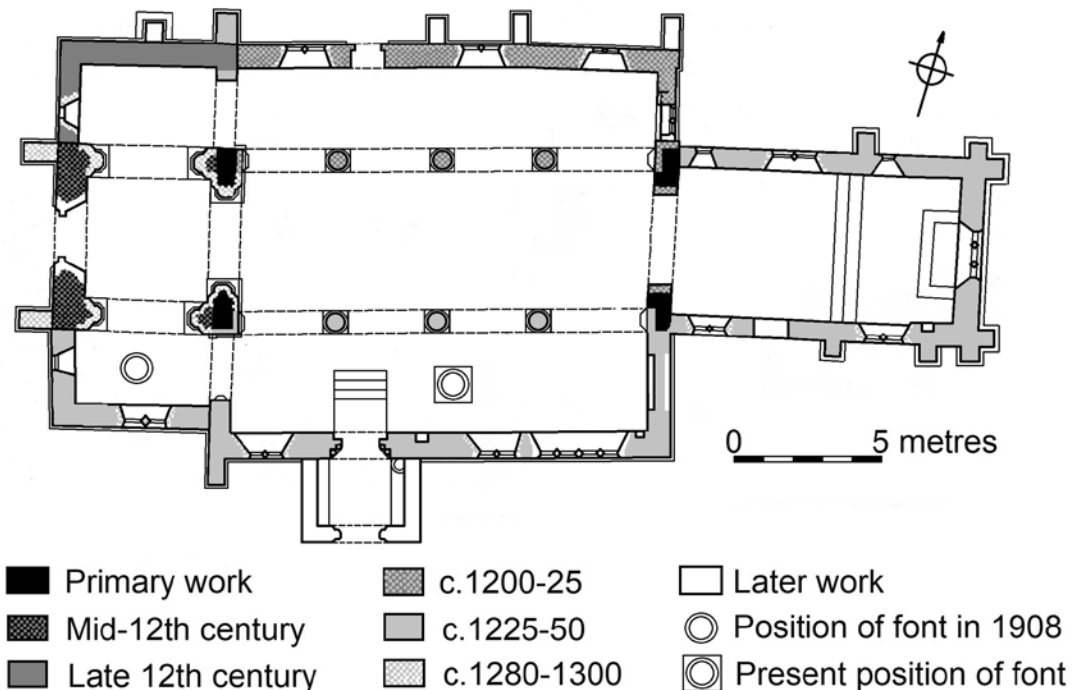


FIGURE 3 Bledlow, Holy Trinity Church: plan with phases up to c.1300

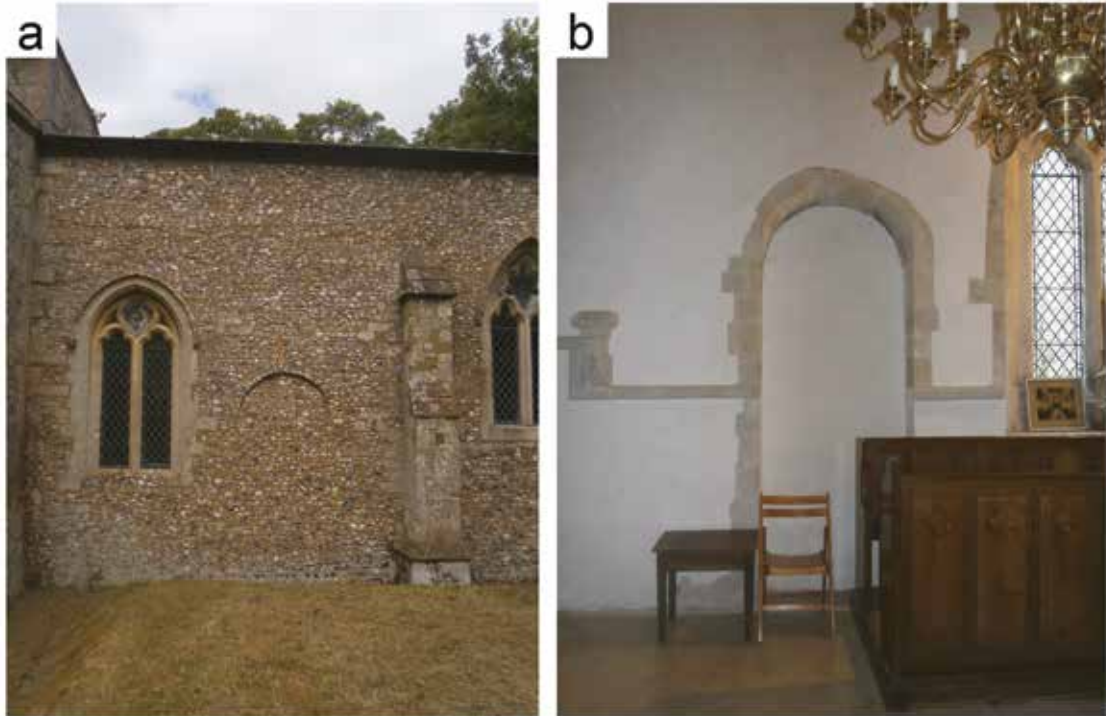


FIGURE 4 Priest's doorway, (a) exterior (b) interior

this are three taller stones which bulge slightly, forming a protrusion of 10mm. These may represent the blocking of a scar created when the north wall of the predecessor of the present chancel was removed. If the wall was of the same width as the nave walls (0.80m), the north wall of the putative earlier eastern cell would be aligned on the mid-wall of the nave. On the west face of the south respond are remains of a slight chamfer. These features indicate that the present chancel arch is a modification of a predecessor which must be at least as old as the 12th century. It would follow that the present two-centred arch is adapted from an earlier round-headed one.

Nave

In the upper part of the east wall of the nave are internal quoins. These are also visible at the east end of the south wall, though the latter's counterparts in the north wall have been obscured by plaster (Fig 5). The nave has arcades of four bays with round columns, stiff-leaf capitals and two-centred arches of two square orders (Fig 6c). The upper walls retain 13th-century plaster which

has been painted with contemporary false ashlar and foliate motifs. While the two central bays are 2.70m wide, those to the west are slightly wider (2.80-2.90m) and those to the east considerably so (3.30m) (Fig 3). The west wall of the nave rests on a shallow squared plinth (Fig 5). The tower arch is of two chamfered orders with semi-octagonal responds and imposts and is a late 13th-century insertion. There are also quoins at the upper level of the west wall, here exposed in both of the long walls of the nave. Unlike those at the nave east end, they extend below the crowns of the nave arcade arches. The internal quoins at both the east and west ends appear to indicate where the primary nave has been heightened when aisles were added in the earlier 13th century. It is however somewhat unusual that the east quoins are at a higher level (c.6.25m) than the west ones (c.5.10m). While there are considerable remains of plaster at the east end of the nave which may have obscured lower quoins, the same is true for the west end. It may thus be the case that the wall-heads of the eastern part of the primary nave were indeed once higher. When the earlier 13th-century arcades were inserted,

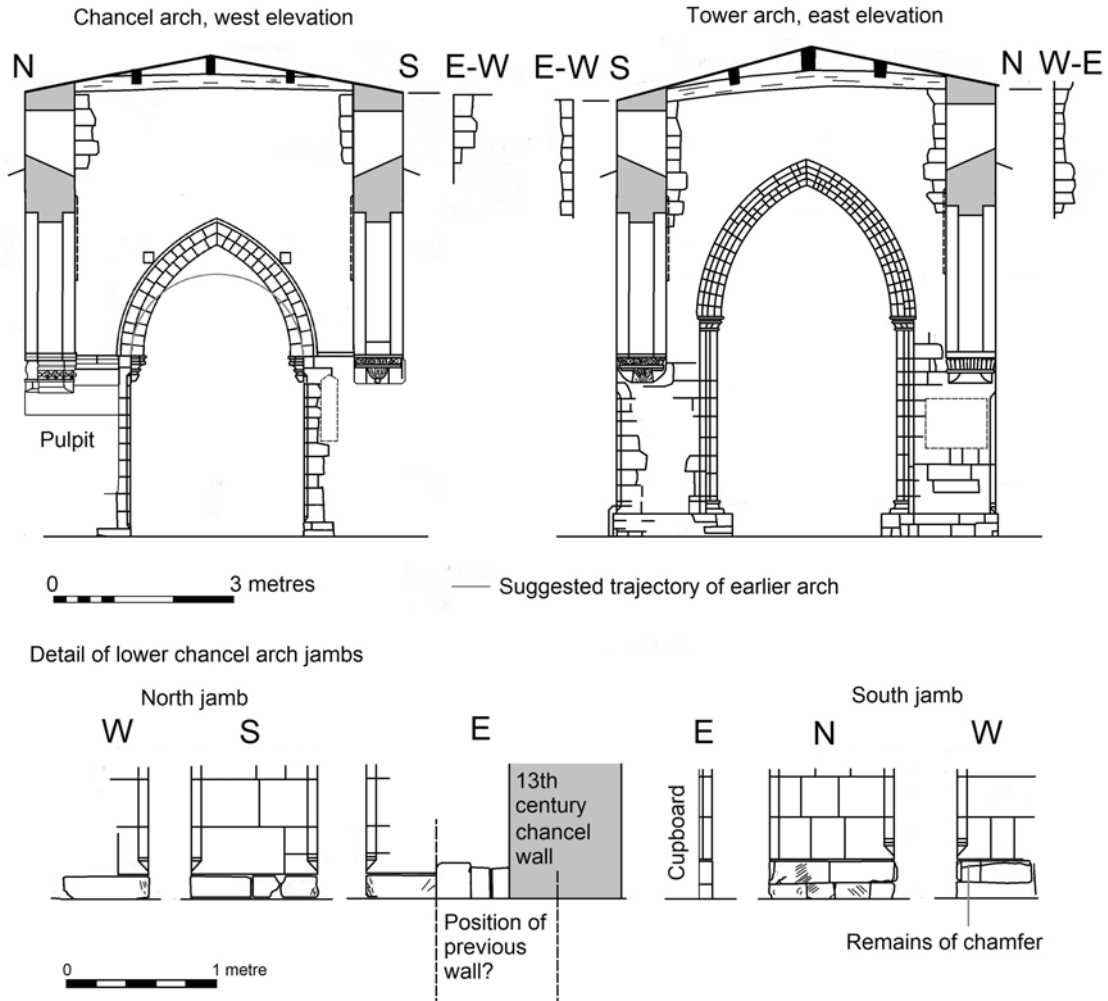


FIGURE 5 Nave east and west elevations; details of lower courses of early jambs at base of chancel arch

the crowns of the western part of the nave would have risen slightly above the original height of the nave, the wall presumably being heightened at the same time that the arcades were inserted. A similar phenomenon is evident at St Andrew, Nether Wallop, Hampshire, where there is an offset just below the crowns of the inserted early 13th-century nave arcades there (Gem & Tudor-Craig 1981, 117).

