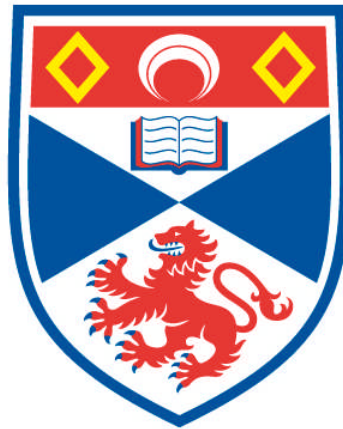


**CHANGE IN NORTHUMBRIA: WAS ALDRITH OF  
NORTHUMBRIA'S REIGN A PERIOD OF INNOVATION  
OR DID IT MERELY REFLECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
PROCESSES ALREADY UNDERWAY IN THE LATE  
SEVENTH CENTURY?**

**W. Graham Watson**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



**2015**

**Full metadata for this item is available in  
Research@StAndrews:FullText  
at:  
<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

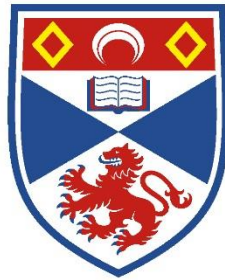
**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/7607>**

**This item is protected by original copyright**

**This item is licensed under a  
Creative Commons Licence**

Change in Northumbria: Was Aldfrith of Northumbria's reign  
a period of innovation or did it merely reflect the  
development of processes already underway in the late  
seventh century?

W. Graham Watson



University of  
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of  
PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews

23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015



## Summary

This thesis looks at a period of Northumbrian history when the king was a part Irish, Iona trained scholar. Some have suggested that Aldfrith was assisted to the kingship by the northern victors of the battle of Nechtansmere. It examines processes in the late seventh century to try to identify changes that might have happened during the reign of this king.

The study begins with a wide overview of previous research to establish a basis from which to look for processes and change and also examines the sources available to us, written and archaeological. It then looks at the kingdoms to the north and west and at Aldfrith and the period of his reign. The suggestion is made that Aldfrith acted, with the Church, to cult saints that were Northumbrian and Romanist, as opposed to other options that might have been available. It proposes that the Northumbrians rejected opportunities to develop links with the north and west that may have been open to them. The following chapters then examine processes underway in Northumbria in three general areas; in the use of power, in society, and in the economy.

It concludes that although many processes continued as before, these sped up and in certain areas such as the production of coins, and the consequential development of trade, it was a period of innovation. There is no evidence of a focus to the north and west during Aldfrith's reign and this has implications for how Aldfrith got to the throne, suggesting that it was with the support of the Northumbrian elite and not through the military strength of the Dál Riata or the Picts. The evidence is that Northumbria increasingly looked south for its influences and is prepared to absorb and implement processes and approaches from southern England, Gaul and Rome.

# Declarations

## 1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Graham Watson, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 79,100 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2009 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in History in September 2009; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in Inverness and in the University of St Andrews between 2009 and 2015.

Date:

Signature of candidate:

## 2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in History in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date:

Signature of supervisor:

## 3. Permission for publication:

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

PRINTED COPY

No embargo on print copy

ELECTRONIC COPY

No embargo on electronic copy

Date:

Signature of candidate:

Signature of supervisor:

## Acknowledgements

I owe many people a debt of gratitude and without their help and advice this thesis could not have been completed. Chris Morris encouraged and supported my initial approaches. Without Alex Woolf's guidance and support as my tutor, it would have foundered at an early stage. As a part-time researcher, based some distance from the University, I discovered the meaning of lone working. However my work colleagues, initially in Highland Council, and subsequently in High Life Highland, have consistently enquired after my progress and offered encouragement, and my Chief Executive, Ian Murray was always generous and forgiving when research and work deadlines clashed. I must also thank the librarians in St Andrews University Library whose efficiency and willingness to help made writing a thesis 150 miles away from the University possible, and also the librarians of Inverness Library and High Life Highland whose management of inter-library loan requests was exemplary. The St Andrews University Library policy of keeping up to date with innovations in web based access has been invaluable. I do not see how I could have managed without much closer access to an academic library even ten years ago, and their approach to the possibilities of IT and distance access is to be commended.

There are four people who I owe so much more than gratitude. My father, William Watson, and my aunt, Jean Watson, both now deceased, saw me through university in the 1970s, and without their support and occasional cajoling the first steps that have led to this point would never have been taken. My wife Janet and daughter Rosalyn put up with my hours of research and writing, and despite these absences from their lives unfailingly supported my endeavours. I use this opportunity to thank them with love.

## **Contents**

Introduction	1
Chapter 1 – Literature Review	7
Chapter 2 – Primary Sources and Their Authors	60
Chapter 3 – Aldfrith’s Northumbria: A Sense of Direction?	86
Chapter 4 – Power	123
Chapter 5 – Society and Identity	162
Chapter 6 – Economy	201
Chapter 7 - Conclusion	238
Abbreviations	253
Bibliography	254

## Introduction

Aldfrith was the son of Oswiu, son of Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria and Fína, granddaughter of Fín, King of the Uí Néill, so the Irish genealogists tell us.<sup>1</sup> Some forty years later he was king of Northumbria. He was called *doctissimus* by Bede because he spent many years studying within the church, and it is likely that some of these were spent with Adomnán on Iona.<sup>2</sup>

These ‘facts’ sparked off an interest in me in the relationship between Northumbria and its neighbours, whether “Anglo-Saxon”, “Irish”, Pictish or “British”. It was soon to lead to a realisation of the complications involved in defining identity, and also the danger of the possibility of being seen as ascribing motives and impact to an individual when there is a complete lack of evidence, never mind this being poor historiography. Of more interest historically is the process of change in Northumbria. What was happening in the second half of the seventh-century and particularly during Aldfrith’s reign? Could change be mapped and what were the influences on Northumbria at the end of the seventh-century and the beginning of the eighth? Could the sources of these influences be recognised?

---

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 140 a39-40: *Colmán Rímid atair Fína, máthair íside Flaind Fína meic Ossu Saxonum*

<sup>2</sup> *VCB.24*



Northumbria was a powerful kingdom in the second half of the seventh-century. Under Oswiu and his successor Ecgfrith it had expanded its hegemony far to the north and west, dominating the Picts and the Dál Riata Scots as well as a number of British polities. Both kings also fought, and for a while had power over, a number of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Its population was mixed, if only because of the relatively recent expansion into the British areas. Ecgfrith actually put an army on the soil of Ireland. It might be expected that Northumbria was strongly influenced by its northern and western neighbours.

A number of writers have suggested that Aldfrith relied on the support of the Irish or Picts as king of Northumbria, or that he looked to Iona and the North. Barbara York states “After 685 we could say in terms of practical politics there was a reversion to the earlier pattern in which Northumbrian rulers were relatively little concerned with the affairs of the southern English and focused much more on those of their northern Celtic neighbours”.<sup>3</sup> Claire Stancliffe and Hermann Moisl both suggest that Aldfrith gained the kingdom with the support of Dál Riada or the Picts,<sup>4</sup> and most recently Juliana Grigg has said that “Both figures (Aldfrith and Adomnán) had made a significant rapprochement between Gaelic and Northumbrian political and religious interests after King Ecgfrith’s military aggression”.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Yorke, ‘The Bretwaldas and the Origins of Overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England’ in Stephen Baxter and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, (London, 2009), pp. 81-96, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Clare Stancliffe, ‘Cuthbert and the polarity between pastor and solitary’ in Gerald Bonner, Clare Stancliffe and David Rollason, (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 21-44, p. 22. Hermann Moisl, ‘The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century’, *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 103-126, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Juliana Grigg, *The Philosopher King and the Pictish Nation* (Dublin, 2015), p. 139.

Of all the times in its history when it could have looked elsewhere for political, social and economic influences, this thesis contends that Northumbria looked south. If accepted, then this has an important implication for the question of who determined Aldfrith's accession: it is unlikely to have been the Picts or Dál Riata. I also suggest that Aldfrith and his support rejected opportunities to develop links to Dál Riata and Ireland. The key argument and contribution to knowledge of this thesis is that Aldfrith and the powers in Northumbria consolidated their position by undertaking actions that placed Northumbria in the mainstream, if not the forefront, of developments underway to its south. However, crucial to the discussion is the issue of the stage of development of the economy of Anglo-Saxon England and beyond in the late seventh-century. The discussion is more fully explored in chapters 4-6 but to give one example: the traditional view that *emporía* were where an elite strata participated in the exchange of elite goods is an old and, I would argue, out-dated approach. However, Michael McCormick's alternative approach, exemplified in his *Origins of the European Economy*, passes over the seventh-century evidence and mentions only one seventh to eighth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement, Hamwic, and that simply in the context of Willibrord catching a ship there. For McCormick, the North Sea trading arc is primarily an eighth-century phenomenon with Ribe developing from 720/1 and Haithebu from the 750s.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> McCormick, Michael, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 607.

In the conclusions of this thesis lie some of the difficulties in tackling the issue. A teleological approach to history - that because we know the end result of a historical process it was inevitable that this result would happen - has long been abandoned. Human history is no longer seen as one of constant development of improved civilization, with the occasional backward step such as 'The Fall of the Roman Empire'. History is about the processes of change. This approach works well for the *longue durée*. However, when one tries to look at a relatively short period of time, say a given half century, then there is little consensus about at what stage in the process of change a given polity might be. The picture is immensely more complicated by there being a multiplicity of processes, all changing at different rates, temporally and geographically. Indeed some processes may be going into reverse. This study seeks to provide a snapshot in time and place, to see whether this gives us any alternative view of change and its impact.

The first approach taken is, perhaps unfashionably, the pulling together of a synthesis of the available information, taking (more fashionably) a multi-disciplinary approach. Our study looks at the archaeological evidence, as well as taking a close reading of the written sources. Both Irish and Anglo-Saxon sources have been examined, although a fairly limited number provide information directly cited in the dissertation. The second approach is to avoid, where possible, reading back from later evidence. In the main I have taken only sources dating directly to the period, or immediately following it and so influenced by it. There will be no attempt, for example, to look at late Anglo-Saxon institutions and try and read back using the limited evidence available. Thirdly, and partly as a result of constraints on length, there is no single theoretical approach, although the results of a number of models will be

referred to. The study begins by looking at the historiography of the various processes underway in the British Isles in the second half of the seventh-century. This is necessarily wide ranging, in order to establish where there is consensus, and where the latest thinking about the development in various processes lies. The review will then continue with a brief look at the available primary written source material.

Following this will be the core of the thesis, a chapter looking at the various influences on Aldfrith and some of his responses. It will look at relations with Northumbria's neighbours, the Northumbrian background and the connections between some of the key players, and the evidence that suggests Aldfrith looked south during his reign rather than following his Irish inheritance. The final three chapters examine the political, social and economic change at the time, and Northumbria's place in this. This will contextualise the argument from Chapter 3 and provide a check on whether the argument is sound from the evidence available. They will examine key processes for which we have evidence and detail the response in Northumbria. Original sources, both historical and archaeological will be examined by being integrated into each chapter, as will any appropriate discussion about theory. The chapter on power will suggest that Northumbria was seeing increasing power of both a centralised kingship and a regionalised nobility. It was developing multiple centres of power other than simply where an itinerant court happened to be. The society chapter looks at the growing sense of Northumbrian and English identity. It will suggest that Aldfrith and his supporters were conscious of their Anglian, if not Anglo-Saxon, identity and chose to emphasise it at the expense of alternative identities available to them. In terms of developing arguments in favour of the thesis, the economy chapter will suggest that

Northumbria was developing its economy through links to the south and that in, uniquely, producing a Northumbrian coinage with his name on it, Aldfrith and his supporters were taking actions that placed his kingdom in the economic milieu of the north sea and trade with the continent of Europe. Finally, the concluding chapter will examine the implications of these results and show that the elite used multiple strategies to consolidate power including identity manipulation, moving from territorial conquest to economic development, partnering with a growing church, and most significantly, turning south for social and economic influences, and away from opportunities offered by the north and west.

## Chapter 1 - Literature Review

As stated in the introduction, this review of previous research is necessarily wide ranging in order to establish a baseline for looking at processes and seeking evidence for innovation in Aldfrith's Northumbria. This review is not necessarily seeking shibboleths to knock down. It is not the fault of general surveys of Anglo-Saxon England that they have to summarise and edit out, but sometimes this brevity results in a more limited picture.<sup>7</sup> For example Nick Higham and Martin Ryan's recent volume offering an introduction to Anglo-Saxon England notes the development of trade and the economy, but has little mention of the infrastructure of power and authority that might be required to enable it to function.<sup>8</sup> James Campbell's partnership with Eric John and Patrick Wormald doesn't ignore power, not a trap one would expect these particular writers to fall into, but they approach it almost entirely in terms of kings, and their section on economy is couched in terms of fact based information about coins although, to be fair, this is what might be expected of a work from the period.<sup>9</sup> Going further back, Sir Frank Stenton's magisterial work, still useful in many ways for its later material, has little to say about the late seventh-century other than the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England to Christianity. Looking at general works on Northumbria, David Rollason offers three pages on 'aristocracy' and although he offers a chapter on identity this, too, is largely in terms of the conversion to Christianity. It would be presumptuous to attack these experienced scholars for being of their time or for what might have been

---

<sup>7</sup> An exception to this, admitted, generalisation is Robin Fleming, *Britain After Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070* (London, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013), pp. 144-147.

<sup>9</sup> James Campbell, (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons*, (Oxford, 1982), pp.62-63.

necessary editorial decisions, but we have the opportunity to look at the late seventh-century in Northumbria in more detail than they were able to, and to examine whether a more sophisticated picture of the processes underway in power, society and the economy is available to us from our sources. The result may challenge pictures that are over-focused on kings and over-kings, an over-simplistic approach to identity, seeing it in terms of conversion, and where Northumbria sat in terms of economic developments underway elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England.

### **General Works on Northumbria**

Our reading begins with those general works which have Northumbria as a major topic.<sup>10</sup>

The great works of the nineteenth century will be discussed later, in the section on landholding, where they still have a great deal of relevance today. To the uninitiated it may be a surprise that Thomas Charles-Edward's *Early Christian Ireland* has a significant chapter on Wilfrid and Irish-Northumbrian relations<sup>11</sup> and Michael Richter's *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh-century* also provides an introduction to the many links, albeit that his enthusiasm must be treated with a little caution.<sup>12</sup> Key specific works on Northumbria include David Rollason's *Northumbria, 500-1000*<sup>13</sup> and Nick Higham's *The*

---

<sup>10</sup> For example, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 74-89; Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 72-86, and D.P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 2000), pp. 63-92 and 118-123.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 429-437.

<sup>12</sup> Richter, Michael, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1000: The Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003).

*Kingdom of Northumbria*.<sup>14</sup> Neither, however, offer us much detail on the reign of Aldfrith or, indeed, on the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Part of the reason, of course, is that Bede has least to say in *HE* about the years of his own lifetime, when those who might be commented on are still alive. Some of the great figures of the period in Northumbria have been the subject of very important conference publications, including Bede (of course),<sup>15</sup> Oswald,<sup>16</sup> Cuthbert<sup>17</sup> and Wilfrid.<sup>18</sup> Theodore too, was the subject of significant research in the last decade of last century,<sup>19</sup> although less was made of his northern connections than might have been. He will be a key figure in our studies.

The lead historian in the field for many years was Peter Hunter Blair, whose numerous articles included work on Northumbrian boundaries, north and south.<sup>20</sup> He has since been followed by many whose works can be followed in the bibliography to this chapter. Three

---

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350- 1100* (Stroud, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Hamilton A. Thompson (ed.), *Bede: His Life, Times and Writing* (Oxford, 1935); Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976); L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (eds), *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk and Northumbrian* (Groningen, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (Stamford, 1975).

<sup>17</sup> Gerald Bonner, David Rollason; and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989).

<sup>18</sup> D.P Kirby (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1974) and most recently Nicholas J.Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid, Abbot, Bishop, Saint: Papers from the 1300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conferences* (Donnington, 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence* (Cambridge, 1995)

<sup>20</sup> Many articles were re-published after his death and can be usefully found in a Variorum reprint volume, Michael Lapidge, and Pauline Hunter Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria* (London, 1984). Other works include one written for a more general audience, Peter Hunter Blair, *Northumbria in the Days of Bede* (London, 1976) and 'Whitby as a centre of learning in the seventh century' in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3-32.



deserving of specific notice are D.P Kirby,<sup>21</sup> Ian Wood<sup>22</sup> and Michelle Zeigler,<sup>23</sup> each of whom have chosen to spend academic research time in early Northumbria. However, it is through key themes that we perhaps get a better picture. Northumbria sits across the line of Hadrian's Wall, and so straddled the border of the old Roman Empire. This has afforded an opportunity to look at the relationship between Anglo-Saxons and native kingdoms, and early settlement and integration.<sup>24</sup> It was Northumbria that looked north to the Dál Riata Church for support to develop Christianity, with the impact this had on other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>25</sup> Three of its kings supposedly held the *imperium*<sup>26</sup> and there has been some

---

<sup>21</sup> Works not already cited include 'Northumbria in the time of Wilfrid', in D.P. Kirby (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1974), pp. 1-34; 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid"' in *English Historical Review* 386 (1983), pp. 101-110; *Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum': Its Contemporary Setting*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1992); 'The Genesis of a Cult: Cuthbert of Farne and Ecclesiastical Politics in Northumbria in the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), pp. 383-97; 'Cuthbert, Boisil of Melrose and the Northumbrian priest Ecgberht: Some Historical and Hagiographical Connections', in Richter and Picard (eds.), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, pp. 48-53

<sup>22</sup> Ian Wood, 'Northumbria and the Franks in the Age of Wilfrid', *Northern History* 31 (1995), pp. 10-21; *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrith*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow 1995); 'Bede's Jarrow' in C. Lees, C. and G. Overing (eds.), *A Place to Believe In* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2008), pp. 67-84; 'Monasteries and the Geography of Power in the Age of Bede', *Northern History* 45.1, (2008), pp. 11-25; 'Gifts of Wearmouth and Jarrow', in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (eds.), *The Languages of Gifts in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 89-115; 'The foundation of Bede's Wearmouth-Jarrow' in DeGregario (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, pp. 84-96; 'The continental journeys of Wilfrid and Biscop', in Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint*, pp. 200-211.

<sup>23</sup> Michelle Zeigler, 'The Politics of Exile in Early Northumbria' in *The Heroic Age* 2 (1999); Michelle Zeigler, 'Oswald and the Irish' in *The Heroic Age* 4 (2001).

<sup>24</sup> Peter Hunter Blair, 'The Origins of Northumbria' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series 25 (1947), pp. 1-51, reprinted in Lapidge, and Hunter Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*; David Dumville, 'The Origins of Northumbria: Some Aspects of the British Background' in Stephen Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1998), pp. 213-224, revised version in Nicholas J. Higham, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), and see other articles in this volume; and Colm O'Brien, 'The Emergence of Northumbria: Artefacts, Archaeology and Models' and Brian K. Roberts, 'Northumbrian origins and Post-Roman Continuity: An Exploration' both in Rob Collins and Lindsay Allason-Jones (eds.), *Finds From the Roman frontier: Material Culture in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, CBA Research Report 162 (York, 2010), pp. 110-120 and 121-132 respectively.

<sup>25</sup> For an introduction to the subject: Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), pp. 94-116; Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain, 600- 800* (London, 2006), pp. 114-118; Michelle P. Brown, *How Christianity Came to Britain and Ireland* (London, 2006), pp. 133-177.

study of the relationship between Northumbria and its southern neighbour, Mercia.<sup>27</sup> However, despite the publication of conference proceedings and other works,<sup>28</sup> early Mercia remains a field requiring active research. Seventh-century Wessex<sup>29</sup> offers the possibility of comparing Northumbria with another kingdom bordering, and expanding into, British territory. Northumbrian expansion westward has interested a number of scholars.<sup>30</sup> Apart from Oswald with his aforementioned conference, individual Northumbrian kings have excited less attention, although Ecgrith's demise at Nechtansmere has been a popular subject in Scotland.<sup>31</sup> More recently Barbara York's formidable skills have been focused on Aldfrith.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> But see below pp. 18-19

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Brooks, 'The formation of the Mercian kingdom' in Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 159-70; Damian Tyler, 'An Early Mercian Hegemony: Penda and Overkingship in the Seventh Century', *Midland History* 30 (2005), pp. 1-19; Nicholas J. Higham, 'Northumbria's Southern Frontier: A Review', *Early Medieval Europe* 14.4 (2006), pp. 391- 418.

<sup>28</sup> Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo- Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 52-84; J. R. Maddicott, 'Two frontier states: Northumbria and Wessex, c.650- 750' in J. R. Maddicott and David Michael Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 25-45; Robert Higham, *Making Anglo-Saxon Devon* (Exeter, 2008).

<sup>30</sup> Daphne Brooke, 'The Northumbrian Settlements in Galloway and Carrick: An Historical Assessment', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1991), pp. 295-237; Rosemary Cramp, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement' in J.C. Chapman and H.C. Mytum (eds.), *Settlement in Northern Britain, 1000BC to 1000 AD*, British Archaeological Reports 118 (Oxford, 1983), pp. 263-9; Rosemary Cramp, *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westward*, Third Whithorn Lecture (Whithorn, 1995); Christopher Crow, 'Early medieval parish formation in Dumfries and Galloway' in Martin Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300- 1300* (York, 2003), pp. 195- 206.

<sup>31</sup> G.D.R. Cruickshank, 'The Battle of Dunnichen and the Aberlemno battle scene', in E.J. Cowan and R.A. McDonald (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 69-87; James E. Fraser, *The Battle of Dunnichen* (Stroud, 2002); James E. Fraser., *The Pictish Conquest: The Battle of Dunnichen, 685, and the Birth of Scotland* (Stroud, 2006); Alex Woolf, 'Dun Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 85.2 (2006), pp. 182-201.

<sup>32</sup> Barbara Yorke, (2009), *Rex Doctissimus: Bede and King Aldfrith of Northumbria*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2009); Barbara Yorke, 'Adomnán at the court of King Aldfrith' in Jonathan M. Wooding (ed), *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian-Lawmaker-Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 36-50.