At what would have originally been the south-east corner of the nave before the addition of the west tower and aisles, there is a fragment of largely rendered rubble walling of flint with some Upper Greensand (Fig 7). This is abutted by the

base of the west tower and truncated by the base of the west archway of the nave south arcade. Above the rough foundation is a chamfered block of probable Upper Greensand (Fig 8). The head of the stone comprises a horizontal plane 60mm wide. It is suggested here that the plane supported a pilaster-like feature which was destroyed when the 13th-century half arch, which is immediately above the former, was built. Given that any pilaster here cannot have been more than 240mm broad, any such feature is more likely to have been a base-block for an Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strip than a Romanesque pilaster buttress (Fig 7).



FIGURE 6 Bases of jambs of chancel arch (a) north jamb (b) south jamb; (c) Nave looking west

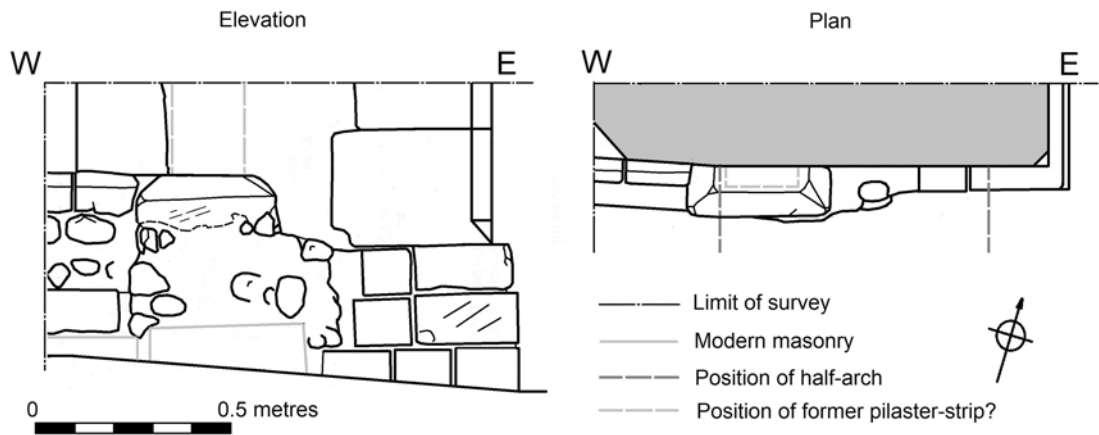


FIGURE 7 Rubble walling and chamfered base at south-western corner of nave

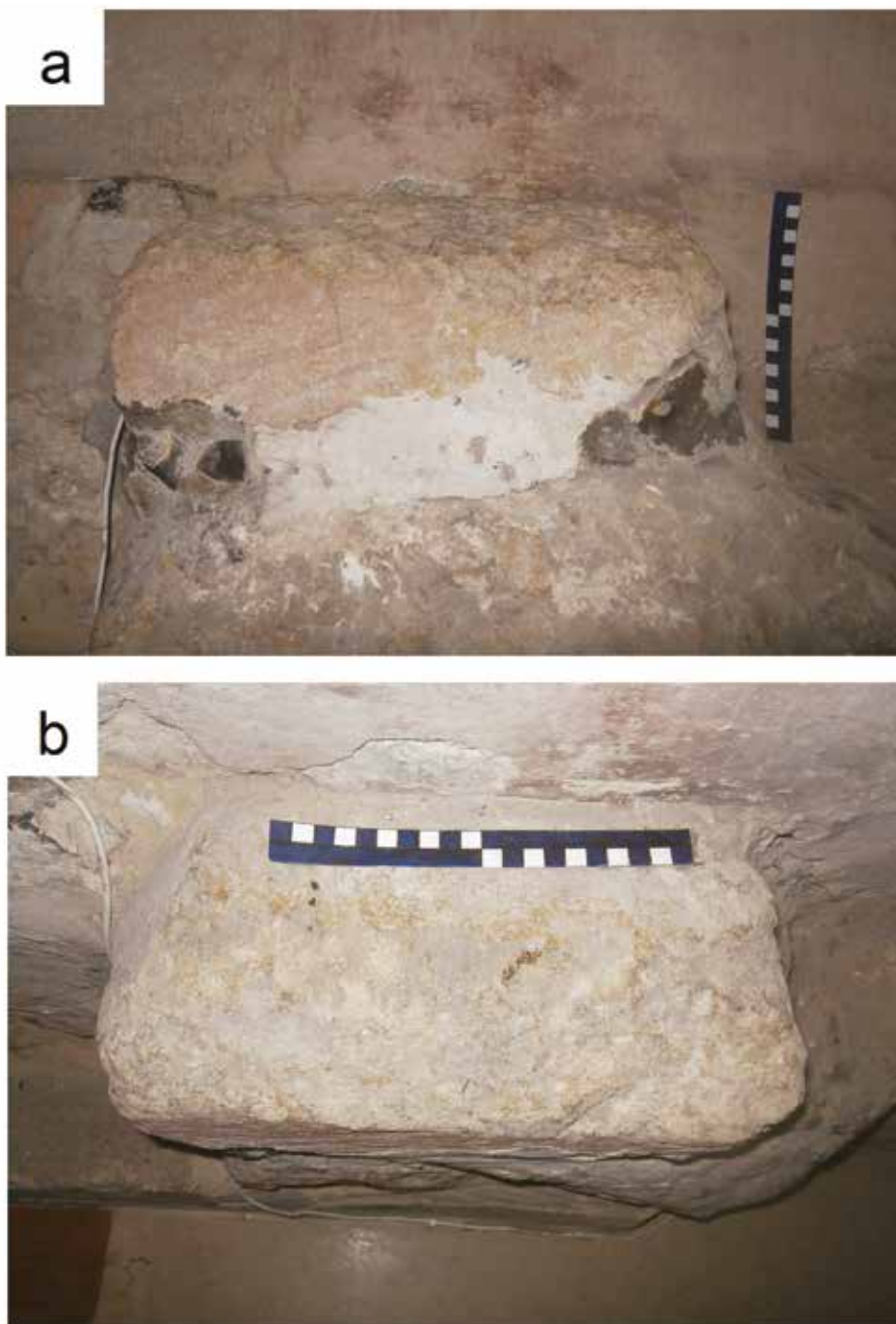


FIGURE 8 Chamfered block at south-western corner of nave (a) from side (b) from above

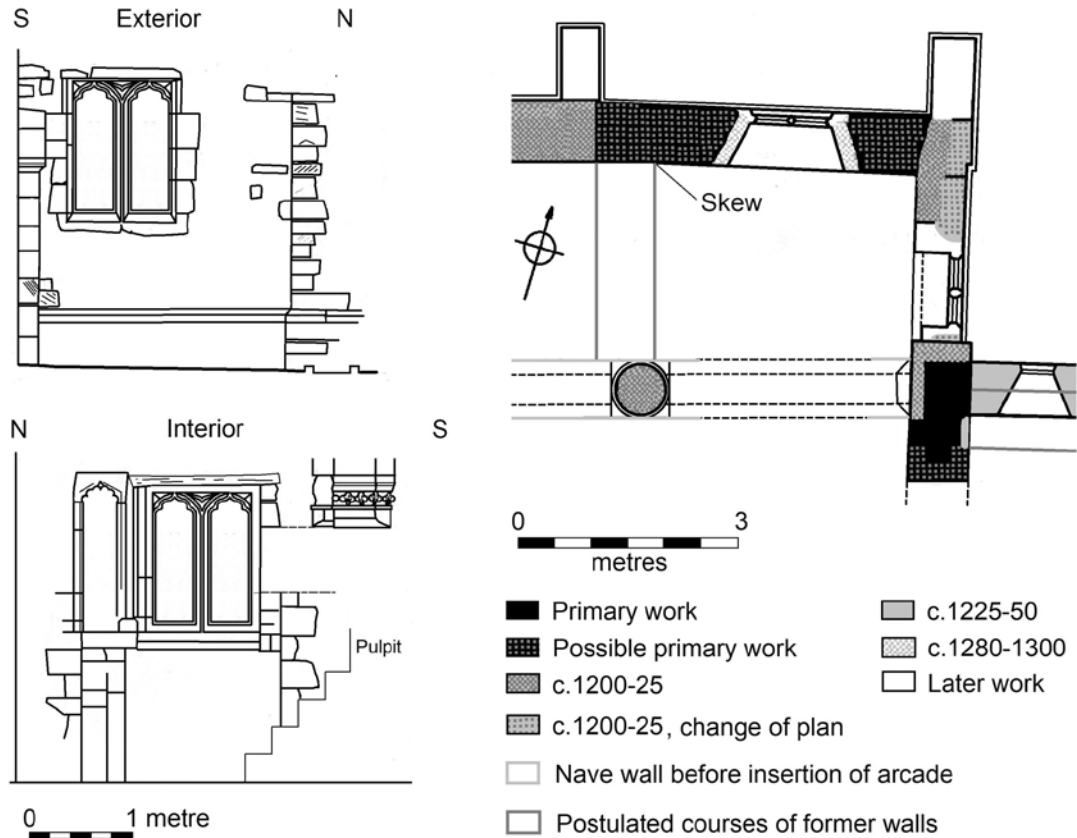


FIGURE 9 Elevations and plan of east end of north aisle, showing remains of former archway to chancel chapel and indications of former lateral structure

North aisle

At the east end of the north aisle is a jamb for the south respond of an arch (Fig 9). This is of finely jointed ashlar, probably Taynton stone. There are corresponding quoins to the north, but these are more loosely jointed, higher and occur slightly further west than the southern ones. Unlike the south respond, these quoins are of Upper Greensand. Internally, to the south there are quoins representing the western part of the south respond. Two of these undershoot the line of the nave north arcade, indicating that the respond and arcade are contemporary. There are some remains of the north jamb. The whole arrangement is somewhat confusing. The portal was presumably to allow access to a north chancel chapel, but that any such feature must have been demolished before the second quarter of the 13th century is demon-

strated by the position of the west window in the chancel north wall. It is perhaps more likely that a projected chancel chapel was never built and that an unfinished portal here was walled up, the northern external quoins being those of a pilaster buttress built as a result of the suggested change of plan. The eastern part of the north aisle wall is noticeably skewed compared to the remainder of the wall. At the later buttress which marks the change in alignment, there is a slight offset, since the western part of the wall is 10mm thicker. Externally, the wall is of cortical flint bonded in a friable sandy mortar with chalk occlusions up to 10mm across. Internally, plaster obscures any break but the skew is detectable 1.0m west of western splay of window. The junction between the skewed and straight parts of the wall may represent the position of a west wall of a former

lateral structure which was incorporated into the aisle.