## Kingship

A current consensus seems to have developed amongst scholars in Britain and Ireland about the nature of kingship, and that is that succession to kingship depended on power and the use of the sword.<sup>33</sup> That is not to deny that those closest to the current king didn't have the greatest access to power. Rather, that despite legal theorising, power could, in the end, create legitimacy if it was required to do so. There has been a long search for a law, or laws, of kingship, but as has been pointed out, the type of evidence available to us changes across the various polities.<sup>34</sup> Early English law-codes<sup>35</sup> differ from material from Ireland, which tends to be legalistic and detailed; sources for Anglo-Saxon kingship are heavily Christianised; and Barbara Yorke points out that the evidence for Celtic kingdoms varies in quality, quantity, and over time.<sup>36</sup> The evidence from Ireland is such that it has allowed discussion about whether there was contemporary development of kingship theory during the seventh and eighth centuries. Certainly such thinking was going on, as is shown by the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*<sup>37</sup> and *Audacht Morainn*<sup>38</sup> and their statements about the rule

---

<sup>33</sup> For Anglo-Saxon England, David Dumville, 'The Aetheling: A Study in Anglo Saxon Constitutional History', *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979), pp. 1- 33, p. 33 and more recently Barbara Yorke, 'Kings and Kingship' in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2009), pp. 74- 90. For a similar view of Ireland, Bart Jaski, 'Early Medieval Irish Kingship and the Old Testament', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7.3 (1998), pp. 329- 344, expanded in Bart Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship: some further thoughts', in P. Szarmach (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Studies in Medieval Culture XX (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 151-84, p. 152.

<sup>35</sup> F.L. Attenburgh (ed. and trans.), *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (London, 1922).

<sup>36</sup> Wendy Davies, 'Celtic kingships in the early Middle Ages' in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, King's College London Medieval Studies 10, (London, 1993), pp. 101-124, esp. pp. 104-5.

<sup>37</sup> The critical edition of this text remains S. Hellmann, '*Ps.-Cyprianus de xii abusivis saeculi*', *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur* 34 (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 1-61, esp. pp. 32-60; a useful translation of

of law and about unjust kings. It is not disputed that churchmen and scholars were influenced by the Bible and the view of kingship it contains.<sup>39</sup> Whether we can go as far as Michael Enright, who proposed that the *Romani* in Ireland specifically adopted what he calls a “policy” about royal anointing is another matter.<sup>40</sup> Although a number of reviewers have pointed out that there is no record of an actual anointing in Ireland in the period, Enright’s other arguments have been better received, and his view that Adomnán was writing in defense of Iona against perceived threats to its prerogatives when he claimed the anointing of Aedán by Columba, would seem to make sense.<sup>41</sup>

One source of information about kings, and one that will pre-occupy us in the study of change in Northumbria, is their relationship with the Church. A number of scholars have sought evidence for the power and role of kings in the conversion process. Clare Stancliffe compared the conversion processes in England and Ireland, and what it might mean for

---

the section on kingship can be found in M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, AD 500 to 900* (London, 1931), pp. 111-112.

<sup>38</sup> Fergus Kelly (ed. and trans.), *Audacht Morann* (Dublin, 1976); a translation of the text is also available at <http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/morann.html> [31 January 2010].

<sup>39</sup> Many writers have covered the topic, including for Ireland: Donnchadh Ó Corrain, Liam Breatnach, and Aidan Breen, ‘The Laws of the Irish’, *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 382-438, esp. pp. 398ff; Jaski, *Early Medieval Irish Kingship: for Anglo-Saxon England*; McClure, *Bede’s Old Testament Kings*; Kent G Hare, ‘Heroes, Saints, and Martyrs: Holy Kingship from Bede to Aelfric’, *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe* 9 (2006), is a useful review of the literature without adding much to the discussions; and for Merovingia: Yitzhak Hen, ‘The Uses of the Bible and the Perception of Kingship in Merovingian Gaul’, *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), pp. 277- 290.

<sup>40</sup> Michael J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons: the Origins of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), p. 68.

<sup>41</sup> Michael J. Enright, ‘Royal succession and Abbatial Prerogative in Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae*’, *Peritia* 4 (1985), pp. 83-103; Karl Leyser, ‘Review of *Iona, Tara and Soissons: the Origins of the Royal Anointing Ritual*, by Michael J. Enright’, *Speculum* 65.1 (Jan 1990), pp. 149-150; Michael J. Enright, ‘Further reflections on royal ordinations in the *Vita Columbae*’ in Michael Richter and J.M. Picard (eds.), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próincéas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 20-35.

kingship that kings could choose to abdicate in favour of the cloister.<sup>42</sup> Nick Higham investigated the politics of conversion, and particularly how kings used Christianity when establishing their rule over others in his 1997 publication, *The Convert Kings*.<sup>43</sup> This subject of conversion and rule over others also interested Barbara Yorke, who gives a good overview of work in the field in her introduction to her 1999 article 'The reception of Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon royal courts'.<sup>44</sup> In 2006 she argued that kingship and Christianity mutually supported each other and promoted each other's hold on power.<sup>45</sup> The role of kings in changing belief systems, or maintaining or changing ecclesiastical power systems may prove fruitful ground for further investigation.

That the biblically derived sacred nature of kingship was at least being developed as a theory in our period seems to be accepted. For a number of writers it was a natural succession to the sacral nature of pagan kingship. A number of works in the 1970s outlined the sacral nature of kingship in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, and this view held the field for a number of years. These include the well-known and still regularly referenced works:

Daniel Binchy's *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*,<sup>46</sup> Francis Byrne's *Irish Kings and High*

---

<sup>42</sup> Clare Stancliffe, 'Kings and Conversion: Some Comparisons Between the Roman Mission to England and Patrick's to Ireland', *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 14 (1980), pp. 59- 94; Clare Stancliffe, 'Kings who opted out' in Wormald, Bullough and Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo- Saxon Society*, pp. 154-176.

<sup>43</sup> Nicholas J. Higham, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997), esp. pp. 133-200.

<sup>44</sup> Barbara Yorke, 'The reception of Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon royal courts' in Richard Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 152- 73.

<sup>45</sup> Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain, 600- 800* (London, 2006), pp. 61-7.

<sup>46</sup> Daniel A. Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship* (Oxford, 1970).

*Kings*<sup>47</sup> and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill's *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*.<sup>48</sup> The historiography of Irish kingship has been outlined in a number of works<sup>49</sup> and so does not require to be repeated here, suffice to remind us that through the work of Donnchadh Ó Corrain, Liam Breatnach and others, the view outlined above has been superseded.<sup>50</sup> What is important for us is how the nature of kingship affected succession. Although Rob Meens was to return to the subject in 1998 and suggest that kings still had a role in the sacred well-being of the realm and that this was probably an inheritance from the past,<sup>51</sup> this did not detract from the view that power was the key to succession. But were there any other attributes to kingship? As early as 1977, David Dumville was arguing that a relevant place in the genealogy was required, although prescient as ever, he pointed out that one could always be manipulated.<sup>52</sup> Georges Tugène, on the other hand, has proposed that kings had a recognised "home territory" and acquired an ethnically based right to rule in their home kingdom and that this was, by being historically defined, based on pagan

---

<sup>47</sup> Francis, J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London., 1973).

<sup>48</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971); the list also includes William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1970).

<sup>49</sup> e.g. Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*, pp. 25-30; Donnchadh Ó Corrain, 'Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal', *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971), pp. 7-39, esp. p. 8; for a link to nationalist historiography see Donnchadh Ó Corrain, 'Nationalism and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland' in T. M. Moody, (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence* (Belfast, 1978), pp. 1-34.

<sup>50</sup> For example: Ó Corrain, 'Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal', pp. 7-39; Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005); and Ó Corrain, Breatnach and Breen, 'The Laws of the Irish', pp. 382-438.

<sup>51</sup> Rob Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-being of the Realm', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), pp. 345-57.

<sup>52</sup> David Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists' in Peter Sawyer and Ian Wood (ed.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 72-104, esp. p. 73.

period values.<sup>53</sup> Bart Jaski has argued for a similar position in Ireland, contending that succession was limited to a specific royal grouping, but that within that grouping, power was the key factor.<sup>54</sup>

Before leaving the field of theory, ancient and modern, we should touch on two forays into the realm of sociology. One will be more familiar to archaeologists, namely Chris Arnold's "new archaeology" argument that archaeology and history can only be used together in very particular circumstances, but on the whole, not.<sup>55</sup> Of passing interest, more because it is an unusual example of sociological theory in an historical context than its contribution to the argument is that of Girardian mimetic theory, as propounded for the seventh-century by John Damon and George Hardin Brown. Both these writers pick up on the suggestion that Anglo-Saxon society needed a strong, indeed a sacralised kingship, to stem blood feud violence.<sup>56</sup> The problem with this is that it requires participants to know that they wanted to stop mimetic rivalry and take deliberate steps, through kingship theory, to bring it about.

---

<sup>53</sup> Georges Tugène, 'Reflections on "Ethnic" Kingship in Bede's Ecclesiastical History', *Romanobarbarica* 17 (2002), pp. 309-31.

<sup>54</sup> Bart Jaski, 'Kings over overkings: propaganda for pre-eminence in early medieval Ireland' in Martin Gosman, Arie Johan Vanderjagt, and Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference, Groningen 20- 23 November 1996*, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 23 (Groningen, 1997), pp. 163- 76.

<sup>55</sup> Christopher .J. Arnold, 'Territories and leadership: frameworks for the study of emergent polities in early Anglo-Saxon southern England' in Stephen T. Driscoll, and Margaret Nieke (eds.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 111- 127; but see Alex Woolf's post-processualist rebuttal 'A dialogue of the deaf and dumb: archaeology, history and philology' in Zoë L. Devlin and Caroline N. J. Holas-Clark (eds.), *Approaching Interdisciplinarity: Archaeology, History and the Study of Early Medieval Britain*, *British Archaeological Reports, British Series* 486 (Oxford, 2009), pp. 3-9.

<sup>56</sup> John Edward Damon, 'The King's Fragmented Body: A Girardian Reading of the Origins of St Oswald's Cult', *The Heroic Age* 9 (2006); George Hardin Brown, 'Royal and Ecclesiastical Rivalries in Bede's History', *Renaissance: Essays on Values in Literature*, 52.1 (1999), pp. 19-33.

Returning to safer ground of historical evidence, Anglo-Saxon constitutional studies were becalmed after the significant early work of those such as Maitland, Jolliffe and Chadwick<sup>57</sup> and that great punctuation of the twentieth century, Stenton's, *Anglo-Saxon England* published in 1943.<sup>58</sup> The field did not move forward<sup>59</sup> until a number of authors, of whom the most quoted is Patrick Wormald,<sup>60</sup> challenged both the accepted framework of Irish kingship and also the prevalent belief that it differed significantly from its Anglo-Saxon counterpart. Thomas Charles-Edwards responded by identifying various differences and by arguing that Irish kingdoms remained small because of differing kin and inheritance traditions.<sup>61</sup> However he retracted this in 2009, accepting that Irish kings, like their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, held demesne land (see below), and that Irish over kings looked a lot like their Anglo-Saxon counterparts.<sup>62</sup> It is surprising that this was not picked up earlier, given that Barrow had already identified the similarity of a number of aristocratic forms,

---

<sup>57</sup> Frederick William Maitland, 'Northumbrian Tenures', *English Historical Review*, 5, (1896), pp. 625-632; Henry. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo- Saxon Institutions*, (Cambridge, 1905); J.E.A Jolliffe., 'Northumbrian Institutions', *English Historical Review*, 41 (January 1926), pp. 1-42.

<sup>58</sup> Just what a remarkable work it is has been emphasised by a number of publications, for example Matthew *et. al.* (eds.), *Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England fifty years on*.

<sup>59</sup> For example G.O.Sayles, *The Medieval Foundations of England* (Philadelphia, 1950), takes a very traditional approach

<sup>60</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship: some further thoughts', in Szarmach (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, pp. 151-84

<sup>61</sup> Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, 'Early medieval kingships in the British Isles' in Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo- Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 28-39.

<sup>62</sup> Charles-Edwards, 'Celtic Kings: Priestly Vegetables?' pp. 65-80. Further analysis of kingship, this time in Wales, has been the field of Wendy Davies' long-term research. However, much of her evidence is late, and requires extrapolation back to the early medieval period: Wendy Davies, 'Land and Power in Early Medieval Wales', *Past and Present* 81 (1978), pp. 3-23; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 121-140.



landholding rights and services across a number of kingdoms in the British Isles.<sup>63</sup> We will explore this further below.

The issue that has involved the greatest amount of scholarly time and endeavour is that of over-kings, and its historical subset, the “*bretwalda*”. The discussion circles around four pieces of evidence: Bede’s list in *HE*.ii.5; the use of the terms *Bretwalda* and *Brytenwalda* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle;<sup>64</sup> Adomnán’s use of the term *Britanniae imperator*.<sup>65</sup> and the Ismere charter.<sup>66</sup> At the end of the last century the academic consensus would seem to have been settling down to agree that the *Bretwalda*, and indeed any sort of formal rule other than over a few kingdoms, was an illusion. It is not necessary to outline the discussion in detail here, but the English language stages of development can be followed through the articles listed below.<sup>67</sup> However, the view is re-emerging that some form of war leadership

---

<sup>63</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, ‘Northern English Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Northern History* 1 (1969), pp. 1-29.

<sup>64</sup> ASC (A). 827.

<sup>65</sup> VC 1.i

<sup>66</sup> S89; Peter H. Sawyer, (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) now available at An Electronic Sawyer, <<http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/esawyer.99/esawyer2.html>> [09 Jan 2010]

<sup>67</sup> 1849: John Mitchell Kemble, *The Saxons in England: A History of the English Commonwealth Till the Period of the Norman Conquest*, 2 (London, 1849), p. 22, note 1 - points out that we are reliant for terminology on one passage in Bede and one version of the ASC;

1943: Margaret Deanesly, ‘Roman Traditionalist Influence Among the Anglo-Saxons’, *English Historical Review* 58 (1943), pp. 129-46 – assumes not only that *Bretwalda* existed and meant ruler of Britain, but that it was an actual office held by all on Bede’s list;

1943: Sir Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943) - confirms view that at least a southern leader existed, and that he was called *Bretwalda* or *Bretanwalda*;

1966: Eric John, ‘Orbis Britanniae and the Anglo-Saxon Kings’ in *Orbis Britanniae and other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 1-63 - Hegemony did matter and rulership was real as witnessed by kings role in the church.

---

Bretwalda is a scribal error for Bretanwealda. Adomnán and Bede use imperator, and there was an understanding that this was an inheritance from Roman times

1972: Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* – there was always a tendency for certain kings to gain positions of ascendancy; behind the power of the Bretwalda was the memory of the political unity of Britain under the Romans;

1981: Barbara Yorke, 'The Vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon Overlordship' in David Brown, James Campbell and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 2*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series no. 92 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 171- 200 - is cautious in her conclusions, allowing that a term such as Bretwalda might have existed to describe the rulership of southern England, but that it fell out of use in the eighth and ninth-centuries;

1983: Judith McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament Kings' in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and R. Collins (eds.) *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrille* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 76-98 – notes that Bede is a stylist and often imprecise in his terminology, therefore we cannot draw conclusions from his use of imperium;

1983: Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the origin of the Gens Anglorum' in Wormald, Bullough and Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 99-129 – neither Imperium nor Bretwalda denoted a specific office. We must look elsewhere for the driver for a sense of Englishness, and that is Canterbury and Rome

1990: Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 157-63 – details how Bretwaldaship worked as a personal rule, and linked to Bede's "imperium";

1991: Stephen Fanning, 'Bede, Imperium and the Bretwaldas', *Speculum* 66 (1991), pp.1- 26 - argues that imperium and bretwalda didn't mean ruler of southern England, and Bede is not a predictor of English unity. Imperium simply meant rule over a number of kingdoms;

1991: Simon D. Keynes, 'Readwald the Bretwalda' in Calvin B. Kendall and Peter S. Wells (eds.), *Voyage to the Other World: the Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 4 (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 103-124 – There is no recognised southern hegemony and useful summary of nineteenth century scholarship pp. 114-5;

1995: Nicholas J. Higham, *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (London, 1995) – envisages a number of separate imperia in England mirroring the later kingdoms;

1997: David Dumville, 'The Terminology of Overkingship in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, pp. 345-365 – Dismisses the reading of Bretwalda as a scribal error and argues for complexity of overkingship;

1999: Nicholas J. Higham, 'Imperium in early Britain: rhetoric and reality in the writings of Gildas and Bede', in Tania Dickinson and David Griffiths (eds.), *The Making of Kingdoms: Papers from the 47<sup>th</sup> Sachsensymposium, York, September 1996*, Anglo Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10 (Oxford, 1999), pp 31-36 –no formal southern hegemony, rather a collection of overkingships. No connection now with late Roman structures;

2000: Thomas M. Charles-Edwards,, 'The Continuation of Bede, s.a. 750: High-kings, Kings of Tara and Bretwaldas' in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 137-145 – rejects the 'wide-ruler' interpretation of Brytenwalda as etymologically impossible. It means Britain ruler, and is an ideological title;

2000: Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings*, pp. 18-20 - Bede is viewing things from an 8th century perspective. Aethelbald of Mercia rules Southumbria, there is a desire for a ruler of all Britain, and Bede's view of imperators comes from this. Bede has anachronisms and the reality of the earlier periods was much messier than a regular single ruler.

might have existed, or at least a position with a status similar to our notion of a *bretwalda* but within an ideological framework that an Anglo-Saxon would recognise. The position that there was an overlordship; and that sometimes it was referred to as Britain-leader, and that throughout the seventh-century there would have been a common understanding of what this meant, has again been put forward, both by the late Patrick Wormald, and by Barbara Yorke.<sup>68</sup> However, both writers emphasise the personal nature of this rule, by which they mean that the configuration of kingdoms ruled and the power that came with it depended on the individual, not on some inherent and recognised set of rights. Barbara Yorke has gone further than Wormald and suggested that two forms of over-kingship can be recognised; one influenced by Frankish practice, and the other by contact with Celtic kingdoms. I would suggest that Wormald's position better reflects the reality in the seventh-century.

Having examined overkingship above we turn now to its mirror image; sub-kingship. Clearly from the evidence provided by Higham and Yorke, kings could have a powerful influence over weaker neighbours. We will be looking in some depth at the neighbours of Northumbria, especially those in the north. In doing so we will be following in the footsteps of John Bannerman and Marjorie Anderson who set out the details of the Dál Riata and

---

<sup>68</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the origin of the Gens Anglorum' in Wormald, Bullough and Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 99-129; reprinted with important revisionary notes in Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford, 2006), pp 106-134; and Barbara Yorke, 'The Bretwaldas and the Origins of Overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 81-96.

Pictish king lists for modern scholars.<sup>69</sup> However, it is the recent work of James Fraser, and particularly his recent *From Caledonia to Pictland* that opens the door to looking in detail at the issue of sub-kingship.<sup>70</sup> In his forensic study of the alterations in dynamics between the various constituent kingdoms of Dál Riata in the late seventh-century, he affords us the opportunity to look in detail at its relationship with Northumbria as a dominated tributary kingdom under Oswiu and Ecgrith, and how the balance of power might have been affected by the result of the battle of Nechtansmere and the accession of Aldfrith to the Northumbrian throne. The extent to which Northumbria might, or might not, have been influenced by the Irish experience of kingship will pre-occupy us, as will the Northumbrian experience of sub-kingship both through the Æthelfrithings and, perhaps even more importantly, the rather more intangible Berhtings.

The subject of sub-kings has been of interest to a few scholars. James Campbell saw three layers of kingship; overkingship, kingship of a single kingdom, and an unclear third level and postulated that our lack of clarity probably accurately reflects the situation at the time.<sup>71</sup> Wessex perhaps provides the best evidence for functioning sub-kingship,<sup>72</sup> and Damian Tyler has outlined the evidence.<sup>73</sup> The west is also the geographical heart of perhaps one of

---

<sup>69</sup> John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1974); Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980). It is important that we neither forget, nor ignore, the earlier work of W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 vols, (Edinburgh, 1886).

<sup>70</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*

<sup>71</sup> James Campbell, *Bede's Reges and Principes*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1979), p. 7.

<sup>72</sup> *HE*.iv.XII.

<sup>73</sup> Damian Tyler, 'Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Early West Saxon Kingship', *Southern History* 19 (1997), pp. 1-23.

the most quoted volumes of recent studies, Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 650-800*. This study offers an insight into the decline of smaller kingdoms and the development, or rather descent, of kings to sub-kings, and then to regional magnates within a larger hegemony.<sup>74</sup>

### **State Formation, 'Nobility' and Landholding**

The corollary to the decline of small kings is the growth of larger kingdoms from the fragments. Stephen Bassett's "football cup competition" model<sup>75</sup> is often quoted, whereby he likened state formation in Anglo-Saxon England to a knock-out competition. However, Alex Woolf made an important point when he changed the sporting analogy from football to cricket, where local league players could, at the same time, turn out for county and nation.<sup>76</sup> Thus one could be loyal to a local lord or *regulus* whilst at the same time be prepared to fight for a king or indeed for an *imperium* holder.

It is easy, in a postmodernist, post-Foucaudian world, to be dismissive of traditional, top down, political history,<sup>77</sup> particularly when not focussed on repression. However, recent

---

<sup>74</sup> Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 3 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 16-54.

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Bassett, 'In search of the origins of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms' in Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 3-27, esp. pp. 26-7.

<sup>76</sup> Woolf, 'Community, identity and kingship in Early England', pp. 91-109, p. 109.