In the western part of the aisle is a round-headed doorway (Fig 10a). It has been regarded as having been re-set (Baxter undated a). The roll and hollow details of the impost are however strongly comparable to those on the west arch of the axial tower at nearby Radnage, of c.1200–10 (Ispir & Baxter 2011). Given that the nave north arcade at Bledlow is datable to the first quarter of the 13th century, there is no reason why the doorway here should not be an original feature.

South aisle

The south aisle is somewhat broader than its northern counterpart (Fig 3). At its east end is the crease for the eaves of the roof, while the south wall of the chancel is bonded by quoins with the east wall of the aisle (Fig 10b). Opposite the north aisle doorway is an Early English doorway of three orders with stiff leaf shafts, of the second quarter of the 13th century (Fig 10c). From the doorway, modern steps show the difference between the internal floor level and external ground one (Fig 10d). This suggests that the south aisle floor was terraced into the sloping site. To the east of the doorway is the Aylesbury font of c.1170–90 (Baxter undated a). This was not however its original position; it was located in the south lateral chamber of the tower in 1908 (VCH 1908a, 251).

West tower

The internal ground floor of the tower has late 13th-century double-chamfered arches in its north, east and south walls (Fig 3). The arches rest on large squared bases (Fig 11). The relatively rough ashlar of the north-eastern base contrasts with the more finely worked stone of the respond (Fig 11a). The contrast is even more evident in the rough form of the horizontal plane of the south respond base (Fig 11b). This indicates that the present tower arches are later alterations. The southern base-course of the tower is chamfered, but on the southern face of the western south respond base is a squared base-course which abuts the foundation of the south-west corner of the nave and the suggested pilaster-strip base (Fig 7). Externally, in the north wall of the tower, there is a clear break at the same height as the eaves of the clerestory (Fig 12). This is indicative of an earlier build, but it does not extend as far as the north-western corner of the tower. A

clasping buttress may have been removed here. The tower in its original form certainly pre-dates the early 13th-century heightening of the nave, since the west quoins of the latter abut the tower. The latter, in its present form, is late 13th century as evidenced by the bell-openings. It is suggested here that the present tower is a rebuilding of a Romanesque predecessor. A mid-12th-century phase of the church is evidenced by mid-12th-century fragments now on display in the west end of the north aisle. These include part of a shaft probably from a doorway and a fragment of a window, but there are also the remains of a font bowl (Baxter undated a). These possibly pertain to an earlier tower, though their exact provenance is unknown.

The northern lateral chamber to the tower retains quoins at the end of the south wall which abut the north wall of the tower (Fig 13a). The north-eastern quoins of the chamber however abut the wall of the north aisle. If the tower indeed originated as a mid-12th-century structure, the northern chamber, which pre-dates the early 13th-century aisle, must on stratigraphic grounds be late 12th century. In this context, the Aylesbury font of c.1170–90 is noteworthy. Was the lateral chamber a baptistery which was purpose-built to house the font? A strong parallel would be the late 12th-century baptistery at Rodmell, Sussex, though there, the baptistery is on the south side of the contemporary tower (VCH 1940, 71–73). At Bledlow, the half-arch of southern lateral chamber partly over-rides the plinth of the suggested pilaster-strip base (Fig 13b). This indicates there was no lateral wall here before the half-arch was built. The latter is of two chamfered orders, resting on a corbel with stiff-leaf ornament. The southern lateral chamber appears to mark the final phase of the earlier 13th-century rebuilding programme (Fig 3). At the end of the century, the present tower arches were inserted and the suggested Romanesque tower rebuilt.

Structural evidence for the primary church

The earliest detail of the church is the chamfered stone block at the original south-east corner of the nave, which, it is suggested above, was a base-block of a pilaster-strip (Figs 7-8). This feature pre-dates the lower part of the west tower, which appears to have mid-12th-century origins. The suggested pilaster-strip base would pertain to the church mentioned in 1086 x 1091. Pilaster-strips at the corners of church walls rather than along

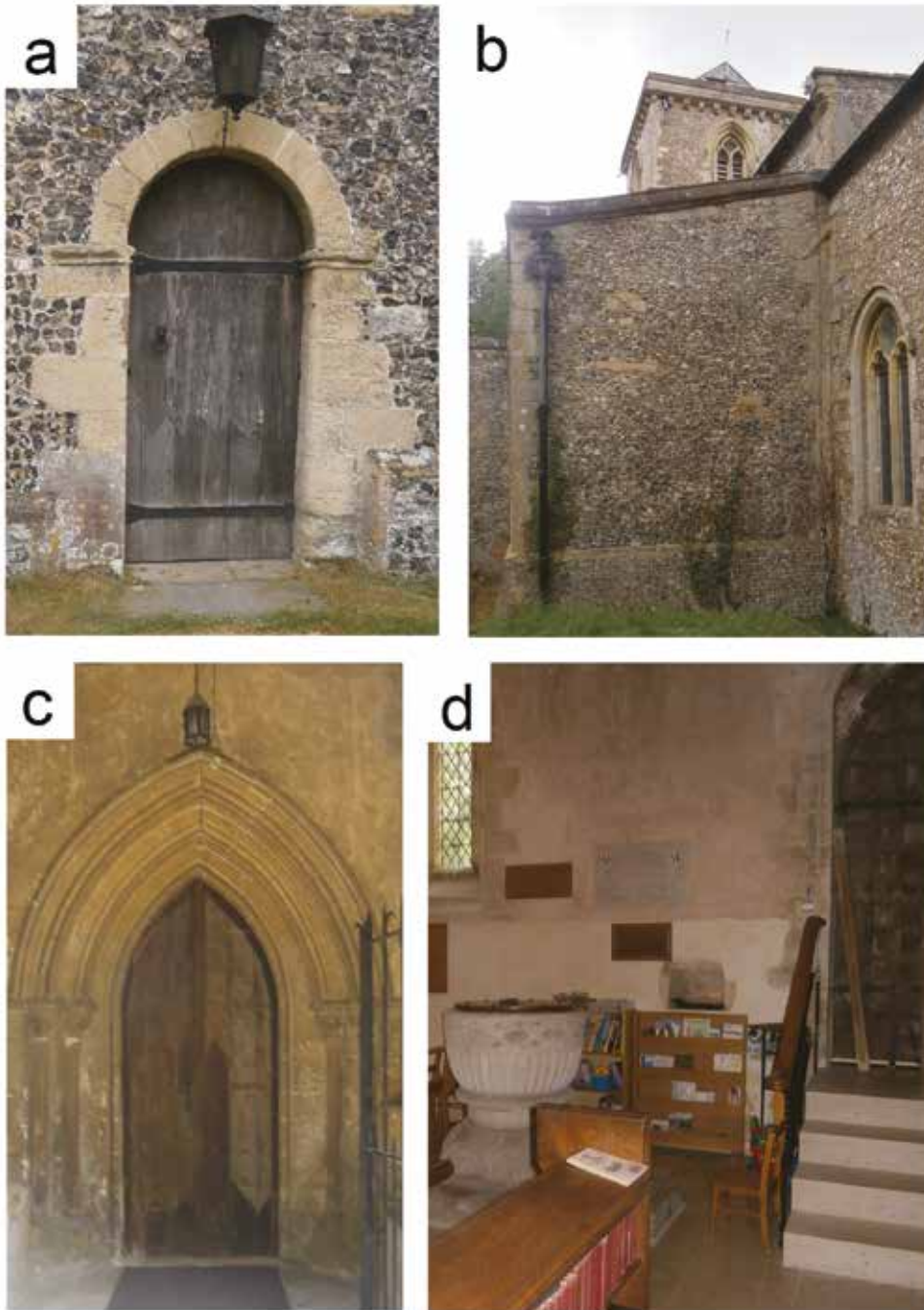


FIGURE 10 (a) Transitional doorway in north aisle (b) junction of south wall of chancel and east wall of south aisle (c) Early English doorway in south aisle (d) steps down to south aisle, with font to left



FIGURE 11 Bases of tower arch responds (a) north-east (b) south-east

them are rare, but two examples at well-known Anglo-Saxon churches are noteworthy. One is the tower-nave of St Peter, Barton-on-Humber, of the earlier 11th century, where the strips rise from squared base-blocks which in turn rest on a squared base-course (Rodwell & Atkins 2011, 253–55). Another is St Lawrence's Chapel, Bradford-on-Avon, datable to 1001–16 (Haslam 2013, 272). There, the pilasters rise from a squared plinth generally about 0.6m high (Hinton 2009 197–98). As with all the work at Bradford, the plinth there is, unusually for an Anglo-Saxon church, of ashlar. A substantial rubble plinth however occurs at the late 10th or early 11th-century St Mary in Castro,

Dover (Taylor & Taylor 1965, 215). The chamfered form of the Bledlow base-block is somewhat unlike the squared examples of the corner pilasters at Barton, but small versions of chamfered bases similar to that at Bledlow occur on the font at Wells Cathedral, where they support miniature pilaster-strips. Though the details of that font were re-cut at the beginning of the 13th century, the font is late Anglo-Saxon in origin (Rodwell 2001, 149–60). It is thus suggested that the nave at Bledlow has late Anglo-Saxon origins. It has been seen that the internal quoins at the west and east ends of the nave, which probably represent an early 13th-century heightening of the latter,



begin at different heights (Fig 5). It may thus be the case that the eastern part, perhaps the eastern third, of the primary nave was higher and that this area once comprised a choir-space. There is no evidence of scarring for a western wall of such a feature, but any possible scar could be concealed by the 13th-century wall-plaster. Alternatively, such a space might have been enclosed to its west by a timber partition (Fig 14).

The early 13th-century chancel arch is a modification of a predecessor (Fig 5). The lowest courses of the arch responds must be at least as early as the 12th century. The lack of through-stones and signs of diagonal tooling superficially suggest a Romanesque structure, but three points need bearing in

FIGURE 12 West tower from north. Note the break in the tower wall at the same height as the wall-head of the clerestory and the quoins of the latter abutting the north-west corner of the tower

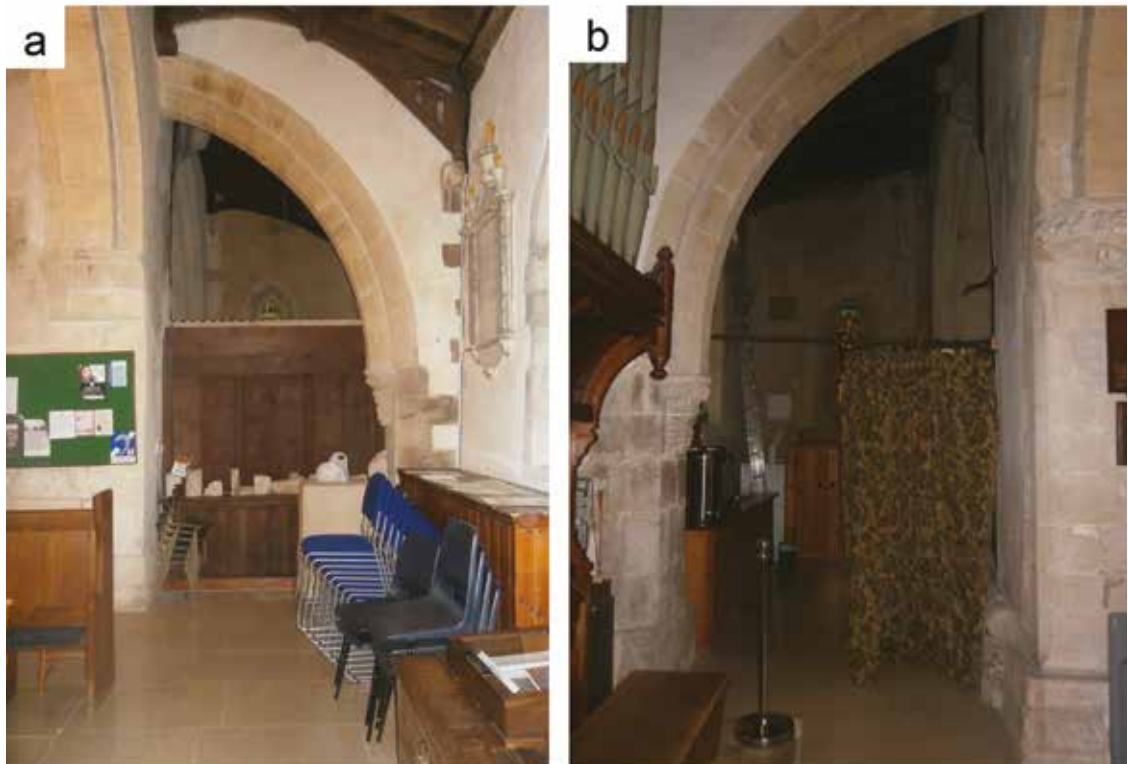


FIGURE 13 Half-arches of lateral chambers adjoining tower (a) north, with quoins of chamber abutted by north aisle wall to right (b) south, showing arch over-riding plinth of south-western corner of early nave

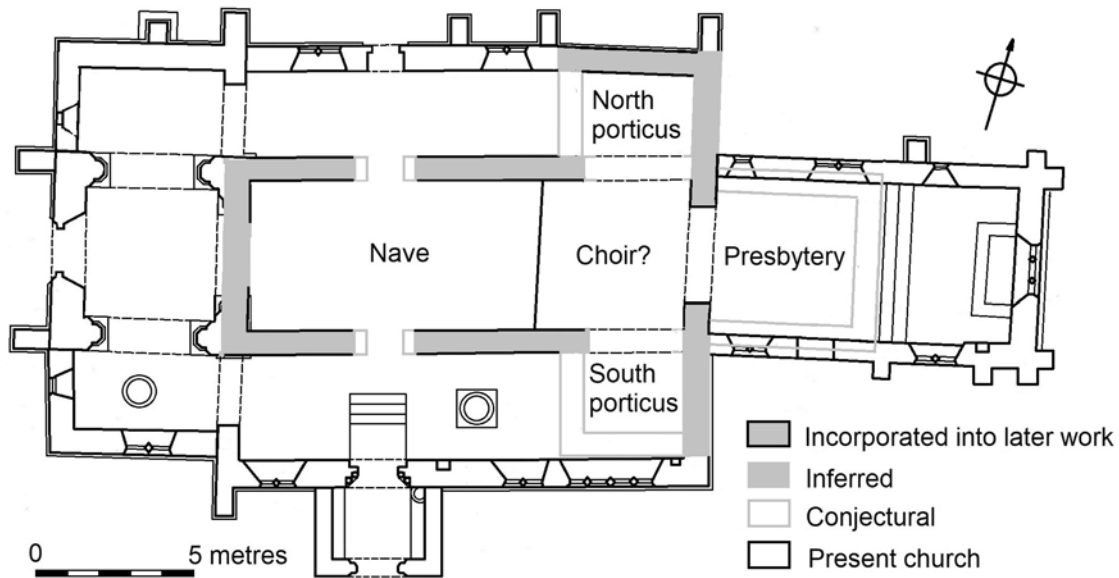


FIGURE 14 Tentative reconstruction of plan of primary church in relation to present building

mind. Firstly, while the jambs of Anglo-Saxon arches were usually constructed of through-stones, this was not necessarily the case, especially in late Saxon churches. At Breamore and Boarhunt, both in Hampshire, the jambs of the south porticus of the late 10th or early 11th-century church at the former and those of the mid-11th-century chancel arch at the latter are not of through stones (Taylor & Taylor 1965, 96; Potter 2006, 139). Secondly, the crude diagonal tooling at Bledlow is unlike the finer, more regular tooling encountered in much Romanesque masonry. Thirdly, the remains of the chamfer on the west side of the north respond at Bledlow indicate this feature was very slight, perhaps having a projection of only about 20mm. Tentative chamfers such as this can be a late Anglo-Saxon feature. An example occurs in the plinth of the north-west porticus of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Sherborne, Dorset, datable to 1045–58 (Gibb 1975, 72, 80). Conversely, Romanesque chamfers are usually more pronounced, an early example being that on the late 11th-century Great Tower at Chepstow Castle, Gwent (Turner *et al* 2006, 27–28). Fourthly, Upper Greensand was used in the pilaster-strips at Breamore (Potter 2006, 140). Though that latter was clearly from a different source to Bledlow, it testifies to that material's use in the late Anglo-Saxon period. On the above evidence, the lowest courses

of the chancel arch jambs at Bledlow are possibly late Anglo-Saxon, but this is far from certain and a Norman-period date is equally likely.

The form of the original eastern cell of the church is uncertain, since it was entirely obliterated by the 13th-century chancel. It has however been noted that the stones to the north of the east face of the north respond jamb may represent the blocking of a scar created when the north wall of the original eastern cell was removed (Fig 5). The present steps in the eastern part of the chancel defining the sanctuary are Victorian, but occur immediately east of a rise in the 13th-century string-course (Fig 4b, far left). The present chancel-sanctuary division would thus appear to be original. It may also be the case that the rise in the string-course defines the eastern extent of a former square-ended presbytery, the present chancel's predecessor (Fig 14).

The skewed eastern end of the north aisle has been suggested as incorporating the remains of a former lateral structure. This would have measured perhaps 3.45–3.55m west-east by 2.55–2.70m north-south. More conjecturally, there may have been a corresponding southern structure. It is therefore tentatively proposed that the primary church at Bledlow was cruciform. The apparent small dimensions of the proposed lateral cells suggest Anglo-Saxon porticus rather than Romanesque

transepts, but the former are usually offset from the east end of the nave, rather than being flush with the latter as at Bledlow. There are however some exceptions. Richard Gem's recent re-appraisal of the well-known Anglo-Saxon church at Wing has suggested that the aisles there are a secondary feature. The primary church of probable late 7th or 8th-century date appears to have had porticus flush with the east end of the nave (Gem 2017, 100–2, 113). The porticus at the 9th-century church at Britford, Wiltshire are similarly flush (RCHME 1987, 113–15). Another comparator with Bledlow might be St Andrews, Nether Wallop, Hampshire. There, the primary church was a small cruciform building, dated to the late 10th or early 11th century on the basis of a 'Winchester School' wall painting on the east wall of the nave (Gem & Tudor-Craig 1981, 117–22, 135–36).

The entrances to the primary nave at Bledlow have clearly been obliterated by the insertion of arcades and the addition of a west tower. The present doorway to the latter is of c.1400 (VCH 1908, 251). While it possibly replaced an earlier opening there is no certain evidence for this, nor that the primary church had a west doorway. It is more likely that the 13th-century aisle doorways replicate the positions of predecessors in the nave, a phenomenon archaeologically observed elsewhere (Rodwell 2001, 96). Opposed doorways such as those postulated for the primary phase at Bledlow generally occur no earlier than the late 10th or early 11th centuries (Gittos 2013, 177).