<sup>77</sup> The debate, at least to 2005, can be followed in Georg C. Igges, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge, With a New Epilogue* (Hanover, New England, 2005), but see Richard Evans, 'Review: From Historicism to Postmodernism, Historiography in the Twentieth Century', *History and Theory* 41.1 (February 2002), pp. 79-87.

writing in what might be termed the “speculative” school of history, exemplified perhaps by James Fraser’s *From Caledonia to Pictland*, has begun to re-invigorate the field.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps the best way forward for our literature review of traditional political history is to take a traditional approach and go north to south, looking briefly at the main contemporary debates. Just as the great historians of the Victorian period and the early twentieth century dominated subsequent debate over Anglo-Saxon landholding so works by the likes of W.F. Skene and A.O. Anderson, towered over Scottish history.<sup>79</sup> It took the archaeological world to energise the debate, through the publication in 1955 of the *Problem of the Picts*,<sup>80</sup> which itself held back debate for a further twenty years and made Picts and “problems” almost synonymous.<sup>81</sup> Much recent material on the Picts and Scots has revolved around re-visiting key texts.<sup>82</sup> The two writers who did most to untangle the intricacies of Dál Riata and

---

<sup>78</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*; see for example pp. 144-154.

<sup>79</sup> William Forbes Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 Vols (Edinburgh, 1886); Alan Orr Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, AD 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, 1908), (reprinted Stamford, 1991); Alan Orr Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History: AD 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh 1922), (reprinted Stamford 1990).

<sup>80</sup> F.T. Wainwright (ed.), *The Problem of the Picts* (Perth, 1955).

<sup>81</sup> Alan Small (ed.), *The Picts: A New Look at Old Problems* (Dundee, 1987) and, Stephen T. Driscoll, ‘Pictish archaeology: persistent problems and structural solutions’ in Stephen T Driscoll, Jane Geddes, and Mark A. Hall (eds.), *Pictish Progress, New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 245-280, pgs. 248-254.

<sup>82</sup> However additional useful articles for those wishing to follow the subject include: D.P. Kirby, ‘... per universas Pictorum provincias’, in Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi*, pp. 287-324; Sally Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (Edinburgh, 1996), now fully updated in a new edition in 2014; Michelle Zeigler, ‘Artur mac Aedan of Dalriada’ in *The Heroic Age* 1 (1999), available at ><http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/1/haaad.htm>> [24 April 2010]; James E Fraser, ‘Dux Reuda and the Corcu Reti’ in W. McLeod et. al., *Cànan & Cultar/ Language and Culture: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 3 (2006), pp. 1-10. For the specific discussion on Pictish matrilineal succession see Alfred P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* (London, 1984), pp. 57-68; Molly Miller, ‘Matriline by treaty: the Pictish foundation legend’ in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (eds.), *Ireland in early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 133-61; and Alex Woolf, ‘Pictish Matriline Reconsidered’, *Innes Review* 49 (1998), pp. 147-67.

Pictish succession, John Bannerman and Marjorie Anderson<sup>83</sup> have already been mentioned. Narrative history has been presented by Archie Duncan<sup>84</sup> and Alfred Smyth,<sup>85</sup> however much of this work has been overtaken by work summarised in volumes by James Fraser and Alex Woolf in *The New Edinburgh History of Scotland* series.<sup>86</sup>

The study of the political development of the northern British kingdoms and their gradual take over by Northumbria went out of fashion as the reliability of the so-called historical core of later documents was questioned.<sup>87</sup> The British kingdoms of Elmet,<sup>88</sup> Rheged,<sup>89</sup> the Gododdin<sup>90</sup> and Alt Clut are shapes in the mists of history, despite Thomas Charles-Edwards

---

<sup>83</sup> Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Anderson, Marjorie Orr, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980).

<sup>84</sup> Archibald A.M Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975)

<sup>85</sup> Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*

<sup>86</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*; Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070* (Edinburgh, 2007).

<sup>87</sup> David Rollason describes the British sources as “primarily literature and not history”; *Northumbria, 500-1100*, p. 101. An example of the genre of history derived from these later sources is D.P. Kirby, ‘The kingdom of Northumbria and the destruction of the Votadini’, *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists' Society* 14 (1974), pp. 1-13. However Christopher Snyder has brought the evidence together in *The Britons* (Oxford, 2003)

<sup>88</sup> Bede refers to the forest of Elmet (*HE*.ii.14); Glanville, R. J. Jones, ‘Early Territorial Organisation in Gwynedd and Elmet’, *Northern History* 10 (1975), pp. 3-27; R. Gereint Gruffydd, ‘In Search of Elmet’, *Studia Celtica* 28 (1994), pp. 63-79; C.M. Taylor, ‘Elmet: Boundaries and Celtic Survival in the Post-Roman Period’, *Medieval History* 2 (1992), pp. 111-29; Andrew Breeze, ‘The Kingdom and Name of Elmet’, *Northern History* 39 (2002), pp. 157- 171.

<sup>89</sup> Mike McCarthy, ‘Rheged: An Early Historic Kingdom Near the Solway’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 132 (2002), pp. 357-81; Ronald Cunliffe Shaw, *Post-Roman Carlisle and the Kingdoms of the North-West*, 2nd edition (Preston, 1964); Caitlin Corning, ‘The Baptism of Edwin, King of Northumbria: a New Analysis of the British Tradition’, *Northern History* 36 (2000), pp. 5-15; Laing and Longley *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South West Scotland*, pp. 160-164.

<sup>90</sup> Kirby, ‘The kingdom of Northumbria and the destruction of the Votadini’, 1- 13, although the argument for the “siege of Eatin” (AU 638.1) equating to the take over of the kingdom are no longer accepted ; Peter Hunter Blair, ‘The Bernicians and their northern frontier’ in Nora Kershaw Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 137-172, reprinted in Lapidge and Hunter-Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*;

recent study.<sup>91</sup> Even Alt Clut, more tangible in its later form of Strathclyde, dissolves through one's fingers when trying to pin down concrete political history.<sup>92</sup>

State formation is an interesting aspect of the historiography of Anglo-Saxon England. The traditional view of state formation has been that the development of a united England was inevitable,<sup>93</sup> even if the divinely ordained element of the equation has been abandoned. Albeit rudely interrupted by Vikings, it is the inevitable end result of Stephen Bassett's model, although, interestingly, not Alex Woolf's.<sup>94</sup> Rather than the centuries long progress of state formation, our focus returns to sub-kings and nobles, and how the economic and social connections between kingship and nobility formed political kingdoms.

It is possible to wander for some considerable time through a maze of late Victorian and early twentieth century scholarship tracing the development of bookland, folkland, and free, semi-free and servile peasants. Somewhat disorientated, one finds oneself in Anglo-Norman Northumbria and indeed in medieval Scotland. Side routes of outdated, invented and

---

Kenneth H. Jackson, *The Oldest Scottish Poem: The Gododdin* (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 69-74 for a discussion on Manau Gododdin. For a revisionist view see Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 135-7.

<sup>91</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, esp. pp. 4-14.

<sup>92</sup> D.P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: A Survey of Historical Development to 1092', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 62 (1962), pp. 77-94; Alan MacQuarrie, 'The Kings of Strathclyde, c400-1018' in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown and Community, Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 1-19.

<sup>93</sup> For a traditional approach, see Sayles, *The Medieval Foundations of England*.

<sup>94</sup> Some historians have seen the Vikings as perhaps assisting the unification process by removing some of the larger players e.g. Richard Philip Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988), p. 1.



discarded terminology, such as J.M. Kemble's "ethel",<sup>95</sup> rise up on either side of the struggling researcher. However, just as the prospect of a long footnote outlining the tortuous development of land owning theory becomes a possibility, three signposts to the end of the maze come into view. Nicky Gregson provides us with a network diagram of contributions to rural settlement organisation that shows the contribution of the great scholars to the debate, including F.W. Maitland, Paul Vinogradoff, J.E.A. Jolliffe, Sir Frank Stenton, and G.W.S. Barrow.<sup>96</sup> William Kapelle injects some lively writing into the topic while describing the process of how evidence for eleventh and twelfth century Northumbria led scholars through a minefield of terminology, to a picture of peasant landholdings and obligations that covered Anglo-Saxon England from its earliest days.<sup>97</sup> Kapelle finds himself roundly scolded by R. Allen-Brown for "a brash impertinence to the late and lamented J.E.A. Jolliffe".<sup>98</sup> This may be a generational issue, as this author has some sympathy with Kapelle's description of Jolliffe's prose as "abstruse". However allowance has to be made for the fact that, somewhat unusually, we are using material written one hundred years ago, that itself is looking back to an earlier generation of scholars. Unfortunately this does not make the material easier to handle. Lastly, Rosamond Faith's *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* offers a detailed examination of the evidence for peasant landholding,

---

<sup>95</sup> Paul Vinogradoff successfully dismissed Kemble's term: Paul Vinogradoff, 'Folkland', *English Historical Review*, 8.1 (January 1893), pp. 1-17, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> Nicky Gregson, 'The Multiple Estate Model: Some Critical Questions', *Journal of Historical Geography* 11.4 (1985), pp. 339-351.

<sup>97</sup> William E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), pp. 50-85.

<sup>98</sup> R. Allen Brown, 'Review of The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1100(sic)-1135', *The Economic History Review* 34.1 (February 1981), p. 152.

and their relationships with the nobles.<sup>99</sup> In early Anglo-Saxon England lords have rights to service and renders from a populace that owes them a personal obligation. It is the introduction of charters (bookland) that sees the actual transferring of ownership of the land itself, with the people on it. Rosamond Faith continues a historiographical tradition that sees the growth of lordship and landholding as the gradual erosion of the position of the free peasant landholder and the gradual increasing hold of an elite on land ownership.<sup>100</sup> She also makes an important contribution to our understanding of different grades of peasant standing and freedom. The role of “inland” and “warland”, the first being the equivalent of demesne land, with highly unfree peasants providing direct support to a lord, and the second warland, housing free peasants owing some service, but in the form of rent, clarifies an otherwise complicated picture.

Glanville Jones’ much quoted “multiple estate model” is an important stage in the process.<sup>101</sup> Jones has argued for a model of resource exploitation that fits the legal picture developed by Maitland, Jolliffe and others. However, Nicky Gregson’s criticism that it is simply a description of an estate that could be used in any period, rather than a social science model relevant to the early medieval period has some validity.<sup>102</sup> Fortunately that

---

<sup>99</sup> Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester, 1999), esp. pp. 1-15.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, *The English Peasantry*, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Jones published numerous articles. The clearest exposition is possibly: Glanville R.J Jones, ‘Multiple estates and early settlement’, in Peter H. Sawyer (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement* (London, 1979), pp.9-34. A recent major review of his work, its impact, and developments from it is P.S. Barnwell. and Brian K. Roberts (eds.), *Britons, Saxons and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R. Jones* (Turnhout, 2011).

<sup>102</sup> Gregson, *The Multiple Estate Model*, p. 347.

does not detract from the usefulness of the description itself. Thomas Charles-Edwards sums up the current consensus neatly as:<sup>103</sup>

- A colonial phase of settlement with rough social equality
- The establishment of a new kingship and aristocracy
- The general, but not universal, obsolescence of the hide and the beginnings of a new order of common field agriculture and the nucleated village

Our search will be for evidence of this new nobility and for their role as landholders, and for whether this is an eighth-century phenomenon, or if it had earlier roots.

There is a crucial question that remains unanswered – did lords have their own lands in the seventh-century, or was all lordship over land gifted by the king? The argument has swung back and forth. Most vocally on the side of the king owning all land and magnates getting grants lasting one generation are Eric John,<sup>104</sup> Richard Abels,<sup>105</sup> and the man responsible for multiple estate theory, Glanville Jones.<sup>106</sup> A variant on the theme is put forward by John Blair, who argues that post-Roman Britain was exploited through “extensive lordship” (here he is quoting Rosamond Faith), and that this was based on territories rather than estates. He

---

<sup>103</sup> Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, ‘Social Structure’, in Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages*, p. 118.

<sup>104</sup> Eric John, *Land Tenure in Early England: a Discussion of Some Problems* (Leicester, 1960); John argues that Bede’s evidence surrounding the grant of Selsey to Wilfrid shows that, rather than the land itself, it was the king’s right to *feorm* that was granted. Bookland took land into the family control rather than alienated it, hence its popularity, and this suggests that land was only held precariously of the king, i.e. he could remove it at will.

<sup>105</sup> Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp. 18 and 24, note 67.

<sup>106</sup> Glanville R. J. Jones, ‘Early Territorial Organisation in England and Wales’, *Geographiska Annaler* 43 (1961), pp. 221- 232; his multiple estate theory is outlined in Jones, ‘Multiple estates and early settlement’ in Sawyer, *Medieval Settlement, Continuity and Change*, (London, 1966), pp. 15-40

believes that “dynamically exploited *inland*” may be an ecclesiastical innovation “first apparent on the estates of seventh and eighth-century minsters”.<sup>107</sup> However, he tempers this with the view that there may have been a more exploitative relationship pertaining to the core zones of certain territories. John Blair’s view is that the land resources available to magnates who were not kings were very small. On the other side of the discussion are T.H. Aston, Patrick Wormald and Thomas Charles-Edwards, all of whom have argued that magnates inherited the rights to some land, as opposed to life time holdings from the king, from an early date.<sup>108</sup> We should also take note of the work of Della Hooke who has outlined the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon estates in the West-Midlands, postulated their very early origins, and linked them to named groups who might represent some of John Blair’s regions.<sup>109</sup> Whilst in the west, we should also take account of the research on Welsh land ownership undertaken by Wendy Davies, although Patrick Wormald for one is happy to see little connection between British and Anglo-Saxon practice.<sup>110</sup> In Susan Wood’s recent contribution which looks at the ownership of churches, she makes the important point that what interested the Church wasn’t inalienability, but rather the ability for one abbot to pass

---

<sup>107</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>108</sup> T.H. Aston, ‘The Origins of the Manor in England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series 8 (1958), pp. 59- 83; Patrick Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1985), reprinted in Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford,2006), pp. 135-168 and Patrick Wormald, ‘On þa wæpnedhaellfe: kingship and royal property from Aethelwulf to Edward the Elder’ in Nicholas J. Higham and David Hill (eds.) *Edward the Elder* (London, 2001), pp. 264-279, p. 264- 6; Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, ‘Anglo-Saxon kinship revisited’ in Hines, (ed.), *Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century* pp. 171-210.

<sup>109</sup> Della Hooke, ‘Pre-Conquest Estates in the West Midlands: Preliminary Thoughts’, *Journal of Historical Geography* 8 (1982), pp. 327-44, p. 328; see also Della Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: The Charter Evidence*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 95 (Oxford, 1981), 57-80.

<sup>110</sup> Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion*, p. 152.

land as an inheritance onto the next in line, or even to dispose of land to a daughter house.<sup>111</sup>

Despite Thomas Charles-Edward's belief that a consensus exists, the exact meanings of bookland and folkland, the relationship between free peasants and magnates, land-owning kings and land-owning nobility, demesne land and wider resource exploitation, hides and larger estates, and inheritable and alienable land, remain *foci* for further work and academic debate. Perhaps this is best summed up by Susan Reynolds: "In smaller, simpler societies it is often impossible to distinguish between rulers and landlords, taxes and rents..... probably because the distinction does not exist. If seventh-century England was in this category, then worrying about whether early grants convey immunity .....or conveyed "simply land" may be missing the point".<sup>112</sup> How important this might be to us is caught by Stephen Driscoll's 1991 article on state formation in Scotland. In it he reminds us that G.W.S. Barrow identified twelfth century thanages as having possible early antecedents; and that the annals make reference to Pictish *exactatores* and thereby a machinery of government in the early eighth-century.<sup>113</sup> If we then link this to James Fraser's theories about possible Northumbrian rule in what has otherwise been taken to be southern Pictland, we have the beginnings of a body

---

<sup>111</sup> Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in The Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 156-7.

<sup>112</sup> Susan Reynolds, 'Bookland, Folkland and Fiefs' in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1991*, (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 211-228, p. 213.

<sup>113</sup> Stephen T. Driscoll, 'The archaeology of state formation in Scotland' in William S. Hanson and Elizabeth A. Slater (eds.), *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions* (Aberdeen, 1991), pp. 81-111, p. 88, but see Alex Woolf, 'AU 729.2 and the Last Years of Nechtan mac der Ilae', *Scottish Historical Review* 85.1 (2006), pp. 131-137 for an alternative view.

of evidence that might throw some light on landholding practices in seventh-century Northumbria.

## Archaeology

Our theme of change is nowhere better illustrated than in the field of archaeology. There are three aspects to this. Firstly, a comparison of Sir David Wilson's 1976 publication *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*<sup>114</sup> and the wealth of publications today easily demonstrates the changes in our understanding of material culture and its reflection of society and its structures and economies. Secondly, our understanding of how sites themselves reflect change through time has altered as a result of comparing sites such as Flixborough<sup>115</sup> with single use sites such as Yeavering;<sup>116</sup> and how sites can alter their physical positions, for example at Mucking.<sup>117</sup> Thirdly, and this is where our enthusiasm for the wealth of evidence needs to be tempered with caution, the nature of archaeology has changed as its funding is skewed towards developer-funded excavation. This both limits the boundaries of excavations and can lead to a focus on particular areas or landscapes. A brief look at the number of excavations in rural Northumbria compared with Essex or Kent illustrates this.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> David M. Wilson, *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1976).

<sup>115</sup> Christopher Loveluck and David Anderson, *The Early Medieval Settlement Remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The Occupation Sequence, c. A.D. 600-1000*, Excavations at Flixborough 1 (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>116</sup> Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977) and more recently Paul Frodsham and Colm O'Brien (eds.), *Yeavering: People, Power and Place* (Stroud, 2005).

<sup>117</sup> Helena Hamerow, *Excavations at Mucking, Volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (London, 1993), pp. 86-7.

<sup>118</sup> Society for Medieval Archaeology, *Medieval Britain and Ireland Searchable Database*, available at <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/library/mbi/query.cfm> [9 April 2010].

The new wealth of archaeological evidence limits us to an examination of some of the key changes of the last thirty years. Metal detecting has changed our understanding and a particularly relevant example of this is in the work of numismatists. Recent finds have not just increased the number of coins attributed to Aldfrith, but allowed Michael Metcalf to postulate the scale of production through the number of dies required to produce the variety of stamps, and to suggest that this was significant.<sup>119</sup>

Archaeology is driven primarily by the work of excavation. Although the Flixborough excavations show that site functions can change over time, it is still useful, sometimes, to follow taxonomy and group sites for ease of reference. For our period; for the purposes of looking at the literature; and accepting that some would disagree with the classifications and, indeed that classification is appropriate, these may be seen as elite settlement,<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> David Michael Metcalf, 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-704) and Some Contemporary Imitations', *British Numismatic Journal* 76 (2006), pp. 147-58.

<sup>120</sup> The following list is not exhaustive, but includes key modern excavation reports: Leslie Alcock, 'A Multi-disciplinary Chronology for Alt Clut, Castle Rock, Dumbarton', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 107 (1976), pp. 103-113; Anne Crone and Ewan Campbell *A Crannog of the First Millenium AD: Excavations by Jack Scott at Loch Glashan, Argyll, 1960* (Edinburgh, 2005); T. Gates and Colm O'Brien, 'Crop Marks at Millfield and New Bewick and the Recognition of Grubenhauser in Northumberland', *Archaeologica Aeliana*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series 16 (1988), pp. 1-9; Hope-Taylor, *Yeaving: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria*; Lloyd Laing and David Longley, *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South West Scotland* (Oxford, 2006); Alan Lane and Ewan Campbell, *Dunnadd: An Early Dalriadic Capital* (Oxford, 2000); D.R. Perry, *Castle Park, Dunbar: Two Thousand years on a Fortified Headland*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series no. 16 (Edinburgh, 2000); J.K. St Joseph, 'Sprouston, Roxboroughshire: An Anglo-Saxon Settlement Discovered by Air Reconnaissance', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982), pp. 191-9; P.R. Wilson *et. al.*, 'Early Anglian Catterick and Catraeth', *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (1996), pp. 1-61.

towns and their hinterlands,<sup>121</sup> churches and monasteries,<sup>122</sup> rural settlement,<sup>123</sup> and burial.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> The following list is not exhaustive, but includes articles that outline recent developments relevant to the late seventh century: **London:** Lyn Blackmore, 'The Origins and Growths of Lundenwic, a Mart of Many Nations' in Hårdh and Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 273- 301 ; Robert Cowie, 'Mercian London' in Brown and Farr (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, pp. 273-301; Robert Cowie and Robert Whythead, 'Ludenwic: The Archaeological Evidence for Middle Saxon London', *Antiquity* 63 (1989), pp. 706- 18; J.R. Maddicott, 'London and Droitwich c650-750: Trade, Industry and the Rise of Mercia', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), pp. 7-58; Gordon Malcolm, David Bowsher and Robert Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House*, (London, 2003); **Southampton;** P. Andrews, (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic. Vol.2, Excavations at Six Dials*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 109 (London, 1997); Alan Morton (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic. Vol.1, Excavations 1946-83, Excluding Six Dials and Melbourne Street*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 84 (London, 1992); Alan Morton, 'Hamwic in its Context'; Nick Stoodley, 'The Origins of Hamwic and Its Central Role in the Seventh century as Revealed by Recent Archaeological Discoveries', in Hårdh and Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 317-332; **Ipswich;** Newman, 'Wics, Trade, and the Hinterlands – the Ipswich Region', in Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres*, pp. 32-47; Christopher Scull, 'Ipswich: Development and Contexts of an Urban pre-cursor in the Seventh century, in Hårdh and Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 303-316; **York;** Richard L. Kemp, *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate, York* (York, 1990); Derek Phillips, Brenda Heywood and Martin O. H. Carver (eds.), *Excavations at York Minster, 1: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London, 1995); Cecily A. Spall and Nicola J. Toop, 'Before Eoferwic: New Light on York in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), 1- 25.

<sup>122</sup> There have been a number of recent publications that have significantly increased our knowledge about seventh-century monastic sites, in addition to a number of classic excavation reports: Leslie Alcock; Elizabeth A. Alcock and , Sally Foster, 'Reconnaissance Excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other Royal Sites in Scotland, 1974-84, 1: Excavations near St Abb's Head, Berwickshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 11, (1986), pp. 255-79; Martin Carver, *Portmahomack, Monastery of the Picts* (Edinburgh, 2008); Rosemary Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites Vol 1 & 2* (London, 2005, 2006); Robin Daniels and Christopher Loveluck, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery*, Tees Archaeology Monograph 3 (Hartlepool, 2007); Peter Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town* (Stroud, 1997); Christopher Lowe, *Excavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire* (Edinburgh, 2006); Christopher Lowe, *Inchmarnock: An Early Historic Island Monastery and its Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh, 2008); Aidan MacDonald, 'Two major early monasteries of Scottish Dalriata: Lismore and Eigg', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5 (1974 for 1973), pp. 47- 70; Charles R. Peers and C.A. Raleigh-Radford, 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia* 89 (1943), pp. 27-99; Phillip Ratz, 'Anglo-Saxon and later Whitby' in Lawrence R. Hoey (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Leeds, 1995), 1-11.