The internal dimensions of the nave at Bledlow (13.80m x 4.63m) are most significant (Fig 15). Recent research by John Blair has indicated that Anglo-Saxon settlements and buildings were often planned on the unit of the short perch, which had a mean length of 4.572m or 15 feet (Blair 2013, 19). The nave at Bledlow corresponds very closely to a row of three square short perches, though it is clear that there was an error in setting-out, so that the nave is a parallelogram rather than a rectangle. Research into the use of the short perch in settlement planning has been extensive, but that into its deployment in church planning has been less so and restricted to evidence of its use in churches up to the 9th century (*ibid*, 23–26). Ongoing research by this writer indicates the short perch was deployed up to the Norman Conquest and beyond. An example occurs at the probably mid-11th-century church at Holy Trinity, Littlebury, Essex, a posses-

sion of Ely Abbey (Secker 2019, 8–11). There, the early church was cruciform as is suggested for Bledlow. At Littlebury, however, the transepts or porticus as well as the nave were planned on the short perch. The measurement is not however evident after about 1100, suggesting that the nave at Bledlow is 11th-century or earlier. In settlements, the short perch was used during two periods. The first was from c.650 to 800 (Blair 2018, 148–49). The second occurred the later 10th and 11th centuries; its revival has been attributed to the monastic reform movement (*ibid*, 317–18). The use of the short perch in the church at Bledlow can be placed in the latter phase.

From the above comparators, it is suggested that the primary phase of the church at Bledlow is comparable to a group of smaller late Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman cruciform churches. The more specific context of Bledlow is now more fully explored.

THE BROADER CONTEXT

Minsters and *parochiae* in the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury

In any examination of the origins of the church at Bledlow, the broader early ecclesiastical context needs to be considered. This entails the identification of early minsters and their ecclesiastical territories or *parochiae* in the area (Fig 16). Evidence for the early church in Buckinghamshire is scarce, but has been appraised by Keith Bailey (2003). In the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury, the clearest evidence for an early minster is at Aylesbury itself. This was a perhaps a foundation of Wulfhere, king of Mercia from 657 to 675 (*ibid*, 64). Archaeological evidence for the minster includes extensive burials, a minster enclosure ditch on the course of that of the Iron Age hillfort ditch and an excavated wall of the predecessor of the 13th-century church (Green & Beckley 2009, 28, 48, 52–53, 60). The three-hide endowment of the church at Haddenham, where one Gilbert was priest, is also indicative of a minster (Bailey 2003, 68). Bailey believes this to be a late foundation of the 10th century, but organic-tempered pottery has been recovered in the vicinity of St Mary's church (Beckley & Green 2008, 26). This indicates early-middle Saxon occupation of some sort, and a pre-Viking origin for the minster is possible. Finally, evidence has recently emerged of a very substantial Anglo-Saxon church

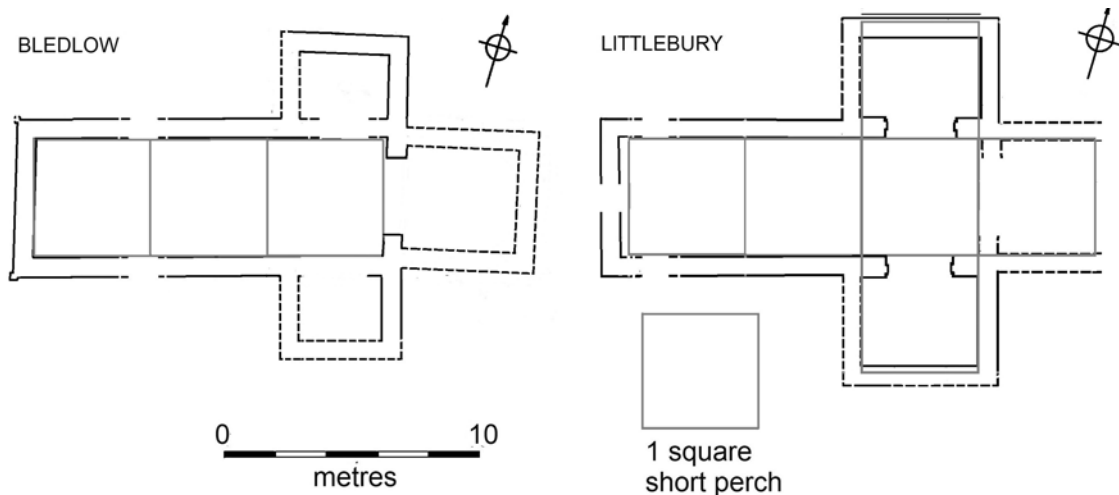


FIGURE 15 Early cruciform churches deploying short-perch planning at Bledlow and Littlebury, Essex

at Princes Risborough (Yeates 2012, 10–18, 54–55, 76–77). This appears to have originated as a middle Saxon minster and is discussed more fully below.

The evidence thus suggests one minster for each of the three hundreds of Aylesbury. In the cases of Aylesbury and Princes Risborough, the ecclesiastical centre was also the hundredal one, but pastoral provision for Stone hundred was based on a minster at Haddenham. The Domesday hundreds might correspond roughly to earlier ecclesiastical territories or *parochiae*, but contain remarkable anomalies (Fig 16a). The estate of Saunderton, which projects like a sore finger into Risborough hundred, was presumably originally part of the latter. North of this is a group of estates which partly formed a detached part of Ixhill hundred in 1086, the remainder being in Oxfordshire. Among these is Aston Sandford, surely the east *tun* of Haddenham. It is thus reasonable to assume that this group of estates once pertained to Haddenham minster. Further east, Halton and Weston Turville, reckoned in Stone hundred in 1086, are encapsulated within Aylesbury hundred. The Missendens, also in Stone hundred in 1086, were in Aylesbury hundred by 1316 (VCH 1908a, 245). They may also have been so before the mid-11th century. The Missendens are separated from the rest of Stone hundred by the Chilterns and the marginal estate of Hampden. On the other hand, the Misbourne Valley connects the Missendens to Wendover. On the eastern border of Aylesbury hundred is Drayton

Beauchamp, which was in Yardley hundred in 1086, but probably originally appertained to Aylesbury. The three hundreds of Aylesbury as they appear in Domesday may be a product of late Anglo-Saxon administrative changes. Early *parochiae* may thus have comprised: firstly, the *parochia* of Aylesbury, consisting of the later Aylesbury hundred, plus Weston Turville, Halton, the Missendens and the Hampdens; secondly, that of Haddenham consisting of the Domesday hundred of Stone plus the detached part of Ixhill hundred and thirdly, Risborough hundred including Saunderton (Fig 16b).

The proposed three minsters and their *parochiae* were almost certainly established at different times. Aylesbury was undoubtedly the earliest, and would have served the whole of the later triple-hundred. In 1086, Aylesbury minster was owed food-render from eight surrounding hundreds, though precisely which hundreds these were is debatable (Bailey 2003, 67). Risborough hundred appears to have been carved out of the *parochia* based on Haddenham. The latter, as has been seen, may be a pre-Viking foundation.

Estates within the proposed *parochia* of Risborough

The earliest estate to be documented in the proposed *parochia* of Risborough was that later known as Monks Risborough (Fig 17). In 903, Edward the Elder with Æthelred and Æthelflaed of Mercia

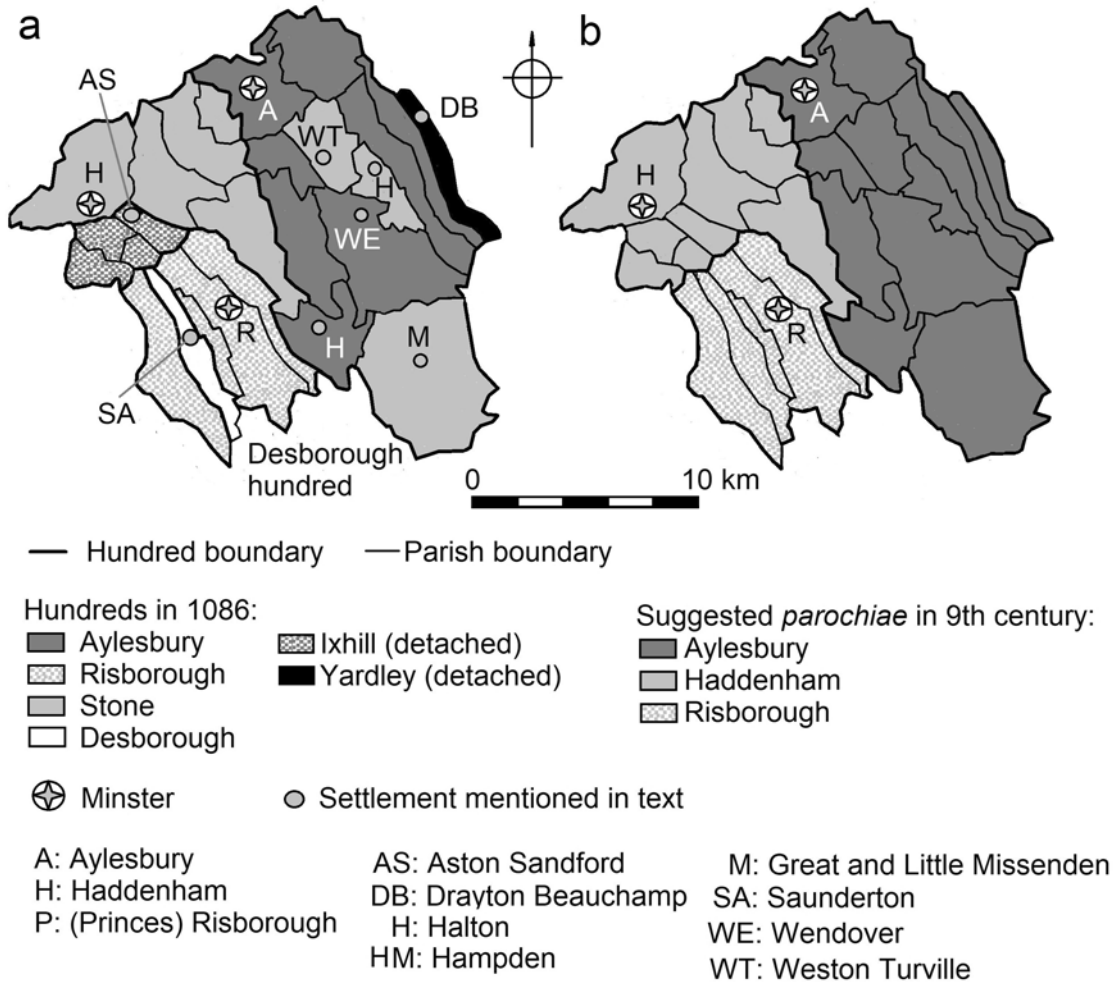


FIGURE 16 The Three Hundreds of Aylesbury in 1086 (a) and their suggested origins as Anglo-Saxon minster *parochiae* (b)

renewed the charter of one Athulf, whose previous charter had been destroyed by fire (Sawyer 1968, No. 378). Athulf had granted Monks Risborough to his daughter Æthelfrith. The Risboroughs were clearly already discrete estates at this time, but may have been so for a considerable period, since the north-western part of the boundary of Monks Risborough was known as *ealdan dic* (Baines 1981, 86). This might not represent a later partition of the estate, but a unit that existed since the latter's inception. In contrast, the small estates of Saunderton and Horsenden appear to be late creations, perhaps of the early 11th century. They were probably originally part of Princes Risborough. Thus at the time