<sup>123</sup> The following list is not exhaustive but it includes a number of key sites and synthesis of the evidence that provides an introduction to the period: Christopher J. Arnold and P. Wardle, 'Early Medieval Settlement Patterns in England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 25 (1981), pp. 145-49; R. Carr, A. Tester and P. Murphy, 'The Middle Saxon Settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity* 22 (1988), pp. 371-7; Robert Cowie and Lyn Blackmore (eds.), *Early and Middle Saxon Rural Settlement in the London Region* (London, 2008); Mark Gardiner, et. al., 'Continental Trade and Non-Urban Ports in Mid Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at Sandtun,



Key trends include houses getting bigger and more sophisticated; settlements shifting (perhaps through unconscious drift as opposed to a planned move) and coming together; the development of estates, fields and field boundaries; growing wealth of nobles, and perhaps others and its effect on society; and evidence of increasing demand for goods.<sup>125</sup>

This last is represented in artefact studies. The Staffordshire hoard,<sup>126</sup> demonstrating a level

---

West Hythe, Kent', *Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), pp. 161-290; D. Haldenby, 'An Anglian Site on the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990), pp. 51- 63; D. Haldenby, 'An Anglian Site on the Yorkshire Wolds – Continued', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 64 (1992), pp. 25- 39; D. Haldenby, 'Further Saxon finds from the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 66 (1994), pp. 51- 56; Hamerow, *Excavations at Mucking, Volume 2: The Anglo- Saxon Settlement*; Helena Hamerow, 'The archaeology of early Anglo-Saxon settlements: past, present and future' in Neil Christie (ed.), *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 301- 316; Helena Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012); Stuart Losco-Bradley and Bradley Kinsley (eds.), *Catholme: an Anglo- Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire* Nottinghamshire Archaeological Monographs 3 (Nottingham, 2002); Christopher Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context*, Excavations at Flixborough 4 (Oxford, 2007); Anne Marshall and Garry Marshall, 'Differentiation, Change and Continuity in Anglo-Saxon Buildings', *Archaeological Journal* 150 (1993), pp. 366-402; M. Millet and S. James, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978- 81', *Archaeological Journal* 140 (1983), pp. 151- 279; J. Newman, 'The Late-Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns in the Sandlings of Suffolk', in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North West Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 32-34; Colm O'Brien and Roger Miket, 'The Early Medieval Settlement of Thirlings, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeological Journal* 7 (1991), pp. 57–91

<sup>124</sup> Late seventh-century graves are problematic for archaeological dating as burial rites increasingly exclude grave goods. The following articles, although not an exhaustive list, provide an introduction: Leslie Alcock, 'Quantity or quality: the Anglian graves of Bernicia' in Vera I. Evison (ed.), *Angles, Saxons and Jutes*, pp. 168-186; Andy Boddington, 'Models of burial, settlement and worship: the final phase reviewed' in Edmund Southworth (ed.), *Anglo- Saxon Cemeteries, A Reappraisal* (Stroud, 1990), pp. 177-99; Helen Geake, 'Burial practice in seventh and eighth-century England' in Carver M.O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North West Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 83-94; Geake, *The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion Period England*; Sam Lucy, 'Changing burial rites in Northumbria AD500- 750' in Hawkes and Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 12- 44; Lucy and Reynolds, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*; Sam Lucy, 'Early Medieval Burial at Yeavinger' in Frodsham and O'Brien (eds.), *Yeavinger: People, Power and Place*, pp. 127- 144; Christopher Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 27 (Oxford, 2009).

<sup>125</sup> A number of key sites await full excavation reports. These include Bamburgh, West Heslerton, and Eye Kettleby.

<sup>126</sup> Stephen Dean, Della Hooke and Alex Jones, 'The Staffordshire Hoard: The Fieldwork', *Antiquaries Journal* 90 (2010), pp. 139-52.

of wealth previously only hinted at in richly furnished burials, will in all probability change our view Anglo-Saxon society. The initial impression of a uniformity of style awaits publication before being compared with research that suggests more cross-cultural fertilisation and exchange of ideas between the peoples of late seventh-century Britain.

## **Identity**

Of relevance to our quest to piece together, however tentatively, a picture of what the beliefs that Christianity brought to, and forged in, Anglo-Saxon society is the impact on sense of identity. Identity is not only a thing peculiar to individuals, but also probably differed depending on where one found oneself in society, one's economic position and one's freedom to choose. Alex Woolf has pointed out that individuals had multiple identities based on the local, area and regional groupings.<sup>127</sup> It is likely, therefore that an individual's sense of self was influenced, amongst other things, by their perceptions of their immediate surroundings; their access to local justice; and their military and social duties. The important development is our understanding that a sense of self can alter as these factors change. A different take has been put onto the same issue by Patrick Geary, "...ethnic identity became conscious to writers largely within the context of politics, and ethnicity was perceived and moulded as a function of the circumstances which related most specifically to the interests of lordship":<sup>128</sup> which translated means that identity could be manipulated for the purposes of gaining or retaining power. Academic discussion of identity would appear to be "of the

---

<sup>127</sup> Alex Woolf, 'Community, Identity and kingship in Early England', in William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 91-109; Barbara Yorke, 'Political and ethnic Identity: A case study of Anglo-Saxon practice' *ibid.*, pp. 69-89, p.70, p. 80.

<sup>128</sup> P. Geary, 'Ethnic Identity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15-26, p. 16.

moment” in Early Medieval studies.<sup>129</sup> The subject is developing into discussion of the identification and self-identification of the individual, with a strong link to the philosophical theories of Foucault and Derrida.<sup>130</sup>

A major element of the debate has been around ‘ethnogenesis’. The origins of the discussion go back to a publication by Reinhard Wenskus concerning *Traditionskerne*. Although the original theory concerning Germanic nobility and the continuation of a core of genuine tradition around which later identities formed has been challenged,<sup>131</sup> there is now general acceptance that identity is not genetically determined, but is rather both a social determinant and, in some cases, a choice.<sup>132</sup> There will be no detailed discussion of the underlying philosophical and ethnographical theory, nor of the older detail of the historiography as these are well covered by Andrew Gillett in his introduction to a series of articles in the main criticising aspects of the theory.<sup>133</sup> The debate has become highly contentious with Guy Halsall describing the publication of a veritable assault at an International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo in 2000 as, “a gloriously bad-

---

<sup>129</sup> For example Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (eds.), *Strategies of Identification* (Turnhout, 2013).

<sup>130</sup> There is useful discussion, although requiring the help of a philosophical dictionary, in Guy Halsall’s blog <<http://600transformer.blogspot.co.uk/2014/02/subject-individual-exclusion-some.html>> [08 February 2014].

<sup>131</sup> For example, Andrew Gillett, ‘Ethnogenesis, A Contested Model of Early Medieval Europe’, *History Compass* 4.2 (2006), pp. 241-60.

<sup>132</sup> P. Geary, ‘Ethnic Identity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages’, pp.15-26; Sebastian Brather, ‘Ethnic identities as constructions of archaeology’ in Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity*, pp. 149-176 and Heinrich Härke, ‘Ethnicity, race and migration in mortuary archaeology: an attempt at a short answer’ in Sarah Semple and Howard Williams (eds.), *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 14 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 12-18, to name but three.

<sup>133</sup> Andrew Gillett, ‘Introduction: ethnicity, history and methodology’ in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity*, pp. 1-20.

tempered volume....".<sup>134</sup> The response by Walter Pohl in the same volume, together with the criticisms detailed at length in articles, provide both a clear insight into both sides of the debate and an entertaining read.<sup>135</sup> Walter Pohl also discusses identity and ethnicity in his introduction to *Strategies of Identification*<sup>136</sup> which, together with its companion volume,<sup>137</sup> is the result of a major project entitled "Ethnic Identities in Medieval Europe". Pohl completes his thesis with the discussion in the introduction to *Post Roman Transitions* where he outlines what he sees as the Graeco-Roman view of identity, particularly the barbarian as "other" and the Judeo-Christian view of the "chosen *gens*".<sup>138</sup> Further useful insights on the model can also be gained by reading articles by Patrick Geary.<sup>139</sup> Of course, the usefulness of the theory is not as a general rule of human behaviour, but as a tool to gain insight. The failure to identify general rules often leads to the opposite result, which is nihilism, in this case the belief that we can know nothing about ethnicity through material culture. This view has been recently criticised by Florin Curta.<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Guy Halsall, 'Review of On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Andrew Gillett, (Turnout: Brepols, 2002; pp xxiv + 265. Eur 60)', *English Historical Review* 68 (Nov 2003), pp. 479-80, p. 479.

<sup>135</sup> Walter Pohl, 'Ethnicity, theory and tradition: a response' in Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity*, pp. 221-240

<sup>136</sup> Walter Pohl, 'Introduction – Strategies of Identification: a methodological profile' in Pohl and Heydemann, (eds.), *Strategies of Identification*, pp. 1-64.

<sup>137</sup> Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann, (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, (Turnhout, 2013).

<sup>138</sup> Walter Pohl, 'Christian and barbarian identities in the early medieval West: introduction' in Pohl and Heydemann, (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 1-46.

<sup>139</sup> Particularly Patrick Geary, 'Ethnic Identity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 15-26 and Patrick Geary, 'Barbarians and ethnicity' in G.W. Bowersock, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar (eds.) *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Post Classical World* (London, 2001), pp. 107-129.

<sup>140</sup> Florin Curta,, 'Medieval Archaeology and Ethnicity: Where are We?', *History Compass* 9.7 (2011), pp. 537-548.

Much of the work on ethnicity and identity has been undertaken using late antique evidence of the so-called migration period, as witnessed in the *Transformation of the Roman World* series of publications.<sup>141</sup> However the concept of identity as a construct, and that much of the history of early the early groups developing a distinctly Germanic culture might be as a result of constructed identities, is beginning to influence the mainstream, if only as one possible option amongst others.<sup>142</sup> Of course, the role of myth and mythmaking by constructing an earlier history that influences the present has long been part of the historiography.<sup>143</sup> However, although it is now influencing thinking on migration, there have only been a few occasions where the constructed identity model has been used in a seventh-century context.<sup>144</sup> Edward Said's "imagined geographies" and Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" are a working of the same approach that led Herwig Wolfram to see ethnogenesis at work amongst the Goths and Walter Pohl to outline the same for Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>145</sup> However, we should not lose sight, amidst the unusual straight talking,

---

<sup>141</sup> The key work is Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-600* (Leiden, 1988).

<sup>142</sup> See for example Thomas Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD400-650* (Lincoln, 2012), pp. 1-7.

<sup>143</sup> For example Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1989) and Barbara Yorke, 'Political and ethnic identity: a case study of Anglo-Saxon practice' in Frazer and Tyrrell, *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 69-90

<sup>144</sup> These include John Moreland, 'Ethnicity, power and the English' in Frazer and Tyrrell, *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 23-52; reprinted and updated in John Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, (London, 2010), pp. 159-192 and most recently John-Henry Clay, 'Adventus, warfare and the Britons in the development of West-Saxon identity', in Pohl and Heydemann (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 169-213.

<sup>145</sup> Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Rise and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Michigan, 1978); Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (London, 1988), pp. 5-6; Walter Pohl, 'Ethnic names and Identities in the British Isles: a comparative perspective' in John Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 7-31, p.7-10.

that identity could be a matter of choice for at least some and in some circumstances, and that the invention and re-invention of tradition is a trait of both individuals and societies.<sup>146</sup>

Much of the study of Anglo-Saxon ethnogenesis, even before the term was coined, has focused on Bede's terminology. His Angles, Saxon and Jutes, and his Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Huns, Old Saxons and Bructeri<sup>147</sup> have resulted in a search that has lasted for a number of scholarly generations, both for evidence of settlement in the British Isles and for their continental origins.<sup>148</sup> This has been paralleled by a debate on the size and scale of this settlement and its interaction with the local populace. More recent scholarship, whilst continuing a strong focus on the implications for the indigenous population,<sup>149</sup> has concluded that some form of ethnogenesis was at work. This has been postulated for the early development of local kingdoms;<sup>150</sup> for the split between north and south (Angles and

---

<sup>146</sup> Walter Goffart, 'Does the distant past impinge on the invasion age Germans?' in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 21-38, p. 22; Peter J. Heather, 'Disappearing and reappearing tribes' in Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-600* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 95-111; and for an English context see Nicholas Brooks, 'History and Myth, Forgery and Truth, Inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Birmingham 23 January 1986, Birmingham', in Nicholas Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths, State and Church, 400-1066* (London, 2000), pp. 1-19.

<sup>147</sup> *HE*, V. ix.

<sup>148</sup> A flavour of the classic approach to the subject taken by archaeologists can be found in J.N.L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (Oxford, 1969) and Vera I. Evison, *Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Essays presented to J.N.L. Myres* (Oxford, 1981). The titles themselves illustrate some of the issues addressed subsequently. The classic historical introduction to the subject is found in Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*; and an approach using both disciplines of archaeology and history is James Campbell (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 8-45. Stephen Bassett's, *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989) has influenced much recent work.

<sup>149</sup> Nicholas J. Higham, *The Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2007).

<sup>150</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the origin of the Gens Anglorum' in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and R. Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M.*

Saxons); and for the origins of the term “English”. Patrick Wormald and Michael Richter have argued that this stems from the adoption of terms used in Canterbury and Rome<sup>151</sup> and are followed in this by the more detailed arguments put forward by Nicholas Brooks.<sup>152</sup> The development of a particular English identity has been presented as being in the interest of rulers<sup>153</sup> and of religious leaders, male and female.<sup>154</sup> The role of saint’s cults and their links with royalty will be covered below. Ethnogenesis is, however, not a peculiarly English phenomenon as Alex Woolf points out.<sup>155</sup> It played its part in forming the British and other components of the peoples of the period, including those in mainland Europe.<sup>156</sup> We will see the impact of ethnogenesis when we look at Northumbria’s choice to look south, rather than west and north for its church, its economy, and its identity.

---

Wallace-Hadrille (Oxford, 1983), pp.99-129; reprinted in Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 119-122.

<sup>151</sup> Michael Richter, ‘Bede’s Angli: Angles or English’, *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 99- 114.

<sup>152</sup> Nicholas Brooks, *Bede and the English*, Jarrow Lecture 1999 (Jarrow, 1999); Nicholas Brooks, ‘Canterbury, Rome and the construction of English identity’ in Julia M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 221- 47; Nicholas Brooks, ‘From British to English Christianity: deconstructing Bede’s interpretation of the conversion’ in Catherine E Karkov and Nicholas Howe (eds.), *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies*, 2; *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 12 (Tempe, Arizona, , 2006), pp 1-30.

<sup>153</sup> John Moreland, ‘Ethnicity, power and the English’ in Frazer and Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 23-52.

<sup>154</sup> Catherine Cubitt, ‘Memory and narrative in the cult of early Anglo- Saxon saints’ in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 29-66.

<sup>155</sup> Alex Woolf, ‘The Britons: from Romans to barbarians’ in Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Regna and Gentes: the Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, Volume 13 of *The Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 345-380.

<sup>156</sup> Edward James, ‘The origins of the barbarian kingdoms: the continental evidence’ in Bassett, *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 47-8.

Although the direct link between material culture and ethnicity had been broken, Hines' 1984 thesis, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period*,<sup>157</sup> demonstrated that valuable information could still be gained about cultural links and influences from the archaeological record. As his title says, he showed the links between Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia. Since then archaeologists have tentatively suggested that the material culture record can demonstrate preferences of usage that may indicate cultural and societal norms. In 1993 Margaret Nieke proposed that the use of particular brooch design might signify allegiances in Dál Riata<sup>158</sup> and Rosemary Cramp followed this with an even more tentatively put suggestion that similar usage, this time signified by garnets, might be seen in Northumbria.<sup>159</sup> Helen Geake has suggested that *romanitas* is consciously imitated from the conversion point onward, as an overt statement of identity.<sup>160</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards argues that the use of specific written scripts, in this case uncial, is used by Wilfrid in this direct way.<sup>161</sup> Stephen Driscoll has theorised that we can even see political subdivisions in relatively small areas, if we can recognise the evidence.<sup>162</sup> John Hines has begun to explore whether we can differentiate between those areas Bede called

---

<sup>157</sup> John Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period*, British Archaeological Reports (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>158</sup> Margaret R. Nieke, 'Penannular and related brooches: secular ornament or symbol of action?' in Michael R. Spearman and John Higget (eds.), *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain* (Edinburgh and Stroud, 1993), pp. 128- 134.

<sup>159</sup> Rosemary Cramp, 'The Northumbrian Identity' in Hawkes and Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 1-19.

<sup>160</sup> Helen Geake, *The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion Period England, c600-800*, British Archaeological Reports no. 261, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 120-122.

<sup>161</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 330.

<sup>162</sup> Stephen T. Driscoll, 'Christian monumental sculpture and ethnic expression in early Scotland' in Frazer and Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 233-252.



*Angli and Saxones*.<sup>163</sup> Sam Lucy has gone further and suggested that we can see regional preferences in burial rites.<sup>164</sup> She makes the important point that burial evidence points to the deliberate display of local, rather than ethnic, identity. Clearly it is easier for individuals from different backgrounds to come together around a common local identity, than to adopt ethnic signifiers, although the latter is still possible. If we can refine our dating and contextual analysis, archaeology may offer an insight into the sense of identity that lay behind ritual and social practice. Burial evidence suggesting a stratified society is available.<sup>165</sup> The hierarchical nature of insular society is also assumed in our sources, although in the past authors have sought to develop the argument for a free peasantry.<sup>166</sup> One aspect of identity is one's "place" in society. We should note that our sources may offer a window to one of the processes that led to people changing identity. Alex Woolf's suggestion that Ine's laws, with their overt hierarchies of Anglo-Saxon and British society, introduce a form of apartheid<sup>167</sup> may serve to illustrate exactly why a Briton might wish to be identified as an Anglo-Saxon in late seventh-century Wessex, namely for economic and social benefits. Similar reasons may underlie the apparently relatively uniform nature of Northumbrian Anglian culture in the late seventh-century. Another reason for a Briton to

---

<sup>163</sup> John Hines, 'The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and Language in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 7 (1994), pp. 49-59.

<sup>164</sup> Sam Lucy, 'Burial practice in early medieval eastern England: constructing local identities, deconstructing ethnicities', in Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds (eds.) *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (London, 2002), pp. 72-86.

<sup>165</sup> Helen Geake, 'Persistent problems in the study of conversion-period burials in England', in Lucy and Reynolds (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, pp. 144-156, pp. 149-150.

<sup>166</sup> Not least Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 314. However, James Campbell points out that Stenton himself was prepared to be cautious on this point: 'Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England, With Special Reference to the Earlier Period' in Donald Matthew et. al. (eds.), *Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England Fifty Years On: Papers Given at a Colloquium Held at Reading 11-12 November 1993* (Reading, 1994), pp. 49-59.

<sup>167</sup> Alex Woolf, 'Apartheid and economics in Anglo-Saxon England' in Higham (ed.), *The Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 115-129.

change his or her identity is to be associated with 'correct' religious practices and we turn now to religion and theology, which also had an impact on identity.

### **Impact of Christianity**

Any study of change in the late seventh-century must focus on the impact of Christianity.

Although we can only speculate on the depth of individual understanding, for the majority of the Anglo-Saxon population in A.D. 700, it was a second or third generation belief system.

However, many modern writers treat it as if it was limited to churchmen and kings. This

study accepts that when a charter states that land is being given to aid salvation, it is not

merely formulaic rhetoric, and that changes in burial practice and other social rituals must,

at least in part, be the result of acts of personal piety or conformity to social norms.<sup>168</sup> At

issue is the working out of the practice of piety within seventh-century Anglo-Saxon society.

This is not necessarily a popular recent area of study, although anthropological and

sociological approaches to the subject that assume the existence of piety and belief on the

part of lay people are now being published. In the late 1990s Mayke de Jong put the case for

religious actions being exactly that: pious acts of believers.<sup>169</sup>

Understanding the drivers of change is essential for understanding change itself. What can

the evidence tell us? For this we need to know how our understanding of beliefs and

---

<sup>168</sup> Marilyn Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 2009).

<sup>169</sup> Mayke De Jong, 'Rethinking Early Medieval Christianity: A View From the Netherlands' *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), p. 265.

practices has developed. What is the current state of research in theology, learning, orthopraxy and beliefs, and what investigations have been undertaken in how these beliefs worked themselves out in society? Much research has been published on what might be termed the ecclesiastical history of the period.<sup>170</sup> More recently, studies have significantly advanced our understanding of the theology of the times. Published works on beliefs and practices are fewer, and even less has been put forward on how these beliefs might have affected society.<sup>171</sup> Part of the reason for this is that most of our texts are perceived as being written by and for an elite group.

Some approaches to the subject have not met with approval. *The Germanization of Medieval Christianity*<sup>172</sup> argued that the church significantly adapted core beliefs as it contacted societies that were not part of the Mediterranean urban milieu. This was, for legitimate reasons, not well accepted.<sup>173</sup> The trend has more and more been to see the church in Ireland and Britain as part of the mainstream western church, as opposed to an

---

<sup>170</sup> John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches: A History A.D. 200 to 1200* (London, 1974); Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, 1966); Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*.

<sup>171</sup> A recent exception, although tending to focus on later evidence, is Helen Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon Society: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, 2013); Christine Maddern's very recent publication on the early medieval name stones of Northumbria gives a detailed account of the evidence for liturgy and beliefs, and their impact on monastic burial practices: Christine Maddern, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2014), esp. chp. 6, pp. 95-133.

<sup>172</sup> C. Russell Janes, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation* (Oxford, 1994).

<sup>173</sup> Anthony M. Perron, 'Review of The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation', *The Journal of Religion* 78.4, (1998), pp. 619-621; Ian N. Wood, 'Review of The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation', *Speculum* 71.2(1996), pp. 486-487; for a more sympathetic review see Donald Sullivan, 'Review of The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation', *Church History* 66.1 (1997), pp. 90-91.

anachronism resulting from its isolation. Homogeneity of belief with, as we shall see, minor variations has been stressed, although Peter Brown's "micro-Christendoms" has provided a useful model for many writers. This is his suggestion that the Christian West saw, not the rise of rival churches, but rather different approaches to implementing a universal Christianity within a highly regionalised world.<sup>174</sup> The so-called Celtic Church can helpfully be seen as one of the micro-Christendoms.

The argument over a "Celtic Church" would seem to have been resolved, at least in academic circles. However, to continue what will be a theme of this particular study, the position is complicated. The historical debate had a line drawn under it by Wendy Davies in 1992,<sup>175</sup> when she questioned the myth of the "Celtic Church". That position was further confirmed by scholars working on the structure and practices of the Irish church.<sup>176</sup>

However, in 2002, Michael Herren and Shirley Ann Brown outlined the case for a "common Celtic Church", at least in the sixth century.<sup>177</sup> Although one of their key arguments, that Pelagianism is at root of this difference, has not been entirely welcomed,<sup>178</sup> the case for the church as it stood in western Britain and Ireland being a "micro-christendom", or indeed a

---

<sup>174</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (2nd ed. London, 2003), p.15.

<sup>175</sup> Wendy Davies, 'The myth of the Celtic Church' in Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane (eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992), pp.12-21.

<sup>176</sup> Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650-1000*, (Maynooth, 1999); Richard Sharpe, 'Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model' in Blair, John and Sharpe, Richard, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 81-109.

<sup>177</sup> Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2002).

<sup>178</sup> W.H.C. Frend, 'Review of Christ in Celtic Christianity. Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century, by Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, (Studies in Celtic History, 20), Boydell Press', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55.1 (2004), pp. 139-40; and particularly Gilbert Markus, 'Pelagianism and the Common Celtic Church', *The Innes Review* 56:2 (2005), pp. 165-213.

series of micro-christendoms, is holding the field at present. So developed is the discussion about a “Celtic Church”, that it has itself become the source for study<sup>179</sup> and most recently a student guide to the Easter Controversy has been published that retains the term “Celtic” in the title.<sup>180</sup> The term itself may be an unfortunate survival, but as yet a better name for the particular “micro-Christendom” has yet to be accepted.

An important recent development has been the beginning of a detailed understanding of the theology of the period. The corpus of Bedan studies is vast, with numerous publications of collections of articles often associated with anniversaries.<sup>181</sup> It was Gerald Bonner who constructively moved the study of Bede on from historian to theologian and exegete.<sup>182</sup> However, most earlier works focused on either exegesis, computus or grammar, which were seen as the distinctive contribution of contemporary Irish and Anglo-Saxon studies.<sup>183</sup> It was

---

<sup>179</sup> Donald E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000).

<sup>180</sup> Caitlin Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (Basingstoke, 2006).

<sup>181</sup> Thompson (ed.), *Bede: His Life, Times and Writing*; Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976); R.T. Farrell (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England: papers in honour of the 1300th anniversary of the birth of Bede, given at Cornell University in 1973 and 1974*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 46 (Oxford, 1978).

<sup>182</sup> For example: Gerald Bonner, ‘The Christian life in the thought of the Venerable Bede’ in Gerald Bonner, *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition* (Aldershot, 1986), pp 15-55; and Gerald Bonner, ‘Bede: scholar and spiritual teacher’ in Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (eds.), *Northumbria’s Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp 365-70.

<sup>183</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, ‘Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages’, *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 1 (1976), pp 74-160, but see M.M. Gorman, ‘A Critique of Bischoff’s Theory of Irish Exegesis: A Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997), pp 178-233; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ‘The Irish Provenance of Bede’s Computatus’, *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp 229-47, reprinted in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Irish history and Chronology* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 173-190; Faith Wallis (trans.), *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 2004); Vivien Law, *Wisdom, Authority and Grammar in the Seventh Century: Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Cambridge, 1995).

the publication of Liverpool University Press's Translated Texts for Historians<sup>184</sup> series on Bede that gave many students a full appreciation that Bede's historical work sat amidst the theological work that gained him his reputation in the eighth-century and in the following period.<sup>185</sup> As with studies in Ireland, a number of articles have been published on aspects of Anglo-Saxon theology, such as Christology,<sup>186</sup> the theology of suffering<sup>187</sup> and eschatology.<sup>188</sup>

The study of the theology of the period is not limited to the written sources. Scholars have laid emphasis on the theological influences that led to the iconography on the Ruthwell Cross. This can be taken, for the purposes of this study, as an epitome of Anglo-Saxon sculptural studies. It is, of course, not without its controversies, and recently this debate has been hotly contested, particularly around which version of the liturgy influenced the design of the cross.<sup>189</sup> However, the general consensus on the date of the carving allows some confidence that it reflects the theological developments of the late seventh-century.

Éamonn Ó Carragáin produced a highly detailed argument demonstrating that the cross was

---

<sup>184</sup> For example: Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*; Seán Connolly (trans.), *Bede: On the Temple* (Liverpool, 1995).

<sup>185</sup> For example, various articles in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV, 2006).

<sup>186</sup> Arthur G Holder, 'Christ as incarnate wisdom in Bede's commentary on the Song of Songs', in DeGregorio, *Innovation and Tradition*, pp 169-88.

<sup>187</sup> Trent Foley, 'Suffering and Sanctity in Bede's Prose Life of Cuthbert', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 50.1 (1999), pp 102-16.

<sup>188</sup> Gerald Bonner, *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary*, Jarrow Lecture 1966 (Jarrow, 1967).

<sup>189</sup> Fred Orton and Ian N. Wood, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester, 2007).

an aid to worship and contemplation<sup>190</sup> that required of its viewers not just an understanding of the basics of the faith, but a deeper knowledge of the theological issues of the time. The view of the cross, the approach to Christ's suffering and sacrifice and the role of Mary as *Theotokos*, all reflect up to date thinking in Rome and the Western Church. Ó Carragáin went further recently, in a paper given to a conference on Wilfrid held at York in 2009,<sup>191</sup> arguing that on Wilfrid's various visits to Rome he would have been immersed in the issues surrounding Monotheletism and more importantly how these theological points practically influenced liturgy and worship. These included veneration of the cross as a symbol of Christ, and veneration of Mary as the birth mother of Christ's human will. It will be argued later in this study that these changes in liturgy directly affected those participating in worship and so influenced societal practices.

Peter Brown, one of the great contemporary scholars of ecclesiastical history, developed the concept of the saint and *sapiens*.<sup>192</sup> He also argued that it was the increasing importance of the "wise man", both in those parts of Europe where there were alternative approaches, such as a traditional episcopal model, and as he thought at the time, those areas of Europe where there was not, such as Ireland,<sup>193</sup> that saw significant changes in both practice and

---

<sup>190</sup> Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005).

<sup>191</sup> Now published as a joint paper with Alan Thacker, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, and Alan Thacker, 'Wilfrid in Rome' in Nicholas J Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint, Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 212-230.

<sup>192</sup> Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241. For the view that the Church in Ireland was, in fact, episcopal in its organisation, see Richard Sharpe, 'Some Problems Concerning the Organisation of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 230-70 and Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650-1000*.

belief. That these micro-Christendoms were aware of, and in many cases accepted each other is evidenced in the penitential of Theodore: “Reconciliation is not publicly established in this province, for the reason that there is no public penance either”.<sup>194</sup> There will be further discussion on penance literature and on the important topic of computus in the next chapter which looks at primary, rather than secondary, sources. But returning to sanctity and sainthood in the early middle ages, the secondary research literature is vast. Much of it can be accessed through the bibliographies of two recent works, Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe’s *Local Saints and Local Churches* and John Blair’s *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*.<sup>195</sup> The availability of source material, and the secondary research, allows investigation of the early medieval view of suffering and sacrifice, however this is in the context of an ideal presented to the lay Christian community (assuming a wider dissemination than monasteries alone) rather than, perhaps, the reality of everyday life. Research on the secular response to these innovations is much more limited. Recent work on the Bobbio Missal suggesting that South East Gaul was a centre of book production and linking this with Benedict Biscop’s journeys<sup>196</sup> offers some hope that, by confirming the links between Northumbria and Merovingian Gaul we identified earlier, access to popular church practice will not depend solely on more tenuous links to Irish practice as outlined in the *Canones Hibernses*.<sup>197</sup>

---

<sup>194</sup> The Penitential of Theodore.XIII.4: John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer (eds. and trans.), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1990), p. 195.

<sup>195</sup> Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002); John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005).

<sup>196</sup> Yitzhak Hen, and Rob Meens, *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge, 2004).

<sup>197</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 421-9.



Since this thesis is going to argue that Aldfrith looked south and rejected his earlier Irish influences, we need to look at the extent of these connections, in terms of the Church. Connections is perhaps the correct word as the two men most likely to have had an influence on Aldfrith, Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, had a long term and probably close relationship. They had originally travelled together, intending to go to Rome, but parting at Lyons.<sup>198</sup> Biscop's particular Roman connections were highlighted by Wilhelm Levison in a discussion about Monkwearmouth's papal privilege from Pope Agatho.<sup>199</sup> Patrick Wormald further highlighted these connections in his 1976 article on Benedict and suggested that Benedict and Wilfrid were united with Aldhelm in their adherence to the Rule of St Benedict.<sup>200</sup> These connections are further explored by Eric Fletcher in his 1980 Jarrow lecture, where he contrasts the type of monastery that Wilfrid and Benedict established with others in Northumbria founded using an Irish model. The other additional important connection is between these men and Theodore, who Benedict guided to Canterbury, Aldhelm studied with, and who was Wilfrid's Archbishop. The implications of these connections for this thesis will be explored further in chapter three, and Aldhelm is discussed in more detail in the next chapter on primary sources.

---

<sup>198</sup> VW.iii

<sup>199</sup> Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 23-24

<sup>200</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop' in Gerald Bonner, (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 141-169, esp. pp. 141-145.

## Economy and Production

As a final part of this literature review we turn to the economy. To discuss this is to sit on the cusp of multiple theories and at the epicentre of debates about the late antique West. These include elite consumption/ production;<sup>201</sup> exchange of gifts/ commodities;<sup>202</sup> towns and their hinterland;<sup>203</sup> rural developments;<sup>204</sup> peasants/ elites;<sup>205</sup> and the biography of the object.<sup>206</sup> A look at the current state of the archaeological and historical debate is important, as it demonstrates that there is no accepted position regarding the development, or otherwise, of the economy in the late seventh-century. The debates have much of their origins in what was then seen as a seminal work that became archaeological orthodoxy, Richard Hodges' *Dark Age Economics*.<sup>207</sup> Few may now remember the palpable sense of excitement that the work produced at the time. Through archaeological theory a new sense of "what actually happened" could be delivered, independent of the historical written sources. Hodges outlined a theoretical development of trading centres called *wics*

---

<sup>201</sup> Moreland, 'The significance of production in eighth-century England', pp. 208-254.

<sup>202</sup> John Moreland, 'Production and exchange in historical archaeology' in G. Barker (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Archaeology* (London, 1999), pp. 637-71.

<sup>203</sup> Joachim Henning, 'Early European towns: the way of the economy in the Frankish area between dynamism and deceleration 500-1000 AD' in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol 1, The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 3-40.

<sup>204</sup> Pam J. Crabtree, 'Agricultural Innovation and Social Change in Early Medieval Europe: Evidence From Britain and France', *World Archaeology* 42.1 (2010), pp. 122-136.

<sup>205</sup> Saunders, 'Trade, Towns and States: A Reconsideration of Early Medieval Economics', pp. 31-53.

<sup>206</sup> For a good introduction and bibliography see Jodi Joy, 'Re-invigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives', *World Archaeology* 41 (2009), pp. 540-566.

<sup>207</sup> Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade AD 600-1000* (London, 1982); his view that *wics* are Royal foundations to control trade are followed by others e.g. Nick Stoodley, 'The origins of Hamwic and its central role in the seventh-century as revealed by recent archaeological discoveries', in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Lund, 2002), pp. 317-332.

and acting as *emporium*. *Wics* were centres where elite exchange could take place under the control of developing polities at the apex of which were kings. These started as seasonal settlements and became key entry points to kingdoms, used by kings to control access to prestige goods. Hodges' theories were criticised, first by Grenville Astill,<sup>208</sup> and then by a number of papers pointing out that Hodges and his followers were ignoring the relationship between these trading centres and their rural hinterlands.<sup>209</sup> We are all older and wiser, not least Richard Hodges himself, who has recently written a significant *mea culpa* admitting that he failed to sufficiently account for production, the links with rural hinterlands and the role of the Church.<sup>210</sup> However, he offers no apology for the role of theory, nor much allowance for a "post processual" world.

A second major contribution to the debate is Chris Wickham's *Framing the Middle Ages*,<sup>211</sup> which placed the peasant back at the centre of economic growth and detailed the changes in relationship between peasant and lord from the late empire to the development of feudalism. The framework of the discussion can perhaps be best followed in a series of published conference papers and special journal editions dedicated to particular subjects. In

---

<sup>208</sup> Astill provided early criticism, but it took some time for it to filter into the world of academic archaeology: G. Astill, 'Archaeology, Economics and Early Medieval Europe', *Oxford Archaeological Journal* 4 (1985), pp. 215-31.

<sup>209</sup> This was the focus of a conference in Sheffield in 1996. From the published papers two stand out, and Ross Samson provides an amusing diatribe: John Newman, 'Wics, trade, and the hinterlands – the Ipswich region' in Mike Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 32-47; Alan Morton, 'Hamwic in its context', in Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres*, pp. 49-62; Ross Samson, 'Illusory emporia and mad economic theories' in Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres*, pp. 76- 90: see also Mark Gardiner, *et. al.*, 'Continental Trade and Non-Urban Ports in Mid Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at Sandtun, West Hythe, Kent', *Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), pp. 161-290.

<sup>210</sup> Hodges, Richard, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit* (London, 2012).

<sup>211</sup> Wickham, *Framing The Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*.

1999 *Anglo Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* looked at production in and around early trading centres and placed them in the context of their hinterlands, as opposed to islands of elite investment and control in an otherwise flat sea of local self-sufficiency.<sup>212</sup> Comparing this to the 2001 publication of the 52<sup>nd</sup> *Sachsensymposion*<sup>213</sup> illustrates either the caution of much of the sector, or the differing rates of absorption of academic discussion between English, French, German and Scandinavian schools, although it does show, in some of the papers, some critiques of Hodges' general theory. In 2003 Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider produced a volume that defined a then new phenomena of "productive sites" that led to a re-defining of the rural economy through the archaeology of small finds, often through metal detecting.<sup>214</sup> The rural economy is discussed in a series of articles in the *Journal of Agrarian Change* in 2009<sup>215</sup> and the role of the peasant in *Historical Materialism* in 2011.<sup>216</sup> Most recently there is the published results of an international conference at Commacchio in 2009 which looked at trade and trading places. A number of articles stress what the authors see as the normality of trading and the market economy, as opposed to gift exchange, elite consumption, or other drivers for goods to move across mainland Europe and the North Sea.<sup>217</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia*.

<sup>213</sup> Hårdh and Larsson, (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Period*.

<sup>214</sup> Pestel and Ulmschneider, (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*.

<sup>215</sup> The introductory article is Peter Sarris, 'Aristocrats, Peasants and the Transformation of Rural Society, c400-800', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9.1 (2009), pp. 3-22.

<sup>216</sup> A key article is Jairus Banaji, 'Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: What Kind of Transition', *Historical Materialism* 19.1 (2011), pp. 109-144.

<sup>217</sup> Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012).

In the theme of the early medieval economy we find significant disagreement and a lack of academic consensus. Alan Vince has pointed out for Mercia, and much the same is true for other kingdoms, that the evidence can be used for minimal market activity or to argue for active trade in both proto-urban centres and the countryside.<sup>218</sup> Two questions remain unresolved: whether such trade as there was simply facilitated prestigious gift exchange, whether trade for goods existed but was limited to barter, or whether there was commerce as we would understand it today; and secondly, was trade confined to *emporia* and controlled by kings, or was there locally based, rural trade? A few overviews are available to us. Wickham's *Framing the Middle Ages* has been mentioned and Michael McCormick has also written a magisterial work examining the late Roman and early medieval economies on a European scale<sup>219</sup> although McCormick has been criticised for focusing on long distance trade at the expense of local economies,<sup>220</sup> and Wickham for not focusing on cultural issues, such as the growth and spread of the role of the Church.<sup>221</sup> The archaeological evidence for early urban centres in Anglo-Saxon England has been usefully summarised by Christopher Scull.<sup>222</sup> Historians have had less difficulty than archaeologists with these questions. Peter

---

<sup>218</sup> Alan Vince, 'The growth of market centres and towns in the Mercian hegemony' in Brown and Farr (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, pp. 183-193.

<sup>219</sup> Chris Wickham, *Framing The Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800* (Oxford, 2005); Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001).

<sup>220</sup> Warren Treadgold, 'Review: Travel and Trade in the Dark Ages', *The International History Review* 1 (March 2004), pp. 80-88.

<sup>221</sup> Marios Costambeys, 'Review of Framing the Early Middle Ages', *Economic History Review* 59.2 (2006), pp. 417-419.

<sup>222</sup> Christopher Scull, 'Urban centres in pre-Viking England' in Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, pp. 269-98.

Sawyer was quite happy to accept the existence of local markets and fairs,<sup>223</sup> and James Campbell, in another of his insightful questioning articles, points out that the demand for buckles, strap-ends and other items of clothing must have been huge and must have been met somehow. The work on Ipswich by Paul Blinkhorn and Christopher Scull, although it has removed Ipswich ware from the armoury of those looking at change in the seventh-century,<sup>224</sup> demonstrates the clear links between a trading centre and its surrounding countryside.<sup>225</sup> Similarly, evidence for Hamwic has been interpreted as showing the interconnections between “town and country”, although not surprisingly there are those who argue the opposite, in this case Hodges, who has used the evidence to suggest that Hamwic was a centre for manufacturing prestige goods.<sup>226</sup> A number of important excavations throw light on commerce and trade in our period, and the evidence will be examined in more detail later.<sup>227</sup> Key to the understanding of trade in rural areas will be a definitive view of what are currently still called “productive sites”, despite calls to change the terminology.<sup>228</sup> These are sites, identified through metal detecting, that seem to

---

<sup>223</sup> Peter, H. Sawyer, ‘Kings and Merchants’ in Peter H. Sawyer and Ian Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship*, (Leeds, 1977), pp. 139-158, p.146.

<sup>224</sup> Paul Blinkhorn states definitively that Ipswich ware did not begin production until after 720 A.D.: ‘Of cabbages and kings: production trade and consumption in Middle-Saxon England’ in Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres*, pp. 4-23.

<sup>225</sup> Christopher Scull, ‘Ipswich: development and contexts of an urban pre-cursor in the seventh century’, in Hårdh and Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 303-316.

<sup>226</sup> Richard Hodges, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement: Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society* (London, 1989), pp. 87-88.

<sup>227</sup> The key centres are London, Ipswich, Southampton and York (see below p. 41) and (in summary) Scull, ‘Urban centres in pre-Viking England’ in Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, pp. 269-98

<sup>228</sup> Julian, D. Richards, ‘What’s so special about productive sites? Middle Saxon settlements in Northumbria’ in Tania Dickinson and David Griffiths (eds.), *The Making of Kingdoms: Papers from the 47<sup>th</sup> Sachsensymposium, York, September 1996*, Anglo Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10 (Oxford, 1999), pp. 71-80, p. 79.

demonstrate a high incidence of the loss of small metal work items and coins. For their supporters they are sites of rural markets and are evidence for a flourishing rural economy.<sup>229</sup> However, Julian Richards, an early supporter, now argues that the reality is that there is no greater preponderance of “small finds” than on a typical rural site that has been subject to modern excavation techniques.<sup>230</sup> It is clear, however, that Campbell’s point about the sheer scale of demand for small items of metalwork is beginning to be evidenced in the archaeological record. However, discussion about how this demand might have been filled in the late seventh-century remains both unresolved and pivotal to understanding the process of change.

A few scholars have begun to tackle this.<sup>231</sup> Alex Woolf suggests that *emporia* controlled merchant access to existing trading networks.<sup>232</sup> John Naylor’s research in Yorkshire and

---

<sup>229</sup> Particularly Katharina Ulmschneider: ‘Settlement, Economy and the “Productive” Site: Middle Anglo- Saxon Lincolnshire AD 650-780’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 44, (2000), pp. 53-79; ‘Central places and metal-detector finds: what are the English “productive sites”’, in Hårdh and Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 333-341; Katharina Ulmschneider and Tim Pestell, ‘Introduction: early medieval markets and “productive” sites’ in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 1-11.

<sup>230</sup> Richards, ‘What’s So Special About Productive Sites?’ pp. 71-80

<sup>231</sup> In addition to those mentioned in the text, Helena Hamerow has challenged the idea that the cattle bones at Hamwic show that the population were being supplied by royal command and control, and rather the age of cattle are similar to finds in later medieval towns and represent the selling of beasts no longer fit for working: Helena Hamerow, ‘Agrarian production and the emporia of Mid-Saxon England, c650-850 AD’ in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol 1, The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 219- 232; Katharina Ulmschneider has suggested evidence for early trade in rural isle of Wight; ‘Archaeology, History and the Isle of Wight in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period’, *Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999), pp. 19-44.

<sup>232</sup> Alex Woolf, ‘The Russes, The Byzantines, and Middle Saxon Emporia’, in Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres*, pp. 63-75, p. 67.

Essex suggests the existence of internal regional trade as well as trade in prestige goods<sup>233</sup> and Christopher Loveluck and Dries Tys have re-examined the evidence for coastal trading sites with positive results.<sup>234</sup> John Moreland has suggested that the economy was developing before the *wics*, and that they were a result rather than a cause.<sup>235</sup> However, the pendulum may be swinging back. Chris Wickham has recently re-stated the argument for trade being primarily about elite exchange goods.<sup>236</sup> Work on trade in the British parts of these isles has tended to focus on the centuries preceding the seventh.<sup>237</sup> However, Ewan Campbell has examined the evidence and concluded that in the West trade was indeed about prestige goods and was controlled by, and serving, an elite.<sup>238</sup> In Ireland the debate has been around “monastic towns”, and whether the origins of trade can be found in the developing economies of monasteries with large estates and access to significant numbers of people. Charles Doherty’s theories had a fairly broad acceptance in the literature until the

---

<sup>233</sup> John Naylor, *An Archaeology of Trade in Middle Saxon England*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 376 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 127-134.