Ælfgifu acquired that estate in 966 x 975, it would have comprised 50 hides. It is less certain whether Princes Risborough and Bledlow were separate estates, since they were owned by the same woman in 966 x 75, but it is perhaps more likely that they were. In support of the latter, the sinuous boundary between Bledlow and Saunderton is similar to that between Princes and Monks Risborough, but both contrast with the ragged boundaries of Horsenden. The block might thus have originally possessed a certain symmetry, with a central 50-hide estate of Princes Risborough being flanked by the 30-hide holdings of Bledlow and Monks Risborough.

The settlements in Risborough hundred lie

between the Lower and Upper Icknield Ways. The date of these routes has long been controversial, but in their developed form they are post-Roman (Baker & Brookes 2013, 149). The Upper Icknield Way was certainly in existence by 903, since it is mentioned in the Monks Risborough charter (Baines 1981, 88). Domesday mentions a salt-worker of Droitwich at Princes Risborough (Williams & Martin 2002, 395). It has been suggested that there was a saltway here ultimately from Droitwich (Bull 1975). This would place Princes Risborough on a nodal point. A market is not documented at Princes Risborough until 1523 (VCH 1908a, 260). Domesday however notes that the place rendered £10 'by tale' (Williams & Martin 2002, 395). This implies 'tallage' or a tax on movable goods and may suggest a trading function. Also of interest is the place-name Longwick, while neighbouring Owlswick was *Herdewic* in 903 (Sawyer 1968, No. 378). A *wic* suffix implies a dependent settlement (Blair 2018, 256). *Herdewic* 'herd farm' was clearly an agricultural satellite of Monks Risborough. The place-name Longwick is however more ambiguous and could relate to an early trading focus.

Evidence for a minster at Princes Risborough

A recent watching-brief at St Mary's, Princes Risborough revealed a very substantial predecessor to the extant 13th century and later church (Fig 18a). The earlier church was not securely dated, though a single sherd of Stamford Ware suggests a 10th-century *terminus post quem* (Yeates 2012, 54–55). It did however possess a rectangular western narthex (ibid, 10–18, 76–77). This was similar in plan to that of the excavated, probably 9th-century church at Cirencester (Gem 1997). It can also be compared with the narthex of the phase 2a church at Canterbury, probably early 9th-century work of Wulfred, archbishop from 805 to 832 (Blockley 2000, 31–35, 92–93 and fig 15). The masonry church at Princes Risborough had a predecessor evidenced by a robber-trench (Yeates 2012, 9–11). Since the latter was only 0.45–0.55m wide, it was probably a sleeper wall for a timber structure, presumably a middle Saxon church. There is thus compelling evidence for a pre-Viking minster here. Moreover, boundaries on the 1823 Enclosure map of Princes Risborough suggest the church stood within a large sub-rectangular enclosure (Green & Beckley 2009, 34). Green and

Beckley suggest this was an early town enclosure, but in light of the discoveries at the church, it may have been a minster enclosure (Fig 18b). It is similar in form to minster enclosures elsewhere, for instance at Bampton in Oxfordshire (Blair 2005, 197).

The evidence from the charter-bounds of Monks Risborough suggests the territory or *parochia* of Risborough was formed no later than the 9th century. The question is who was responsible for this. While it is uncertain how Ælfgifu acquired (Princes) Risborough, Bledlow and her other estates, it is likely that they originated as royal land (Tollerton 2011, 96–97). The land-unit of Risborough hundred plus Saunderton and the phase 1 church at the Princes Risborough may thus have been a Mercian royal foundation. The phase 2 masonry church may likewise have been a royal commission of the 10th century. It is notable that whereas Princes Risborough would have been just another royal estate to the kings of England, it was the most important of Ælfgifu's estates and perhaps her *caput*. She was thus possibly responsible for the phase 2 church.

Though what were later to be Princes and Monks Risborough, and perhaps Bledlow, were discrete lay estates, pastoral care may have lay with the minster at Princes Risborough. This would presumably have changed when Monks Risborough was granted to Canterbury, perhaps in king Eadgar's reign (Baines 1981, 91). It was certainly in Canterbury's possession in 994 (Sawyer 1968, No. 882). Similarly, the consequence of Ælfgifu's will was that Princes Risborough and Bledlow passed to the Old and New Minsters respectively. St Dunstan's church at Monks Risborough has no direct documentary or architectural evidence earlier than the 13th century, though the church contains a late 12th-century Aylesbury font (VCH 1908a, 259–60; Baxter 2007). The dedication may however recall Archbishop Dunstan (d.988) being remembered as the founder of a church there. Archbishop Æthelnoth (1020–38) is known to have stayed at Monks Risborough in 1020 x 1038 (Sawyer 1968, No. 1464; Baines 1981, 94). If there was an archepiscopal residence here, this might be expected to include a church or chapel.

Origins of the church at Bledlow

If the see of Canterbury indeed founded a church at Monks Risborough, New Minster may have

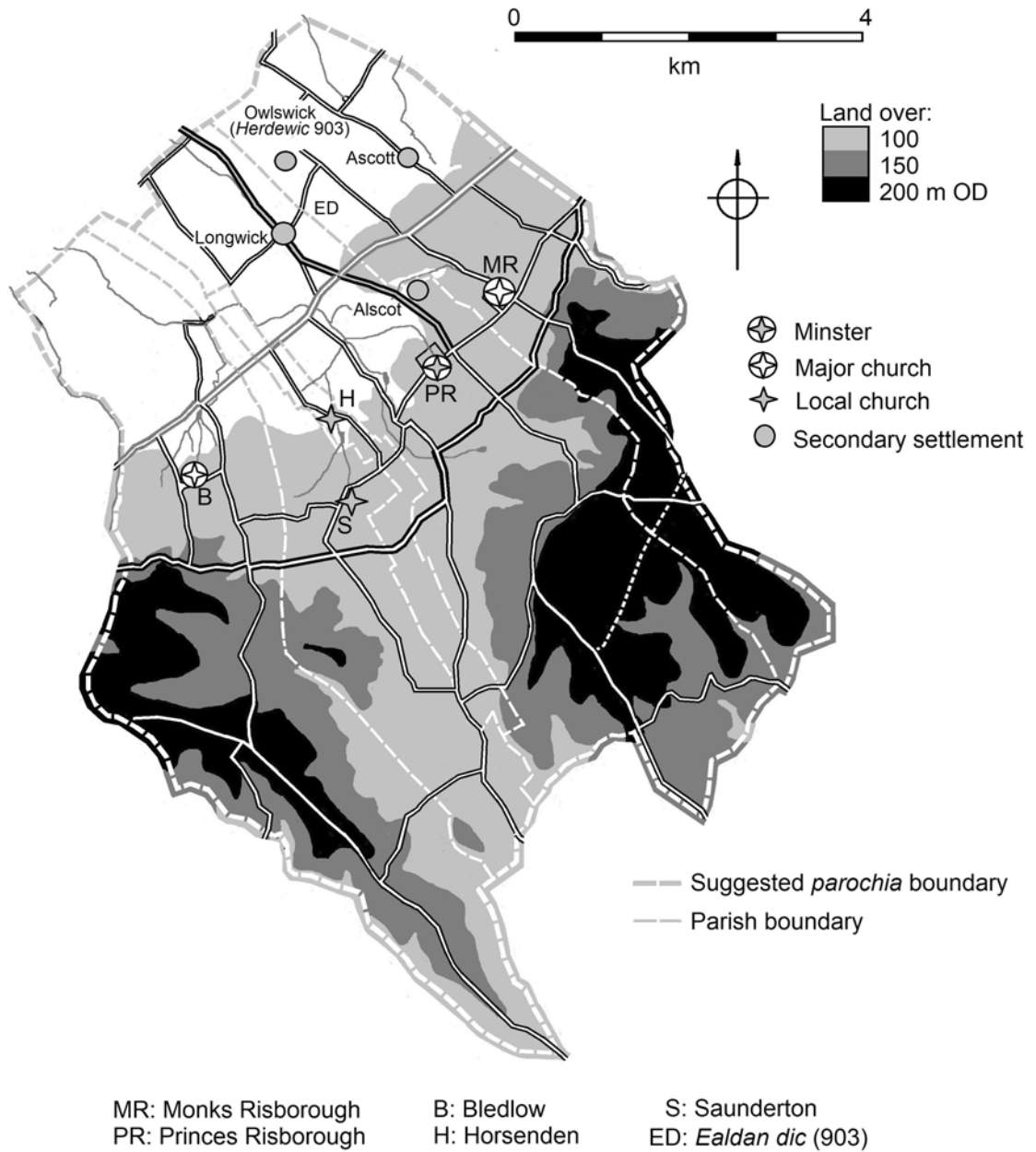


FIGURE 17 The suggested *parochia* of Risborough

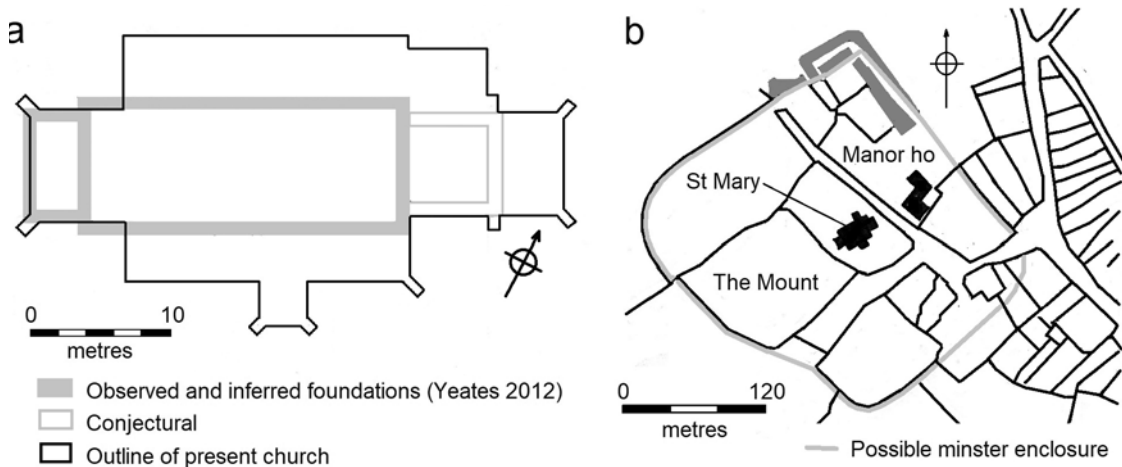


FIGURE 18 Princes Risborough (a) plan of minster church in relation to present building (b) postulated minster enclosure

done the same at Bledlow. That institution would certainly have had motivation to found a church here on a large estate a long distance from their core lands in Hampshire. There is however some scope for a later foundation. It is worth considering whether the church was founded by Eadmer Atule, or even Robert of Mortain. The latter would appear unlikely. Mortain was among the foremost landowners in post-Conquest England. To him, Bledlow was probably unimportant and he was no doubt more preoccupied with developing his castle at nearby Berkhamsted. Moreover, it has been seen that the church at Bledlow was planned on the Anglo-Saxon measurement of the short perch, making an Anglo-Saxon date and founder are more likely. Eadmer Atule might thus be a possibility. Though hardly in the same league as Mortain, he was nevertheless a thegn of substance, holding land totalling some 135 hides in Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire (Williams & Martin 2002, 211–13, 251, 274, 293–94, 356, 363, 378–79, 381, 401, 593, 601). Bledlow and Berkhamsted were however his most valuable estates, being valued at £20 and £24 respectively. Eadmer is thus a plausible founder of the church, but there are good reasons to believe that it is earlier than this. Firstly, there is the dedication. The first recorded dedication was to the Holy Spirit in 1284 (VCH 1908a, 253). This dedication and that to Holy Trinity might however be regarded as interchange-

able, as those of All Saints and All Hallows were. Upon its foundation in 903, New Minster was dedicated to all the Trinity, Mary and Peter (Sawyer 1968, No. 370). When the church at Bledlow was granted by Robert of Mortain to Grestain, it came with an endowment of one hide. In addition to this, Robert granted a cotland of his own demesne to the church (Young 1965, 367). The charter implies that the endowment of a hide was almost certainly pre-existing. The size of the endowment is typical of minor minsters rather than thegnly foundations (Blair 2005, 371). Indeed, it is paralleled by the endowment of one hide held by the church of Nether Wallop, Hampshire (Williams & Martin 2002, 91). That church has already been mentioned as a potential comparator to Bledlow. At the latter, the proposed porticus might be regarded as miniature versions of the shallow transepts at New Minster (Biddle 2018, 67). Conversely, a church founded by a thegn, albeit an important one such as Eadmer Atule, might have had a smaller endowment, while a thegnly foundation is more likely to be of two-cell form (e.g. Blair 2005, 413). Finally, Ælfgifu might be considered as a founder. It has been seen the proposed plan-form of the primary church at Bledlow, with porticus flush with the east end of the nave, has similarities with Gem's proposed early church at Wing (Gem 2017, 101–3). Ælfgifu also owned Wing (Sawyer 1968, No. 1484). Could she have commissioned a church at Bledlow as a diminutive 'copy' of that church?

Two factors mitigate against this. Firstly, since she owned both Princes Risborough and Bledlow and may even have commissioned the phase 2 church at the former, there would be little reason for a second church at the latter, whereas New Minster would have had good reason to establish a church at Bledlow. Secondly, though the aisles at Wing are probably secondary, they are only broadly datable to between the 9th and 12th centuries (Gem 2017, 95, 113). They quite possibly date to before Ælfgifu's time or she may even have commissioned them herself.

While the architectural evidence for the early church at Bledlow is very fragmentary, one feature may support a foundation of New Minster. The chamfered base-block at the south-western corner of the nave may have supported a pilaster-strip (Figs 7-8). The latter features are unknown in the region apart from the early 9th century examples on the apse at Wing (Gem 2017, 97-100). Pilaster-strips are however common on late Anglo-Saxon churches in Hampshire, examples occurring at Breamore, Corhampton, Headbourne Worthy, Hinton Ampner and Little Somborne (Taylor & Taylor 1965, 94-96, 176-79, 289-91, 316-17, 556). It is uncertain whether such strips existed at New Minster itself, since the church was so thoroughly destroyed (Biddle 2018, 67). Nevertheless, if the primary church at Bledlow did have pilaster-strips, we might speculate that it was built by masons from Hampshire who were employed by New Minster. On the available evidence, it is suggested here that the church at Bledlow was founded by New Minster in the late 10th or early 11th century.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH UP TO C.1300

By c.1300, the church had assumed its present form, only the south porch and some buttresses being later structural features. Later phases generally involved re-fenestration and restoration. Before that date, six phases are proposed (Fig 19).

1. A late Anglo-Saxon nave with porticus flanking its east end and an eastern cell of possible square form. This was the church documented in 1088 x 1092, but as discussed above, it may have late 10th or early 11th-century origins.
2. Addition of west tower. It is postulated here

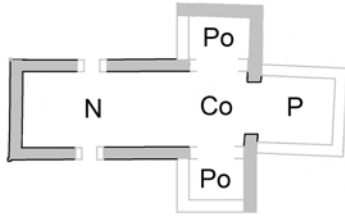
that some of the mid-12th-century *ex situ* fragments now displayed in the north aisle are from this tower. The font fragment may suggest the ground floor of the tower served as a baptistery. Ron Baxter dates these to c.1130-50 (Baxter undated a). Nailhead ornament on the window fragment however suggests they are later within that range.

3. Addition of north lateral chamber flanking the tower. Stratigraphically datable to the second half of the 12th century, but perhaps a baptistery specifically built to house the Aylesbury font of c.1170-90.
4. Arcade inserted into late Anglo-Saxon nave north wall. North aisle wall constructed between putative north porticus and baptistery. North chancel chapel projected but probably never built. The form of the north doorway and the squared orders of the arcade are stylistically on the cusp between Transitional and Early English proper, suggesting a date of c.1200-25
5. Assumed former eastern cell destroyed and replaced by present chancel. South aisle added and south nave arcade inserted. Conjectural south porticus totally demolished. Construction of south aisle and south lateral chamber to tower. Second quarter of 13th century.
6. Insertion of present north, south and east tower arches and rebuilding of upper part of tower. Geometric windows inserted into aisles and chancel: final quarter of 13th century.

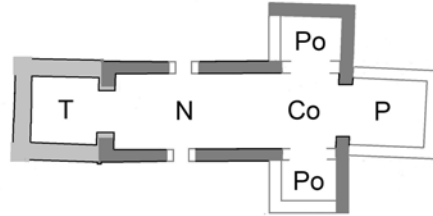
Discussion of the later phases

Little can be said about the proposed phase 2 tower, since it is only evidenced by its base-courses, the suggestion of a clasping buttress at its north-western corner and *ex-situ* architectural fragments which may derive from it. It is however curious that one of these fragments is of a mid-12th-century font which is only a generation earlier than the surviving late 12th-century Aylesbury font (Baxter undated a). The acquisition of the new font is probably the result of then-current fashions and the desire to have the latest, and in the region, the most popular form of font. The proposed phase 3 baptistery, as has been seen, compares with Rodmell in Sussex (VCH 1940, 71-73). The church was completely transformed in the first half of the 13th century with the addition of aisles and the rebuilding of the chancel. All these developments took place when the advowson of the church was held by Grestain

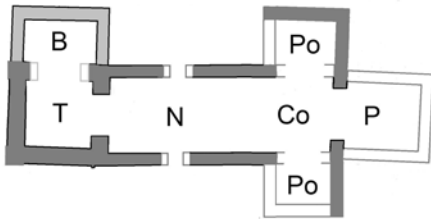
1. c.1000(?) - 1150



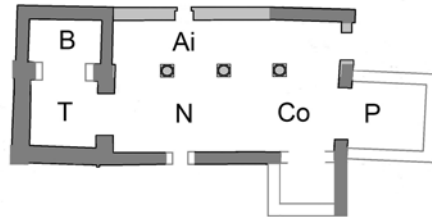
2. c.1150-75



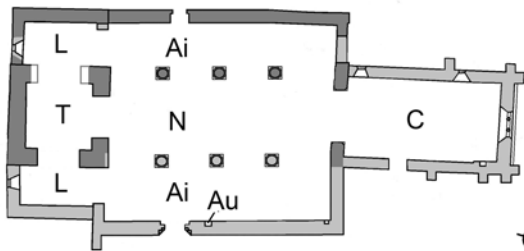
3. c.1175-1200



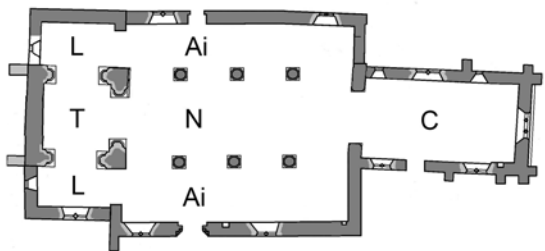
4. c.1200-25



5. c.1225-50



6. c.1275-1300



0 10 metres

New at each phase
Retained from previous phase

Extant	Inferred	Conjectural

Ai: aisle	B: baptistery	Co: choir-space	N: nave	Po: porticus
Au: aumbry	C: chancel	L: lateral chamber	P: presbytery	T: tower

FIGURE 19 Holy Trinity, Bledlow: suggested development up to c.1300

Abbey and its English cell at Wilmington, Sussex. It is questionable whether the transformation of Bledlow was the result of national or purely local initiative. Important churches in the vicinity of Bledlow owned by Grestain were Hemel Hempstead and Berkhamsted, both in west Hertfordshire. Both are very substantial aisled cruciform structures. The late Romanesque church at Hemel is of c.1150–70 (Gardiner undated). It is however uncertain whether this was a commission of Grestain. The church had been granted to the Augustinian priory of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, at an unspecified date before 1201 (VCH 1908b, 228). It is possible the church at Hemel was rebuilt when St Bartholomew's acquired it. Berkhamsted was on the other hand in the ownership of Grestain in the 13th century and later (*ibid*, 179). The church of St Peter there incorporates vestiges of a probably 12th-century building, but is primarily of two 13th-century phases: c.1200 and c.1230–50 (*ibid*, 174–78). The initiative for the church here however probably lay with the lay lords, Geoffrey fitz Piers in c.1200 and perhaps Richard Earl of Cornwall from 1243; Berkhamsted may have been granted to Richard when he was made Earl of Cornwall as early as 1225, but was certainly held by him before 1243 (*ibid*, 166).