<sup>234</sup> Christopher Loveluck and Dries Tys, ‘Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity Along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores of Europe, AD 600-1000’, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1.2 (2006), pp. 140-169.

<sup>235</sup> John Moreland, ‘The significance of production in eighth-century England’ in Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 68-104.

<sup>236</sup> Chris Wickham, ‘Rethinking the structure of the early medieval economy’ in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 19-32.

<sup>237</sup> The literature is substantial, and fairly well known, with the arguments focusing around two models: planned elite exchange and the ‘tramp steamer’ model of haphazard profit making: Alan Bowman, ‘Post-Roman imports in Britain and Ireland: a maritime perspective’ in Kenneth R. Dark (ed.), *External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 97-109 and see other essays in the same volume; M.G. Fulford, ‘Byzantium and Britain: A Mediterranean Perspective on Post-Roman Mediterranean Imports in Western Britain and Ireland’, *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), pp. 1-6; Jonathan M. Wooding, *Communication and Commerce Along the Western Sealand AD 400-800* (London, 1996).

<sup>238</sup> Ewan Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400-800*, CBA Research Report 157 (York, 2007); see also Alan Lane, ‘Trade, gifts and cultural exchange in dark-age western Scotland’ in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, St John’s House Papers No 5 (St Andrews, 1994), pp. 103-113.



simultaneous publication, in 1998, of two articles that dismissed the evidence for comprehensive trading through monastic centres as early as the late seventh-century.<sup>239</sup>

This difference between Anglo-Saxon territories and the areas to their north and west will be used as part of the argument that Northumbria turned south for its influences in the late seventh-century.

The development of the rural economy, as opposed to research deriving from studying “proto-towns” has interested some scholars. Some of the discussion is linked to landholding, covered above. However there has been a revival in interest in field systems, driven by local landscape studies. This is summarised in an article by Susan Oosthuizen,<sup>240</sup> whose work in Cambridgeshire has led her to be a proponent of an early date for both common and open fields. However Richard Jones offers a word of caution in his review of Oosthuizen’s *Landscapes Decoded* when he points out that there is little or no archaeological evidence to back up her fieldwork.<sup>241</sup> A number of historical economists, landscape historians and agricultural historians come to similar views, that the early stages of a number of developments in the economy are visible in the late seventh-century.<sup>242</sup> We are left then

---

<sup>239</sup> However Doherty spoke of the seventh-century in terms of gift exchange, albeit on a fairly large scale: Charles Doherty, ‘Exchange and Trade in Early Medieval Ireland’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110 (1980), pp. 67-89; Cathy Swift, ‘Forts and fields: A study of “monastic towns” in seventh and eighth-century Ireland’, *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 9 (1998), pp. 105-25; Mary Valante, ‘Reassessing the Irish “monastic town”’, *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1998), pp. 1-18.

<sup>240</sup> Susan Oosthuizen, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia and the Origins and Distribution of Common Fields’, *Agricultural History Review* 55.2 (2007), pp. 153-180.

<sup>241</sup> Richard Jones, ‘Review of *Landscapes Decoded: The Origins and Development of Cambridgeshire’s Medieval Fields* by Susan Oosthuizen’, *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007), p. 384

<sup>242</sup> As Oosthuizen points out, the debate on the origins of common fields goes back to the nineteenth century (Oosthuizen, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia’, p. 154). Joan Thirsk was one of the first modern historians to postulate an early development of common fields: ‘The Common Fields’, *Past and Present* 29 (December

with Angeliki Laiou's insight that "The mechanics of the impact of small-scale individual demand on trade and on growth have still to be elaborated fully for the early medieval West...".<sup>243</sup> This is particularly relevant to chapter 6 of this thesis, which looks at the Northumbrian economy in more detail.

## Conclusion

An exhaustive, rather than an introductory, list of literary material would tire out the reader and quickly reduce to a list of authors, titles and subjects. More detailed works will be listed in later chapters, and we should perhaps content ourselves at this stage with this overview. We turn now to a more detailed look at the primary sources available to us.

---

1964), pp. 3-25; 'The Origins of the Common Fields', *Past and Present* 33 (April 1966), pp. 142-7; Peter Sarris suggests that bi-partite estates have their origins in Merovingian rather than Carolingian Frankia – 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy: New Insights from Late Antiquity', *The English Historical Review* 119 (2004), p. 381; Joachim Henning, 'Strong rulers – weak economy? Rome, the Carolingians and the archaeology of slavery in the first millennium AD' in Davis and McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, pp. 33-54 is representative of a debate on the relative positions of peasants and lords that nevertheless allows for significant wealth. Andrew Reynolds 'Review Article: On Farmers, Traders, and Kings: Archaeological Reflections of Social Complexity in Early Medieval North-West Europe', *Early Medieval Europe* 13.1 (January 2005), pp. 97-118, also acknowledges (p. 117), that the beginnings of the developing economy can be traced to the seventh-century. Christopher Loveluck shows a similar phenomena in Northumbria: 'Caedmon's World: secular and monastic lifestyles and estate organisation in northern England, A.D. 650-900' in Allen J. Frantzen and John Hines (eds.), *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the World of Bede*, *Medieval European Studies* 10 (Morgantown, West Virginia, 2008), pp. 150-190.

<sup>243</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, 'The early medieval economy: data, production, exchange and demand' in Davis and McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, pp. 99-104, esp. p. 104.

## Chapter 2 - Primary Sources and Their Authors

It seemed to some undergraduates in the early 1980s<sup>244</sup> that the sources available for the period were Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>245</sup> some Irish Annals<sup>246</sup> and a few saints' lives that could not really be quarried for "real" historical information.<sup>247</sup> This is understandable, not just in terms of personal inadequacy, but in the lack of both critical editions and translations of many of the works. The last thirty years have seen that situation change dramatically.<sup>248</sup> As we shall see in the review, none of the sources provide an accurate picture of how things were in the seventh-century. They were all written with a purpose that was not recording 'facts' for today's scholars, and so have to be understood in context. For the purpose of this study, as will become apparent, some of them provide a direct source of information. However the information others provide is more indirect. They provide a check on what is might be possible in a seventh-century context, and I have used them as such. For example, where a text suitably dated to the period refers to the use of water mills in Ireland, I have included these.<sup>249</sup> This inevitably means that a large number of sources for the period have

---

<sup>244</sup> This is based on personal experience.

<sup>245</sup> *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>246</sup> Available in part then through various journals, e.g. Whitley Stokes, 'The Annals of Tigernach', *Revue Celtique* 16-18 (1895-8), and Alan Orr Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, AD 500-1286* (Edinburgh, 1922), and now available online, <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G100002/>> [26<sup>th</sup> May 2013].

<sup>247</sup> For example *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1968).

<sup>248</sup> For an example relating to Bede's theological works see Brown, *A Companion to Bede*.

<sup>249</sup> Daniel A. Binchy, 'The Irish Law Tracts Re-Edited: *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne*', *Eriu* 17 (1955), pp. 52-85, p. 56.

not been directly used and space precludes a review of them all. This chapter will therefore be a focus mainly on the key authors and sources directly relevant to this thesis.

Before looking at the literary sources themselves three important points need to be made. Firstly, the issue of working with texts in translation, to which caution must be applied. Nick Higham offers a good illustration where one edition of *HE* captures the sense of the terrors of hell which formed part of the belief systems of the period, and one does not.<sup>250</sup> In the Penguin edition Pope Gregory encourages Augustine to “raise the moral standards of your subjects by ...encouraging, warning, persuading, correcting...”, whilst the Oxford edition has “by exhorting, terrifying, enticing, and correcting them”. The second cautionary tale is the assumption that the texts as we have them are “correct”, or rather, as they were written. Any point that relies on a particular close reading of a sentence or phrase requires a check on the editorial work on the transmission of the various manuscripts.

## **Bede**

We begin with Bede, and it is not too far from the 1980s for James Campbell to point out in an introduction that “Not so very long ago historians’ narratives of the history of the Church in early England consisted largely of paraphrase of Bede ....”<sup>251</sup> Fortunately the late twentieth and early twenty-first century has seen a burgeoning of work and published

---

<sup>250</sup> Nicholas J. Higham, *(Re-) Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London, 2006), p. 47.

<sup>251</sup> James Campbell, ‘Questioning Bede’ in Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsey (eds.), *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England 400-1200*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 505 (Oxford, 2010), pp. 119-128, esp. p. 119.

material.<sup>252</sup> There are a number of trends in recent scholarship on Bede.<sup>253</sup> The first is the move away from a perception of Bede as a learned but cloistered academic towards seeing him as a skillful ecclesiastical operator, with a strong political agenda. The epitome of the latter, and indeed the doyen of the group is Walter Goffart, who was one of the first to suggest that Bede was not the narrative historian most took him for.<sup>254</sup> Goffart himself has pointed out that he, himself, is caricatured as being anti-Wilfrid and for stating that Bede's purpose in writing was to contradict many of the points made by Stephen in his *Vita Wilfridi*.<sup>255</sup> Goffart clarified his position in a paper in 2006 where he made it clear that he thought that Bede was presenting an idealised picture of the development and progress of the Church in Northumbria and that this was connected to the case for an archbishopric at York.<sup>256</sup> Goffart's view of Bede as writing his history to influence the world of his own day has been followed by many others including Alan Thacker and D.P Kirby,<sup>257</sup> and today can be seen as a contemporary orthodox position.

---

<sup>252</sup> Well covered in the bibliography of Scott DeGregario (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010).

<sup>253</sup> I owe this insight to Vicky Gunn, *Bede's Historiae: Genre, Rhetoric and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 11-12.

<sup>254</sup> Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 235-328.

<sup>255</sup> Bertram Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927).

<sup>256</sup> Walter Goffart, 'Bede's history in a harsher climate' in Scott DeGregario (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown WV, 2006), pp.203-226 esp. pgs. 206 and 213.

<sup>257</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel' in Stephen Baxter and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (London, 2009), pp. 129-148; Kirby, D. P., *Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum': Its Contemporary Setting*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1992).

This development has been paralleled by a much greater understanding of Bede's scholarly knowledge and abilities. This is only partially the result of the greater availability of Bede's writings other than *HE*. These writings are listed by Bede himself,<sup>258</sup> and usefully outlined and described by George Hardin Brown.<sup>259</sup> It was these works, rather than for his history, that Bede was famous for in his own day, and in the following centuries. Few of the aspects of our understanding of the seventh-century have changed more in recent years than our appreciation of Bede's theological studies. It would be unfair to take an over-simplistic view of earlier scholarship and it was appreciated that Bede, for example, used the allegorical form of exegesis and that this was probably the result of his access to the library at Monkwearmouth/ Jarrow.<sup>260</sup> He was deeply interested in the idea of an Old and New Covenant between God, the Israelites and the people of Christ. Henry Mayr-Harting, in an important retraction of his own earlier views, suggested that Bede invented the concept of a ruler of southern Britain (he never used the term *bretwalda*, so loved by a generation of historians), because he conceived the *imperium* as necessary for the spread of Christianity in England on the model of the Emperor Constantine's impact on the Roman Empire.<sup>261</sup> But the depth of Bede's scholarship was brought to contemporary understanding by Roger Ray who has cogently argued that Bede was steeped in late antique learning and in his commentary on 1 Samuel Bede offers a defence of Ciceronian pagan rhetoric, contra Jerome. In a recent article Ray puts the point that Bede was aware of his position as a

---

<sup>258</sup> HE.v.24

<sup>259</sup> George Hardin Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2009)

<sup>260</sup> Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede the scholar' in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi*, pp. 40-69.

<sup>261</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Bede's patristic thinking as an historian' in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Veröffentlichungen 32 (Vienna, 1994), pp. 367-74, esp. p. 369.

scholar in the tradition of the greats, and that this partially explains the large increase in volume in his output in the last ten years of his life.<sup>262</sup> This work is encapsulated in the various articles in Scott DeGregorio's 2006 volume in which this paper appears. DeGregorio himself makes the particularly cogent point that the next big step forward was the "appreciation of the intertextual dimensions of Bede's writings".<sup>263</sup> An example of this is Alan Thacker's 'Bede, The Britons and the Book of Samuel' where he speculates (his word) that this allegorical, theological, work has within it Bede's view of the contemporary death of Osred, possible at the border with what he calls the Britons of Strathclyde.<sup>264</sup> Thacker has also encouraged us to see Bede as developing a brand new genre of writing, merging history and hagiography to write "a providential, biblically based, historical narrative".<sup>265</sup> As we explore Bede's full output more thoroughly, we get greater understanding of the depth of his scholarship, and his motivations for writing and so can better place the information he gives us in the historical picture we are trying to develop. What is clear is summed up by Walter Goffart, that Bede's *HE* is not mimetic, it does not "supply an exact image of what once was" but is rather an "artistic design" and a "literary creation".<sup>266</sup> Bede is clearly a

---

<sup>262</sup> Roger Ray, 'Who did Bede think he was?' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown WV, 2006), pp. 11-35.

<sup>263</sup> Scott DeGregorio, 'Introduction: the new Bede' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown WV, 2006), pp. 1-10, p.5.

<sup>264</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel' in Baxter, Stephen and Nelson, Janet (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (London, 2009), pp. 129-148, p. 145; although his argument depends on the Britons of Alt Clut not being the Britons who adopted the Roman calculation of Easter as detailed in *HE.v.XV*. See also Ian N. Wood, 'Who are the Philistines: Bede's readings of Old Testament peoples' in Clemens Gantner, Rosamund McKitterick and Sven Meeder, (eds.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), pp.172-187, esp. pp. 178-179

<sup>265</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Bede and history' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 170-189.

<sup>266</sup> Walter Goffart, 'Bede's history in a harsher climate' p. 210.

didactic writer although what the points were he wished to make to his contemporaries and what his key influences were still requires much research and debate. A clue is his 'Letter to Ecgbert', which is a clarion call for the reform of the church.<sup>267</sup> One of Bede's purposes as a writer is to reform the Church in Northumbria.

The question is what can Bede's writings offer this study? Fortunately narrative history is not an essential component of a thesis examining change in Northumbria. Rather it is Bede's insight into the social, economic and cultural world of his day that is of interest. It is the case that the polemical Bede is just as likely as Bede the cloistered narrative historian to offer information on the world around him. One example might be the issue of sub-kings. Bede's comments on kingship are often secondary to the main point he is making and are all the more useful for that. For example, in *HE.i.34*, Æthelfrith's brother Theodbald is killed at the battle of Degaстан, "together with all of his army." At the very least this suggests a separate command structure within Æthelfrith's forces. However, it also suggests that Theodbald had his own forces.<sup>268</sup>

---

<sup>267</sup> *Bede, Letter to Ecgbert*: ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, 'Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum' in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 123-161.

<sup>268</sup> But see note 504 below.



## Aldhelm<sup>269</sup>

Aldhelm's works are key sources for this study. He provides information for the chapters on society and identity and economic processes and, of course, he knew Aldfrith. The evidence for this is in his *Epistola ad Arcicum*.<sup>270</sup> The facts around Aldfrith's early years are explored in the next chapter, and this includes a critique of Michael Lapidge's views that proposes a different position from his, arguing that *contra* Lapidge we cannot tell the circumstances that led to the relationship that Aldhelm claims (that he was Aldfrith's God-parent) and certainly not that they knew each other in a Irish milieu. The letter is written in a flowery style, even for Aldhelm, but it is clear that he is treating Aldfrith as his intellectual and academic equal, at least in terms of Aldfrith's ability to 'get the point' which is, in part, celebrating Aldhelm's erudition in the context of the emerging Anglo-Saxon Church. The letter also serves to point to the inter-connectedness of the Anglo-Saxon elite, and possibly to Aldfrith's southern interests.

Aldhelm is particularly useful to us. He probably knew Wilfrid, if we can join the dots of Berhtwald granting land to Wilfrid and presumably the same Berhtwald granting land to

---

<sup>269</sup> Key writers on Aldhelm not mentioned in the text or references below include: G.T. Dempsey e.g. 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury and High Ecclesiasticism in a Barbarian Kingdom', *Traditio* 63 (2008), pp. 47-88; Andy Orchard e.g. *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 8 (Cambridge, 1994) and 'Aldhelm's Library' in Richard Gameson, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* Vol 1 (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 591-605; Sinéad O'Sullivan e.g. 'The Image of Adornment in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*: Cyprian and His Influence', *Peritia* 15 (2001), pp. 48-57; and Michael Winterbottom, e.g. 'Aldhelm's prose style', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977), pp. 39-76; and of course, an important publication is Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks, (eds.), *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, (Oxford, 2010).

<sup>270</sup> The definitive case for Arcicius=Aldfrith is presented by Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, p. 32: Rudolf Ewald, 'Aldhelmus de metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis' in *Aldhelmi Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 15, (Berlin, 1919), pp. 61-204; *Aldhelm, Letter to Arcicius*: trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, 'Epistola ad Arcicum' in *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 31-58

Malmesbury, Aldhelm's monastery:<sup>271</sup> and he wrote to Wilfrid's abbots exhorting them to follow Wilfrid into exile.<sup>272</sup> He studied with Theodore and Hadrian and revered their work.<sup>273</sup> Aldhelm is also useful for our study as an example of the depth of knowledge available in the late seventh-century, which will be relevant to Aldfrith's understanding of, and reactions to, the theological and other influences of the Irish. Aldhelm's knowledge and skill are well illustrated in D.R. Howlett's comments on *Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum* in which "we see a complete fusion of the arts of arithmetic, music, chronology, astronomy, and architecture in the art of metre".<sup>274</sup>

### Theodore and Hadrian

This depth of learning was not restricted to Bede and Aldhelm. A major breakthrough for our understanding came with the work of Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge on the school of Archbishop Theodore which taught many of the churchmen of the day. Through a series of articles, a major conference, and a programme of research, Lapidge and his colleagues identified works that could be attributed to Theodore's school at Canterbury.<sup>275</sup>

---

<sup>271</sup> VW.40 and S1169, with the usual caveats on authenticity. For charter numbering and the work of Peter Sawyer see p. 79 below.

<sup>272</sup> trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 168-170

<sup>273</sup> *Aldhelm, V to Heahfrith*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 160-163.

<sup>274</sup> David R. Howlett, 'Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum', *Bulletin du Cange* 53 (1995), pp. 119-140, p. 140.

<sup>275</sup> Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London, 1996); Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies*; Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds.), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994); Jane Stevenson, *The "Laterculus Malalianus" and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge, 1995); Michael Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 45-72.

This led to a greater understanding of Theodore's contribution to Anglo-Saxon theology and also, and of equal importance, that he provided a link to the major theological issues of the day.<sup>276</sup> This was the 'smoking gun' that demonstrated that the English Church was immersed in western theological issues and not some obscure western branch developing rather odd ideas. At the Theodore conference in 1990, Henry Chadwick gave a definitive introduction to the Monothelete controversy and demonstrated that it had been the focus of the Council of *Haethfeld* in 679.<sup>277</sup> Thus we can see that senior Church figures at least, had a deep understanding of beliefs and practices. The question is how far these penetrated to other, secular, levels of society.

Why is this important for any study of change in the seventh-century? Before Lapidge's work most historians sought theological influences on the Anglo-Saxon Church in Ireland. Aldhelm, for example, was seen as influenced by Maíldub, founder of Malmesbury, and so of the Irish school.<sup>278</sup> That Archbishop Theodore played a much greater role in influencing Anglo-Saxon scholarship than has been realised may be part of the reason for the swinging back of the pendulum of modern scholarship from a highly Irish influenced Anglo-Saxon Church. However, this is both to speculate, and to get ahead of ourselves. The point is to demonstrate the impact of source critical work on the understanding of historians of the

---

<sup>276</sup> Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries From the Canterbury School*, pp. 5-81.

<sup>277</sup> Henry Chadwick, 'Theodore, the English Church and the Monothelete Controversy' in Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies*, pp. 88-95.

<sup>278</sup> As outlined by Barbara Yorke, 'Aldhelm's Irish and British connections' in Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (eds.), *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 164-180, esp. pgs. 164-5.

period.<sup>279</sup> As with all such pendulum swings, it is possible to go too far. Many Anglo-Saxonists had never “swung” in the first place, having taken a rather insular position.<sup>280</sup> Ireland, and Irish monasticism through the Ionan mission, did have a powerful influence on the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Again the availability of source material has changed dramatically since the 1980s.<sup>281</sup> The knowledge of the Church fathers implied in these works, and therefore the scholarly and social links across Europe, are vital to our understanding of the period. Again, it is our confidence in the manuscript tradition and the date of composition, and the fact that we are not looking for narrative history, that allows us to be assertive in our use of these sources.

### **Irish Theology and Adomnán**

Any suggestion that Irish theology of the period was not the equal of that being propounded in Anglo-Saxon England would be an error. As we will see with a more detailed review of penitential literature, it has long been recognised that the seventh-century contributed new ways of thinking about forgiveness. But it was scholars working on Gildas that began the breakthrough.<sup>282</sup> In recent years the theological understanding of Irish scholarship of the

---

<sup>279</sup> Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 34-50.

<sup>280</sup> Michael Richter, ‘Practical aspects of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons’ in Próinséas Ni Chathain and Michael Richter (eds.), *Irland und die Christenheit: Biblestudien und Mission, Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 362-376, esp. p. 362.

<sup>281</sup> For example the publication of Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Markus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1995) brought a whole new range of material to the non-Latinist.

<sup>282</sup> Richard Sharpe, ‘Gildas as a father of the Church’ in Michael Lapidge and David Dumville (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 191-206.

seventh-century has been recognised and put into print.<sup>283</sup> In 1999, Fergus Kelly published a study of diabolology<sup>284</sup> and in 2002, Herren and Brown covered Christology.<sup>285</sup> James Bruce investigated Columba's world of eschatology, pneumatology and missiology.<sup>286</sup> However, the depth of Irish learning, and the contribution of Adomnán as a major theologian was unveiled in the work of Thomas O'Loughlin, culminating in *Adomnán and the Holy Places*.<sup>287</sup> In this work, O'Loughlin demonstrates that Adomnán had such a deep knowledge of scripture that his literary device of a bishop journeying to the Holy Land, as a means of addressing anomalies in the biblical texts, could lead generations of theologians and scholars to dismiss the work as traveller's tales. The depth of Adomnán's knowledge and theological understanding was fully brought home to modern scholars with the publication of the papers from a conference on Iona commemorating the 1300 anniversary of his death.<sup>288</sup> From this publication alone it is clear that we have, in the Gaelic world, churches steeped in scholarship, with a deep theological understanding. These churches were not the saviour of western civilisation, but they were part of the theological tradition of the Church. Part of the issue may be the difference in approach of the churches. Our surviving sources suggest that the Church in Ireland, whether *Romani* or *Hibernii*, was deeply interested in process and particularly in recording the decisions of various synods on theological and

---

<sup>283</sup> Summarised by Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London, 2000), pp. 1-24.

<sup>284</sup> J.F. Kelly, 'The devil in Hiberno-Latin exegesis of the Early Middle Ages' in Thomas O'Loughlin, (ed.), *The Scriptures in Early Medieval Ireland: Proceedings of the 1993 Conference of the Society for Hiberno-Latin Studies on Early Irish Exegesis and Homiletics* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 133-144.

<sup>285</sup> Herren and Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity*, pp. 137-177.

<sup>286</sup> James Bruce, *Prophecies, Miracles, Angels and Heavenly Light?* (Milton Keynes, 2004).

<sup>287</sup> Thomas O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Location of the Biblical Dramas* (London, 2007).

<sup>288</sup> Jonathan M. Wooding, (ed.), *Adomnán of Iona : Theologian-Lawmaker-Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010).

practical points, as witnessed by the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* probably written between 704 and 718.<sup>289</sup> This interest in process takes us to one of the significant contributions of the Irish micro-Christendom, penitentials.

## Penitentials

That the penitential system of private confession and “tariffed penance”, as opposed to the public penance tradition of the early Church, came to a wider world out of Ireland has been accepted by most scholars for many years.<sup>290</sup> A number of introductory works detail this, and also how the system developed further under the Carolingians.<sup>291</sup> Allen J. Frantzen provides a useful summary of the historiography and also looks at the textual and contextual problems in his 1983 volume *The Literature of Penance*.<sup>292</sup> However, he himself admits that the historical and sociological context is passed over. Frantzen is highly critical of McNeill’s view that the penitential approach in Ireland came out of pre-Christian tradition.<sup>293</sup> He points out that McNeill’s evidence of the payment of penalties taken from eighth-century Irish law texts was demolished by Ludwig Beiler in 1963, who pointed out that the source of these entries was itself Christian. However Frantzen is not himself free of

---

<sup>289</sup> Luned Mair Davies, ‘The Biblical text of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*’ in Próinséas Ní Chathain and Michael Richter, (eds.), *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Bildung und Literatur: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 17-41, esp. pg 18.

<sup>290</sup> The earliest known penitentials were British, and influenced Irish practice, Michael Winterbottom (ed. and trans.), *Gildas, The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents* (London, 1978), p. 83; Finnian’s penitential may also be evidence of British writing if Clancy’s identification of Finnian with Ninian is accepted: T.O. Clancy, ‘The Real Saint Ninian’, *Innes Review* 52 (2001), pp. 1-28.

<sup>291</sup> *ibid*; Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin, 1963); Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), pp. 82ff.

<sup>292</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1983).

<sup>293</sup> Frantzen, *Literature*, p. 22, note 7, with reference to John T. McNeill.

going beyond what is allowed by the evidence in his view that Archbishop Theodore found in the penitentials an opportunity to regularise and centralise Church practices. Perhaps the fact that Frantzen generally sought to avoid historical commentary is just as well. It is only relatively recently that the contribution of penitential thought to the development of both theology and practice has been fully recognised.<sup>294</sup> Academics have also begun to work through some of the implications of this for society as a whole.<sup>295</sup> In terms of what our sources tell us about the seventh-century, we would not expect that reading a pre-election party manifesto today would give us an accurate picture of the ills of society, but we would learn what someone with a particular agenda felt needed changed, and how they proposed to go about it. The importance of the development of penance for this study lies in its possible impact on lay society and this will be looked at in Chapter 5. What is pertinent here is not the turgid detail of sexual practices that famously put off Charles Plummer and those who sought guidance from him when they read: "It is hard to see how anyone could busy himself [sic] with such literature and not be the worse for it".<sup>296</sup> Rather it is the insight into the mores of society, as well as the understanding of the level of theological innovation underway at the time, that is of use.

The role of Theodore in penitential development was thoroughly explored, and Anglo-Saxon scholarship took a significant leap forward, with a conference held in 1990, and a

---

<sup>294</sup> For example Thomas O'Loughlin, 'Penitentials and pastoral Care' in G.R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), pp. 105-6.

<sup>295</sup> For example Julie Ann Smith, *Ordering Women's Lives: Penitentials and Nunnery Rules in the Early Medieval West* (Aldershot, 2001), who also has a useful short summary of the development of private penance at pp. 19-25.

<sup>296</sup> *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, (ed. Charles Plummer), 2 vols, (Oxford 1896), 1, p. 48.

subsequent publication commemorating Theodore's anniversary.<sup>297</sup> Thomas Charles-Edward's article in this volume moved our understanding of the role of penance and Irish influence on Anglo-Saxon England forward and showed that Theodore himself, and thereby his successors, were influenced by private penance theology.<sup>298</sup> However Richard Pfaff was quick to point out that other articles in the same volume stressed Theodore's anti-Irish position.<sup>299</sup>

More recently Caitlin Corning has drawn together what is primarily a guide for students to the apparently differing traditions of the date for celebrating Easter of the "Celtic" and "Roman" wings of the western Church.<sup>300</sup> Her section on penitentials<sup>301</sup> is a useful, if necessarily conservative summary: the roots of the private penitential tradition can be found in the monastic traditions of Cassian and the desert fathers; that the distinction between public and private penance can be overstated; and that it was the Irish legal practice based on restitution that allowed the concept of private penance to develop. This she took from Thomas O'Loughlin's important work on Celtic theology.<sup>302</sup> So far scholars, despite articulating that the development of private penance was new practice, failed to see it as a theological development, that is, a new (albeit small) step in the Church's

---

<sup>297</sup> Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies*.

<sup>298</sup> Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, 'The penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*' in Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies*, pp. 141-71.

<sup>299</sup> Richard W. Pfaff, 'Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence; Michael Lapidge', *Speculum* 72.3 (July 1997), pp. 852-854, esp. p. 853.

<sup>300</sup> Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions*, p. 180.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

<sup>302</sup> O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology*.



philosophical understanding of God. Perhaps this is because even the most partisan of twentieth century early medieval scholars still believed that the “dark ages” was a hiatus in theology, and that the penitential approach of the Irish merely served to lay the basis for later thinkers such as Thomas Aquinas to develop penance as a sacramental act. O’Loughlin, in the first of a series of major publications emphasising the philosophical depth of churchmen such as Adomnán, stated “(The penitentials) provide the one case where Irish and Welsh clergy were highly innovative, and actually shaped western Christian practice and theology. More importantly, they provide evidence that those clerics were prepared to grapple with theological basics”.<sup>303</sup> The penitentials allowed a new concept of man’s relationship with the divine to develop, based on a more individual and personal relationship. Sin was to be atoned for through a lifelong relationship, rather than being mitigated through a mix of regular Christian practice and perhaps a one-off major act of public repentance. This is a very different understanding from the often quoted lines in Plummer calling on the scholar to “beware” the study of penitentials.<sup>304</sup> This may be another element influencing change in individual and collective identity in the late seventh-century.

The same year saw the publication of an article by Mayke de Jong, entitled “The Transformation of Penance”. In this she outlined the development of penance through the early centuries of the Church and came to the conclusion that much of the vehemence with which the decline in public penance was denounced was rhetoric, largely by Carolingian

---

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>304</sup> Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticum, Vol 1* (Oxford, 1896), pp. clvii-clviii.

churchmen bent on reform. Penance remained under the control of bishops, and the evidence for this is that the Merovingian canons are silent in terms of condemning Columbanus and his followers for introducing private tariffed penance to Frankia.<sup>305</sup> De Jong argues that public penance was less “showy” than much of our evidence allows, and that private confession was not the same as private penance, which itself could be a public act. The point is that penance remained part of the tradition of the Church, and Irish practice was rigorous but not novel. This is not to undermine the theological development of the idea behind private penance, but as we shall see our knowledge of early medieval theology has been held back by our lack of understanding of the horror in the medieval mind of theological novelty. De Jong’s article serves to place private penance into its place in the development of the Church.

## **Computus**

At the risk of laboring the point about scholarship and biblical understanding, mention must be made of the science of computus. This is because the date of Easter is at the core of the argument of this thesis about the role of Aldfrith in the positioning of Northumbria within the church and wider politics of his day. Building on earlier work by the likes of Charles W. Jones,<sup>306</sup> there is a rapidly growing body of literature on the subject, not least through the publications resulting from the regular international conferences on the science of

---

<sup>305</sup> Mayke de Jong, ‘The Transformation of Penance’ in Frans Theuvs and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages* (Leiden, (2000), pp. 185-224, esp. pp. 217-8.

<sup>306</sup> Gathered together in a Variorum publication Wesley M. Stevens, (ed.), *Charles W. Jones: Bede, The Schools and Computus* (Aldershot, 1994).

computing.<sup>307</sup> Following the discovery by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín of an extant 84 year cycle Easter Table of Irish provenance, now in the library in Padua, the subject has, to say the least, been invigorated.<sup>308</sup> There is no longer any debate as to the ability of the Northern Irish<sup>309</sup> to argue their case and their requirement to forge the evidence to justify their usage in three works, the Acts of the Council of Caesarea, the *Tractatus Athanasii* and the *Liber Anatolii*.<sup>310</sup> The discussion has now moved on, and into the Anglo-Saxon world, for example, debating which 19 year cycle is being discussed and defended at Whitby, that of Anatolius or Victorinus.<sup>311</sup> The combining of mathematical and biblical knowledge to solve what is essentially unsolvable because of the linking of lunar and solar calendars with the differing gospel account of the Passion and the Resurrection is testament to the level of scholarship in this supposed 'dark age'. The important point for this study is the depth of passions that this seemingly obscure science raised, because the issue was one of orthodox theology versus heresy. It is within this framework that we need to view the importance of Aldfrith's decisions on becoming king, since if we accept that he had spent the last few years on Iona he followed the results of one way of calculating Easter, and in Northumbria, they followed another. And for those living at the time, it was not clear which would prevail.

---

<sup>307</sup> For example Immo Warntjes and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011).

<sup>308</sup> Daniel McCarthy, Daniel and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The "lost" Irish 84-year Easter table rediscovered', *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-8), pp. 227-42, reprinted in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Irish history and Chronology*, (Dublin, 2003), pp. 58-75.

<sup>309</sup> A large part of the Irish church had given up the 84 year cycle in 630s: Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, (ed. and trans.), *Cummian's Letter De Controversa Paschali and the De Ratio Computandi*, (Toronto, 1988), pp. 1-7.

<sup>310</sup> O'Connell, D.J., (1936), "Easter Cycles in the Early Irish Church", *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 66, 67-106

<sup>311</sup> Masako Ohashi, 'The Easter Table of Victorius of Aquitaine in Early Medieval England', in Warntjes and Ó Cróinín, *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity*, pp. 137-149.

## Saints' lives<sup>312</sup>

Saints' lives provide some of the core documents for the study of our period. Their period of writing spans the late seventh and early eighth-century; their geographical span covers Northumbria, our area of interest; and in one case we have a slightly later re-write of an earlier version, namely *Bede's Life of Cuthbert*. This may be historical orthodoxy, but in source critical terms it is quite a sweeping statement. In short, how do we know all this? The evidence is internal to the sources, which might be problematical. Some issues are easier to untangle than others. Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* (VCB) develops and adds to the information contained in the anonymous version (VCA)<sup>313</sup>. However, there remains some debate as to whether the Anonymous *Life of Gregory the Great* or the VCA is earlier. This debate largely rests on style and content, which is more contentious ground. The dates of the various saints' lives have been explored more than once, and although absolute dating is not possible, barring the points above there is a broad consensus on the relative chronology.<sup>314</sup> Fortunately, in not trying to create a historical timeline from the sources and in not tying change to specific dates, this is less of an issue for this particular study. Relative chronology does not affect the arguments, and where it does, this is discussed in the text. Because of

---

<sup>312</sup> This section refers to saints' lives written in Anglo-Saxon England, but of course there are many written contemporaneously and later in Ireland. The key work has been Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints Lives: An Introduction to the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (Oxford, 1991), but invaluable access is now provided by Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, (Dublin, 2011).

<sup>313</sup> For example, his entry into Melrose under Boisil, VCB.7.

<sup>314</sup> The conclusions reached, for example, by Bertram Colgrave, 'The Earliest English Saints Lives Written in England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 44, (1958), pp. 35–60 still remain valid, as shown by the various articles in Paul E. Szarmach, (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints Lives and Their Contexts*, (Albany, 1996).

this wealth of sources, numerous studies have been made over the years discussing content, style, orthopraxy, contemporary society and narrative history. David Rollason discussed their role in Northumbrian ecclesiastical politics.<sup>315</sup> However, of all our sources, hagiography is always written with an obvious purpose, which is to edify the reader with examples of saintly lives. There are also hidden purposes, usually to increase the influence of a particular monastic establishment. In all of these issues lie traps for the unwary and gullible scholar. But it is in the 'colour' that their authors put into the story that we often get nuggets of historical information. For example, the fact that the author of *VCA* describes houses and buildings close enough for fire to spread from one to another will be used in this thesis (along with other arguments) as one example amongst others to back up the picture of developing villages.<sup>316</sup>

## Law-codes

Pertinent to our studies are the various Anglo-Saxon law-codes.<sup>317</sup> None of course are known for Northumbria, but the law codes do allow us to compare and contrast developments in Northumbria with those elsewhere. There have been numerous attempts to use these sources to develop our understanding of the period.<sup>318</sup> However, this needs to

---

<sup>315</sup> David Rollason, 'Hagiography and politics in early Northumbria' in P. Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints Lives and Their Contexts* (Albany, 1996), pp. 95-114.

<sup>316</sup> *VCA*, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1940), p. 91.

<sup>317</sup> For recent work on the earliest laws see Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations 14 (Toronto, 2002).

<sup>318</sup> For example Louis M Alexander, 'The Legal Status of the Native Britons in Late Seventh-century Wessex as Reflected by the Law Code of Ine', *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1975), pp. 31-38.

be tempered with our understanding of the sources themselves. Ine's laws are only preserved because of their inclusion in the Alfred's law code, written almost 200 years later. Most historians accept that this is a genuine preservation, and the context does not suggest that they are a later invention, but rather that they form a building block for Alfred's legislation (or a useful statement of Alfred's own right to be making his own laws, but that is another matter). It has been generally accepted that although the laws survive only in later copies they are largely unaltered.<sup>319</sup> However Carole Hough warns that there may be issues with the integrity of the various clauses.<sup>320</sup> We also have to determine what is meant by the various capitularies. In part this is a reflection of the context in which they were made. They appear to be a response to contemporary circumstances as opposed to a single published statement of "the law", although they probably do build on traditional accepted practices. The various sub-clauses are perhaps instances of this. For example, clause 21 suggests a defence of killing, if the person undertaking the slaying thought the dead party a thief. Its sub-clause however removes the defence if the person doing the killing conceals the fact and is only discovered later.<sup>321</sup> Even though there can be broad agreement that this source offers useful material for further study, it is possible to disagree about conclusions. Lisi Oliver has recently suggested that the term *fedesl* in Æthelberht's laws can be used to put forward a case that food rent (*feorm*) was replaceable by a monetary payment.<sup>322</sup> However,

---

<sup>319</sup> Laurence Frederick Rushbrook Williams, 'The Status of the Welsh in the Laws of Ine', *English Historical Review* 30 (1915), pp. 271-277; Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 103-107; Yorke, *Early Medieval Wessex*, p. 72.

<sup>320</sup> Carole Hough, 'A Reconsideration of Ine Chp. 23', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 98 (1997), pp. 43-51.

<sup>321</sup> *Laws of Ine*; Attenburgh, *Laws of the earliest English Kings*, pg 43

<sup>322</sup> Lisi Oliver, 'Æthelberht's *Fedesl* Revisited', *Notes and Queries* 55.2 (2008), pp. 125-6; see also Lisi Oliver, 'Cyninges fedesl: the King's Feeding in Æthelberht ch. 12', *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1988), pp. 37-40.

although this is an attractive argument for various cases I would like to make in my thesis, it is, in my judgement, unlikely in the context of when the law was formed. This is based largely, but not exclusively, on the lack of evidence for a monetised economy in the late sixth century. The most important aspect of Ine's laws for this research is the picture of West Saxon society they seem to provide, which we can use to compare with information we have about Northumbria. However, caution must again be applied. We must consider that the laws reflect how the lawmakers thought society should be and are not necessarily a reflection of how it really is.<sup>323</sup> Nevertheless, they offer us one view of reality at the time, and we must always be conscious that if there is one "rule" that we might safely develop, it is that seventh-century Anglo-Saxon society was by no means homogenous. This is important, since we shall see that the picture that Ine's laws give us is one of a fairly structured society managed around estates, with a clear social hierarchy. It has a functioning legal system, with landholders able to remove themselves from one estate to another. It is also a society visited by foreigners and traders. It is a picture to gladden the heart of any "maximalist". However, the dangers of reading backwards from later history and assuming terms that have clear definitions are the same hundreds of years earlier cannot be over-stressed. And yet, if traders are mentioned, it is difficult to remove entirely the thought that at least some trade must be being undertaken. A completely "minimalist" view of society made up of broadly self-sufficient local units must be suspect at least.

---

<sup>323</sup> For a discussion of the issue see Alexander, 'The Legal Status of the Native Britons in Late Seventh-Century Wessex as Reflected by the Law Code of Ine', esp. pp. 31-32.

## Irish Law

As more scholars begin to look across the Anglo-Saxonist/ Celticist divide, it is the work over the last twenty years editing, translating, publishing and making accessible Irish law that will have a significant impact on Anglo-Saxon studies.<sup>324</sup> The use of the future tense remains necessary, partly because some of the work is too recent to have had a major impact on Anglo-Saxonists. One example may suffice. The *Uisce tairidne* is a tract on water courses, with the specialised meaning of mill-races.<sup>325</sup> It is concerned with the rights and implications of creating a water course across a neighbour's land in order to make mill race.<sup>326</sup> It takes us into the detailed study, then and now, of land ownership and land rights. This evidence needs to be taken alongside a remarkable archaeological investigation of a monastic tide mill at Nendrum, on Strangford Lough.<sup>327</sup> No clearer evidence that monasteries were at the forefront of technical and agricultural advances that had the possibility of changing society as a whole is needed. Nor, it should be said, is there better confirmation that at least some of our sources for the seventh-century are reliable in some of the picture they give of society and culture.

---

<sup>324</sup> J. Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988); Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*; Thomas, M. Charles-Edwards and J. Fergus Kelly, *Bechbretha: An Old Irish Law Tract on Bee Keeping* (Dublin, 1983) and other publications in the Early Irish law Series.

<sup>325</sup> Daniel A. Binchy, 'The Irish Law Tracts Re-Edited: *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne*', *Eriu* 17 (1955), pp. 52-85, p. 56.

<sup>326</sup> Breatnach, *Companion*, p. 296.

<sup>327</sup> Thomas McErlean and Norman Crothers, *Harnessing the Tides: The Early Medieval Tide Mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Lough* (Norwich, 2007).



Given the wealth of material available to the student of early Irish law, it seems churlish to pass it by with such a cursory glance. However, as detailed above, this study will rely on these particular sources only indirectly, although they have provided an important foreground through which to view change processes. I do wish to understand how a young English scholar can be warned of visiting the prostitutes that live around Irish monasteries in a society seemingly so rigidly defined in its social structures and one ostensibly with no mechanism for paying the bill.<sup>328</sup>

## Charters

Surprisingly, perhaps, an important contribution to the discussion about power will be made by the charter evidence. Although the work of Frank Stenton has been built on over the years, not least by the British Academy - Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters team,<sup>329</sup> it is perhaps fitting to point the reader to the chapter entitled “Charters and Their Criticism” in Stenton’s 1955 study.<sup>330</sup> It remains a useful introduction to source criticism. Charter evidence does not survive for Northumbria but we could take, for example, the charters for Wessex as a model. These are detailed in two places, The Electronic Sawyer web-site,<sup>331</sup> and the 1988 published research by Heather Edwards.<sup>332</sup> Both

---

<sup>328</sup> Aldhelm, Letter to Wihtfrith: Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm, The Prose Works*, p.139: see p. 151 below. Liam Breatnach has recently published a paper which suggests a sophisticated method of reckoning payments in terms of silver and other precious metals in Ireland although the evidence does not fully explain small scale exchange, particularly for services, ‘Forms of Payment in the Early Irish Law Tracts’, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 68 (2013), pp. 1-20.

<sup>329</sup> <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html>> [1st April 2011].

<sup>330</sup> Frank Merry Stenton, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 1-30.

<sup>331</sup> <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/> [19 October 2014].

offer views on whether individual charters are considered genuine, doubtful or clear forgeries. None survive in their original form, but rather in later summaries. However, those that are considered to be probably genuine do offer a picture of West Saxon society where land is being granted regularly to the Church. Grants can be from the king,<sup>333</sup> or by the king on another's behalf.<sup>334</sup> They can also be grants by laymen,<sup>335</sup> although a number of these are seen to be forgeries.<sup>336</sup> Charters do seem to confirm the existence of sub-kings,<sup>337</sup> and that some actions by kings required the consent of over-kings.<sup>338</sup> They also show kings granting privileges as well as lands to the Church.<sup>339</sup> These charters show the use of power, both in the granting away of privileges and land, and in the role given to the king, by the Church, in controlling these gifts. They would appear to be examples of a mutually enforcing power relationship, where the king perceives advantages in gifts to the Church, and the Church sees an interest in supporting power and authority.