At Bledlow, the rebuilding of the church is more likely to have been a local initiative. This is evidenced architecturally. The imposts of the north aisle doorway, as has been seen, are paralleled at nearby Radnage (Ispir & Baxter 2011). The fluted corbel impost at the west end of the north nave arcade at Bledlow can be compared to the imposts of the east nave responds at nearby Haddenham (Baxter undated b). The improvements at Bledlow can thus be seen as part of a contemporary local upgrading of churches. Little is known of the priests but one John, priest of Bledlow, was witness to a charter in c.1160, while three more priests mentioned before 1285 (Young 1965, 368–69). Hugh de Gurnay granted the manor of Bledlow to Bec Abbey 1198, the latter having its English headquarters at Ogbourne St Andrew in Wiltshire (Young 1964, 270). Interestingly, this is about the time when rebuilding of the church at Bledlow began. Though Grestain held the right of advowson, was Ogbourne the main agency behind the early 13th-century church?

The addition of aisles and the construction of a new longer chancel can be seen as standard

responses to the changing liturgical requirements of the time (Brown 1996, 65–67). More unusual are the western compartments flanking the tower. These have some late 12th and early 13th-century parallels elsewhere. At Nassington, Northamptonshire, they were an addition of c.1200 to the late Anglo-Saxon tower (RCHME 1984, 120–21). Another example occurs at the late 12th-century church of the Archbishop of Canterbury at St Nicholas, New Romney, Kent (Campbell 2010, 6–7, 19). The purpose of these flanking structures is not really understood, though at Bledlow, if the northern one is an earlier baptistery, the southern may have been built purely for the purposes of symmetry.

At Bledlow, the south aisle chapel was dedicated to St Margaret by 1341, the north to St Catherine (Young 1965, 377). More puzzling is the aumbry in the south aisle close to the present position of the font. This may suggest a further chapel here, but there is no documentary record of one.

CONCLUSION

The remains of the primary church at Bledlow are very fragmentary, but it is tentatively proposed that it was cruciform, with north and south porticus. A stone at the south-western corner of the nave may have been the base-block for a pilaster strip. The lower courses of the responds for a chancel arch beneath the present structure possibly pertain to a late Anglo-Saxon church, though they could equally be from the Romanesque phase. The church at Bledlow may have been founded by New Minster in the late 10th or early 11th century. The proposed plan-form of the primary church at Bledlow compares with that of Nether Wallop, Hampshire, the latter perhaps being a royal commission (Gem & Tudor-Craig 1981, 118, 135). A stronger comparator is however Littlebury in Essex, though the remains of the early church there are, like those at Bledlow, fragmentary (Secker 2019, 8–11). Both, however, show evidence of being planned on short perch measurements. Littlebury was certainly a commission of Ely Abbey, while Bledlow may have been founded following Ælfgifu's grant of that estate to New Minster in 966 x 75.

Following Grestain abbey's acquisition of the church in 1086 x 1091, little seems to have changed immediately in architectural terms. It has been

suggested here that a west tower was added to the church in the mid-12th century, but the major transformation came in the first half of the 13th century with the addition of aisles and the rebuilding of the chancel. Though well-appointed, there was nothing unusual for the time about these improvements for a well-endowed church such as Bledlow. The only eccentric features of the 13th-century church are the lateral chambers to the tower.

The 13th-century phases of the church are self-evident, while the earlier phases proposed here are more tentative. As is usual, these could be clarified by excavation or the use of ground-penetrating radar. It would be rewarding to know more about the construction of the early nave, but the presence of remains of 13th-century wall-paintings makes stripping of the plaster undesirable and impossible.

REFERENCES

- Bailey K 2003, The church in Anglo-Saxon Buckinghamshire, c.650–c.1100, *Recs Bucks* **43**, 61–76.
- Baines AHJ 1981, The Boundaries of Monks Risborough, *Recs Bucks* **23**, 76–101.
- Baker J & Brookes S 2013, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence in the Viking Age* (Leiden).
- Baxter R 2007, St Dunstan, Monks Risborough, Buckinghamshire, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, <https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/3150>, accessed 8/9/2019.
- Baxter R, undated a. Holy Trinity, Bledlow, Buckinghamshire, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, <https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/587>, accessed 8/9/2019.
- Baxter R, undated b. St Mary, Haddenham, Buckinghamshire, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, <https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/938/>, accessed 8/9/2019.
- Beckley R & Green D 2008, *Haddenham: Buckinghamshire Historic Towns Assessment Report*. (Aylesbury).
- Biddle M 2018, *The Search for Winchester's Anglo-Saxon Minsters* (Winchester).
- Blair J 2005, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*. (Oxford).
- Blair J 2013, Grid planning in Anglo-Saxon settlements: the short perch and the four-perch module, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeol & Hist* **18**, 18–61.
- Blair J 2018, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Princeton/Oxford).
- Blockley K 2000, The Anglo-Saxon Churches of Canterbury Archaeologically Reconsidered. PhD Thesis, University of Durham. <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4320/>, accessed 8/9/2019.
- Brown A 1996, Parish church building: the fabric, in J Blair and C Pyrah (eds), *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report **104** (York), 63–68.
- Bull L 1975, The ancient saltway from Droitwich to Princes Risborough, *Recs Bucks* **20**, 87–92.
- CAA 1996, 'Conservation Area Character Survey: Bledlow' (High Wycombe).
- Campbell J 2010, *The History of St Nicholas, New Romney* (Unspecified).
- Denton J 2014, Benefice of Bledlow, *Taxatio*, <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.BU.WE.16>, accessed 8/9/2019.
- Gardiner H undated, St Mary the Virgin, Hemel Hempstead, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, <https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/407/>, accessed 8/9/2019.
- Gem RDH 1997, The Anglo-Saxon church at Cirencester: a reconstruction and evaluation, in D Wilkinson and A Mc Whirr, *Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey*, *Cirencester Excavations* **4** (Cirencester), 32–39.
- Gem RDH 2017, The Anglo-Saxon church of All Saints, Wing, from the 7th to the 11th centuries, *Recs Bucks* **57**, 95–115.
- Gem RDH & Tudor-Craig P 1981, A "Winchester School" wall-painting at Nether Wallop, Hampshire, *Anglo-Saxon England* **9**, 115–36.
- Gibb JHP 1975, The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Sherborne, *JBAA* **135**, 71–110.
- Gittos H 2013, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford)
- Green D & Beckley R 2009, *Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Historic Towns Assessment Report* (Aylesbury).
- Haslam J 2013, The unfinished chapel at Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire, and ecclesiastical politics in the early eleventh century, *Archaeol J* **170**, 272–301.
- Hinton D A 2009, Recent work at the Chapel of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, *Archaeol J* **166**, 193–209.
- Ispir C & Baxter R 2011, St Mary, Radnage, Buck-

- inghamshire, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, <https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/100/>, accessed 8/9/2019
- Potter JF 2006, A geological review of some Hampshire Anglo-Saxon churches, *Proc Hants Field Club Archaeol Soc* **61**, 134–52
- RCHME 1984, *Northamptonshire* **6**, Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England), (London).
- RCHME 1987, *Churches of South-East Wiltshire*, Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England), (London).
- Rodwell WJ 2001, *Wells Cathedral: Excavations and Structural Studies 1978–93*, **1** (London).
- Rodwell WJ & Atkins C 2011 *St Peter's, Barton on Humber, Lincolnshire. A Parish Church and its Community: Part 1 History Archaeology and Architecture* (Oxford)
- Sawyer PH 1968, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London).
- Secker D 2019, Littlebury, Essex: origins of Holy Trinity church and the settlement, <https://www.academia.edu/works/39265246/>, accessed 8/9/2019
- Strategic Stone Study 2017, *A Building Stone Atlas of Oxfordshire* (London)
- Strategic Stone Study 2018, *A Building Stone Atlas of Buckinghamshire (Including Milton Keynes)* (London)
- Taylor H M & Taylor J 1965, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture 1-2* (Cambridge).
- Tollerton L 2011 *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (York).
- Turner R, Jones-Jenkins C & Priestley 2006, The Norman Great Tower, in R Turner & A Johnson (eds), *Chepstow Castle: Its History and Buildings* (Almeley), 23–42
- VCH 1908a, *Bucks* **2**.
- VCH 1908b, *Herts* **2**.
- VCH 1940, *Sussex* **7**.
- Yeates S 2012, *Archaeological Watching Brief at St Mary's Church, Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire* John Moore Heritage Services report (unpublished).
- Young A 1964, Bledlow: 1. Land tenure and the three-field system, *Recs Bucks* **17.4**, 266–85
- Young A 1965, Bledlow: 2. Church and Parsons, *Recs Bucks* **17.5**, 367–98