---

<sup>332</sup> Edwards, Heather, *Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*.

<sup>333</sup> S1169 (numbers refer to the lists of early English charters drawn up by Sawyer himself).

<sup>334</sup> S71.

<sup>335</sup> S246.

<sup>336</sup> E.g. S1166.

<sup>337</sup> S1170, Baldred.

<sup>338</sup> S1169.

<sup>339</sup> S248.

## Poetry and other sources

It remains to look briefly at two final sets of sources, annals and poetry. Poetry is available to us through surviving British material preserved in Welsh sources.<sup>340</sup> Some have argued that these poems are important for our understanding of late seventh-century Northumbria,<sup>341</sup> but for the purposes of this thesis I would argue that they are further lenses through which to view this development, rather core source material. Although important for understanding the formative years of Northumbria in the first half of the seventh-century they tail off in the information they provide after 650 and provide more of a resource for the relationship between Mercia and the Welsh kingdoms than for Northumbria. This is perhaps backed up by Thomas Charles-Edwards. He states that a good case can be made for the authenticity of the Welsh poetic evidence and we can take from this that it should influence our view of Northumbria, but only up to the mid seventh-century. This is illustrated by his chapter divisions which look at the Britons and Northumbria to 685, but pick up The Britons and the Mercian hegemony 685-825 in a subsequent chapter.<sup>342</sup> Jenny Rowland suggests that the reason for this petering out of information is the expansion of the Welsh kingdoms into Powys in the latter part of our century.<sup>343</sup>

---

<sup>340</sup> For example Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>341</sup> Ian Wood, pers. comm.

<sup>342</sup> Charles-Edwards, Thomas, M., *Wales and the Britons* (Oxford, 2013), pp. viii-ix.

<sup>343</sup> Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, p. 138.

## Conclusions

This short review is not designed to assess every source critically. We have not, for example, covered the major areas of the annals although the use of the Irish chronicles have been given a major push by the recent publication of a new annotated translation by Thomas Charles-Edwards.<sup>344</sup> Of course the usefulness of the annals to the historian was greatly enhanced when it became clear that many of the late seventh-century entries were contemporary recordings,<sup>345</sup> although Charles-Edwards argues that this begins earlier.<sup>346</sup> This chapter has, I hope, shown the variety, nature and wide range of the sources for late seventh-century Northumbria, but also their limitations. The sources provide both direct evidence, which we shall explore in more detail in the following chapters, but also the lens through which we can view both change processes in Northumbria and some of the things that influenced and motivated the decision making of the various players, not least Aldfrith. We need to remember that Northumbria's future path was not yet set, and it could yet find a future in the Celtic milieu which, of course, was to be part of its actual future before it settled down as England's north-eastern frontier county. The sources show a Northumbria strongly influenced from the south, the west, and the north. Which way, under a king brought up in an Irish milieu, trained as an Irish theologian, and in a society undergoing significant social, religious, political and economic change, would Northumbria turn?

---

<sup>344</sup> *The Chronicle of Ireland*, ed. and trans. Thomas Charles-Edwards (Liverpool, 2006).

<sup>345</sup> Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources*, p. 142.

<sup>346</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle*, p. 8.

## Chapter 3 – Aldfrith’s Northumbria: A Sense of Direction?

Having examined our sources this next chapter will, in James Fraser’s description of historical analysis and method, “open(ing) the door of the laboratory a little”.<sup>347</sup> It will begin straightforwardly enough with a brief look at what we know of Aldfrith and his Irish background. The evidence has been recently discussed in detail by Barbara Yorke, although not all her conclusions are followed.<sup>348</sup> The main focus will be on Northumbria’s relationships with the kingdoms to its north and west, and on the Northumbrian Church. Through these lenses we will be able to see, albeit dimly, whether there was any significant Irish influence on Northumbria through its supposedly Irish-born king and, in the light of negative evidence, postulate why not. The chapter will end in the ‘laboratory’, looking at whether it was even conceivable that the king of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom might have been interested in the detailed decisions of an Irish synod. It is not going to argue that Aldfrith did, or should have, guaranteed the *Cáin Adomnán*, but rather it is going to examine the cultural milieu and the unique set of circumstances of Northumbria in the late seventh-century, where such a thing might be possible. It will conclude that, despite numerous ‘pull’ factors, the evidence suggests that Aldfrith and Northumbria looked south, and that this was the result of a deliberate choice.

---

<sup>347</sup> Fraser., *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 2.

<sup>348</sup> Yorke, *Rex Doctissimus: Bede and King Aldfrith of Northumbria*. See also Michael Lapidge, ‘The Career of Aldhelm’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 36, (2007), pp. 15-69; and Barbara Yorke, ‘Adomnán at the court of King Aldfrith’ in Jonathan M. Wooding (ed.), *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian-Lawmaker-Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 36-51.

It would be nice if there was enough information to ascribe motives to individuals alive in the seventh-century. Unfortunately there is not. However occasionally circumstances come together that allow for some speculation that is beyond mere guesswork. Northumbria has been presented as a place strongly influenced by Ireland.<sup>349</sup> It has been suggested that Aldfrith had been born and brought up in Ireland<sup>350</sup> and lived as an adult in the milieu of the Church.<sup>351</sup> He is remembered in Ireland as a *sapiens*.<sup>352</sup> All these contentions about Aldfrith will be explored. If they survive then we have the prospect of "an Irishman on the throne of Northumbria".<sup>353</sup> Does Aldfrith's reign see the kingdom growing closer to its northern and western neighbours or, as will be contended, did the kingdom increasingly focus on links to the south?

### **Aldfrith and His Background**

When we look at the details, there are few "facts" about Aldfrith. Even Bede throws some doubt on his family relationship with the Æthelfrithings, saying of him that "(he was) said to be the brother of Ecgfrith and a son of King Oswiu".<sup>354</sup> However, on the plus side we have

---

<sup>349</sup> Pamela O'Neill, 'Irish cultural influence on Northumbria: the first thirty years' in Benjamin T. Hudson and Vickie Ziegler (eds.), *Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages*, (Lanham, 1991), pp. 11-24, Clair Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid and the Irish*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2003).

<sup>350</sup> Martin Grimmer, Martin, 'The Exogamous Marriages of Oswiu of Northumbria', *The Heroic Age* 9 (2006), [<http://www.heroicage.org/issues/9/grimmer.html>]; [26 May 2013].

<sup>351</sup> Colin Ireland, 'Aldfrith of Northumbria and the learning of a *Sapiens*' in Kathryn A Klar. Eve E. Sweetster and Charles Thomas (eds.), *A Celtic Florilegium* (Lawrence MA., 1996), pp. 63-77; *HE*.iv.26.

<sup>352</sup> CI 703.5: The Annals of Tigernach have *ecnaidh*.

<sup>353</sup> Accepting the anachronisms of 'Irishman', 'throne' and 'Northumbria' for the period concerned!

<sup>354</sup> *HE*.iv.26 (24).

the *Anonymous Life of Cuthbert*,<sup>355</sup> which having been written during his reign may reflect the current political reality rather than historical accuracy. We also have the *Chronicle of Ireland*, which describes him as the son of Oswiu.<sup>356</sup> Both of these are nearly contemporary documents<sup>357</sup> and demonstrate at the very least that people wanted, and believed, him to be a descendent of Æthelfrith. We also find his name in the list of *Reges et Duces* in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, although that simply proves that he was recognised in Lindisfarne/Durham as having been king.<sup>358</sup> When we come to the rest of the details that are often quoted about him, we are on less sure ground. The evidence that he was called Flann Fína amongst the Irish<sup>359</sup> is not contemporary, and David Dumville has explored the evidence that Flann Fína may be someone other than Aldfrith.<sup>360</sup> Although he does not rule out the possibility that Aldfrith and Flann Fína are one and the same, he clearly articulates the doubts and suggests that further work is required to prove the links. Colin Ireland undertook that task and published his conclusions in 1999.<sup>361</sup> The key evidence is in the Irish genealogies of the *Síl Cuind*, 140a.39 which state: *Colmán Rímid athair Fína, máthair íside*

---

<sup>355</sup> VCA.III.6. states that Aldfrith was Ecgrith and Aefflaed's brother, and that he was on Iona.

<sup>356</sup> CI.704.5.

<sup>357</sup> Bertram Colgrave dates VCA to 699x705: *Two Lives of Cuthbert*, p.13; the contemporary nature of the *Chronicle of Ireland* is discussed by Thomas Charles Edwards, CI, p. 8, with references in note 2.

<sup>358</sup> Durham *Liber Vitae*, fol. 12.

<sup>359</sup> AT 704.4.

<sup>360</sup> David Dumville, 'Two Troublesome Abbots', *Celtica* 21 (1990), pp. 146–52, esp. pp. 149-50, where he puts the case for Flann Fína, abbot of Clonmacnoise, dies 731/732. Dumville dates the link between Flann Fína and Aldfrith to between the tenth and eleventh centuries, arguing that the link is not made in the earlier annals such as the *Annals of Ulster* or *Clonmacnoise*, but it does appear in the later ones such as the *Annals of Tigernach*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>361</sup> Colin A. Ireland, *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: An Edition of Briatha Flainn Fhína Maic Ossu* (Tempe, Arizona, 1999), pp. 52-53.

*Flaind Fina meic Ossu regis Saxonum*.<sup>362</sup> Ireland relies on the allocation of the title *sapiens* to Aldfrith in CI and his study *in regionibus Scottorum*.<sup>363</sup> However this is less than conclusive and the case would seem to remain ‘not proven’. The important link is between Aldfrith and Oswiu, and if the 703/4 entry in the *Chronicle of Ireland* is contemporary, then this cross referencing of sources with *HE* and the *Anonymous Life of Cuthbert* tells us what some of Aldfrith’s contemporaries believed, or wanted to believe, which may be just as important as the “facts”.

The second type of evidence that places Aldfrith in an Irish milieu is geographical. The *Anonymous Life of Cuthbert* places Aldfrith squarely on Iona during part of Ecgrith’s reign.<sup>364</sup> Adomnán calls him “our friend” in the context of visiting him, although notably he does not name him Flann Fína, despite his willingness to use Irish names and his earlier apology for using unfamiliar Irish words.<sup>365</sup> This is not proof that Aldfrith was on Iona, but strongly suggestive that Adomnán knew him well, and the only context we have for Adomnán being in one of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is his visit to Northumbria and Aldfrith. So it is likely they knew each other in an Irish rather than an Anglo-Saxon context. Some effort has gone into determining where, other than Iona, Aldfrith spent his time. The resolution of the discussion may come down to whether Aldfrith was, for his adult life, a monk, or indeed in holy orders, or an ætheling with a princely retinue. Only in the latter

---

<sup>362</sup> Michael O’Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962, reprinted 2005), p. 135.

<sup>363</sup> *VCB*.24.

<sup>364</sup> *VCA*.iii.6.

<sup>365</sup> *VC*.ii.46 and Preface 1.



scenario can the suggestion that Ecgfrith's raid on Brega be seen as an attempt to deal with a potential rival.<sup>366</sup> It is unlikely that we will ever be able to identify a place of long term residence. Alfred Smyth's interesting attempt to place him in Durrow<sup>367</sup> founders on the identification of Aldfrith with Ehfridus in Aldhelm's fifth letter,<sup>368</sup> and Barbara Yorke thinks it unlikely that he spent time in Wessex, on the basis that there is no specific evidence for it.<sup>369</sup> However there is a struggle to place where Aldhelm and Aldfrith formed their "bond of spiritual association" and became like "father" and "son" to each other, if not in Wessex. Lapidge has suggested Iona, which seems unlikely<sup>370</sup> (see below). There are a number of suggestive links between Aldfrith, Northumbria and Wessex. He was married to Cuthburga, King Ine's sister; his brother, Alhfrith had close links with Cenwealh of the West Saxons who had advised him to take Wilfrid, newly returned from Rome, as his abbot at *Stanforda* and Ripon.<sup>371</sup> Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons later ordained Wilfrid whilst on a visit to Northumberland<sup>372</sup> and also led the Roman delegation at the synod of Whitby.<sup>373</sup> Of course, Bede presents us with a split between Cenwealh and Agilbert,<sup>374</sup> and for every example of links with Wessex, there is a parallel example of links with Ireland. Agilbert came from

---

<sup>366</sup> Hermann Moisl, 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century', p. 322.

<sup>367</sup> Alfred P. Smyth, *Celtic Leinster* (Dublin, 1982), p. 121.

<sup>368</sup> As discussed in Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Work*, p. 145.

<sup>369</sup> Babara Yorke pers. comm.

<sup>370</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), pp. 15-69, p. 22ff.

<sup>371</sup> *VW.7.*

<sup>372</sup> *VW.9.*

<sup>373</sup> *HE.iii.25.* Of course, by this time Agilbert is Bishop of Paris.

<sup>374</sup> *HE.iii.7.*

Ireland to the West Saxons,<sup>375</sup> and Wilfrid had such Irish contacts as enable him to find and extract Dagobert when asked to do so by the Frisians.<sup>376</sup> However, the case, and also the details around Aldfrith's baptism and confirmation, merits further study. In reality, we are left with Colin Ireland's suggestion that Aldfrith would have been raised and fostered in Ireland, as was the legal custom.<sup>377</sup> If this is correct, we may be able to place him amongst the Cenél nÉogain at least in his very early years,<sup>378</sup> and on Iona at different times, but we cannot pinpoint or prove his presence elsewhere, and nor can we pinpoint the duration of his stays. This is a pity, as it would be helpful to know whether it was possible that Aldfrith was of the *Romani* persuasion, rather than the *Hibernii*, and thus already a follower of the Easter cycle in use in Northumbria.<sup>379</sup>

We have seen that later sources described Flann Fína as *sapiens* which Thomas Charles Edwards confirms is linked to "Christian and biblically based learning".<sup>380</sup> Bede presents us with two stories that illustrate Aldfrith's theological bent: he was most interested in

---

<sup>375</sup> HE.iii.7.

<sup>376</sup> VW.28.

<sup>377</sup> Ireland, *Aldfrith of Northumbria*, p.67.

<sup>378</sup> Although this too is speculative. Fína, if she was Aldfrith's mother, may have had the relationship with Oswiu somewhere other than the north of Ireland. It is also irrelevant to Aldfrith's formative years. He is likely to have been fostered, and *contra* Barbara Yorke, there is no reason why this could not have been amongst the West Saxons, with whom the Aethelfrithing's had links. Aldfrith would have a West Saxon Godfather in Aldhelm, and a West Saxon wife in Cuthburh.

<sup>379</sup> As it would be helpful to have a better understanding of whether an individual stance on the dating of Easter on the part of those who were not senior churchmen was important. It is possible that one simply followed the practice of the place where one was staying. However, as the view grew that non-conformity was a heresy then this may have changed.

<sup>380</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 266.

Drythelm's vision of heaven and hell, and at his request Drythelm was admitted as a monk at Melrose,<sup>381</sup> and he was prepared to exchange eight hides of land for a copy of an illustrated cosmography.<sup>382</sup> As is well known, Adomnán presented him with a copy of his work "On the Holy Places" which Aldfrith allowed to be copied and disseminated.<sup>383</sup>

Perhaps the clearest example of Aldfrith's learning is the letter taken by most scholars to have been written to the new king by Aldhelm, on Aldfrith's accession.<sup>384</sup> Michael Lapidge has suggested that Aldhelm and Aldfrith were cousins, and that they would have known each other from time spent together on Iona.<sup>385</sup> Unfortunately the view that Aldhelm spent time in Ireland or on Iona is beginning to be cited as orthodoxy.<sup>386</sup>

I do not accept Michael Lapidge's assertion that Aldfrith and Aldhelm were related.<sup>387</sup> His arguments rely on the following being the case:

- agreement that Centwine is Aldhelm's father; and also that Centwine had only one wife, Eorminburg's sister, and Aldhelm was their progeny

---

<sup>381</sup> *HE.v.12.*

<sup>382</sup> Life of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, 15.

<sup>383</sup> *HE.v.15.*

<sup>384</sup> As noted above, the definitive case for Arcicius=Aldfrith is presented by Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, p. 32.

<sup>385</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), pp. 15-69.

<sup>386</sup> Thomas Pickles, 'Review of Aldhelm and Sherbourne. Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric, edited by Katherine Barker with Nicholas Brooks', *The Antiquaries Journal* 92 (2012), pp. 476-7 describes Lapidge's case as "compelling", p. 477. Groves et.al, 'Mobility histories of 7th–9th century AD people buried at early medieval Bamburgh', p. 470 cites Lapidge as authority for Aldhelm being fostered in Northumbria and "probably" being in Ireland c660.

<sup>387</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), pp. 15-69.

- that Wilfrid confirmed Aldfrith
- that Aldfrith spent his youth on Iona and studied with Adomnán, and
- that Aldhelm was significantly influenced by Irish learning, and further, that he studied with Adomnán

That Aldhelm's work is heavily influenced by Irish studies is, in modern Scots legal parlance "not proven", and there is little or no evidence to support the other assertions. What is clear is the level of personal learning that would be necessary to appreciate the skill and knowledge that went into the drafting of the letter and its constituent parts, particularly the essay on the number seven; the essay on Latin metrics; and the one hundred *enigmata*. If the intention was for Aldfrith to personally appreciate the gift, then Aldfrith was indeed a learned man.

What would confirm Aldfrith's position as a *sapiens* of note, other than Bede's eulogistic words, is the *Bríathra Fhína maic Ossu*, a collection of wisdom sayings.<sup>388</sup> If these are by Aldfrith, and we must remember Dumville's caution, then they preserve and value a series of written sayings.<sup>389</sup> These portray the author not just as a scholar, as a number of them speak in praise of learning, but as one who sees the military life as requiring repentance.<sup>390</sup> Although we cannot conclusively link Aldfrith with Flann Fína, there seems to be sufficient evidence to go along with the consensus that Aldfrith was indeed "a man from the earliest

---

<sup>388</sup> Ireland, *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria*.

<sup>389</sup> Ireland, *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria*, p. 46.

<sup>390</sup> *Bríathra*.7.19 and 7.20.

years of his life imbued with love of sacred learning, a scholar with great power of eloquence, of piercing intellect: a king and a teacher at the same time”.<sup>391</sup>

## Northern Politics

It is important to contextualise Aldfrith’s reign in the politics of the period and to look a little further afield, to understand what alternatives there might have been to decisions that were taken at the time. There are a number of aspects of Irish history that are still being debated by historians,<sup>392</sup> for example, whether the King of Tara was seen as an Ireland wide high king,<sup>393</sup> or when, “between the beginning and end of pre-Norman Irish history”,<sup>394</sup> dynastic and territorial kingship emerged, remain real points of debate. In fact the amount of “sure ground” remains very limited so the following must be taken as tentative.

Surely the major event in Ireland during Aldfrith’s reign was the passing of the kingship of Tara from the control of the Síl nÁeda Sláine, as had been the case for four generations, to the Cenél Conaill. In 695 Fínsnechta Fledach son of Dúnchad was killed by factions within the Síl nÁeda Sláine, which infighting allowed Loingsech mac Óenguso and the Cenél Conaill to gain the kingship. It is likely that this meant that Loingsech mac Óenguso became

---

<sup>391</sup> Peter Godman (ed. and trans.), *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, (Oxford, 1982), p. 71.

<sup>392</sup> For an overview of the current debates see Kim McCone and Katherine Simms (eds.), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996); and more recently Elva Johnston, ‘Review Article: Early Irish History: the State of the Art’, *Irish Historical Studies* 33 (2003), pp. 342-348

<sup>393</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards answer is sometimes, but it was dependent on the individual, not the office, and developed over time c.f. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 482.

<sup>394</sup> Colmán Etchingham, ‘Early Medieval Irish History’ in McCone and Simms (eds.), *Progress*, pp. 123-154, esp. p. 129.

pre-eminent amongst the Uí Néill, the descent group that included both the Síl nÁeda Sláne and the Cenél Connaill, along with the Cenél nÉogain and Clann Cholmáin and other lesser dynastic segments.

Other peoples included the Connachta, whose major groupings in the late seventh-century were the Uí Briúin and the Uí Fiachrach; the Uí Dúnlainge and the Uí Cheinnselaig in Leinster, and the Eoganachta in Munster. However, we are too often faced with situations where later history is written back in time to explain and fill earlier lacunae. This is particularly the case when later sagas, written ostensibly about earlier times but reflecting contemporary conditions, are cited as evidence for earlier history. In the north east of Ireland, in what was to become Ulster, the picture is even more confused. The later texts have a grouping of the Dál nAraide, Dál Fiatach and Dál Riata forming the Ulaid. However Adomnán refers to the Dál nAraide as Cruithne.<sup>395</sup> They were to gain the kingship of the Ulaid under Fergus mac Áedán and later were to refer to themselves as ‘the true Ulaid’.<sup>396</sup> These groups were in conflict, not just with each other, but with the various Uí Néill. The reality would seem to be what in other areas of historical study might be called an ongoing process of ethnogenesis.

---

<sup>395</sup> VC.i.36. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín makes this point in *Early Medieval Ireland, 400-1200*, (London, 1995), p.48. However the Iona chronicler seems to take a different view when he records the Dál Riata laying waste to the Cruithni and Ulaid in CI 691.3.

<sup>396</sup> Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ‘Ireland, 400-800’ in Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 182-234, esp. p. 213.

There is only space for a very brief look at the key events in each kingdom before we turn to events ecclesiastical, although we will see that the two are closely intertwined. It seems accepted that when a king was able to claim to be King of Tara a successor took over the role left behind. Thus when Loingsech mac Óenguso left the Cenél Conaill heartlands it appears that his cousin, Congal Cenn Magair, took over the kingship there. Now here is a good example of the limitations of our sources. The annals only tell us about Congal Cenn Magair when he took over the Kingship of Tara after what appears to have been a two year interregnum following the death of Loingsech mac Óenguso and his three sons Artgal, Connachtach and Flann Derg, at the battle of Corann.<sup>397</sup> Yet another text that will be looked at in some detail below, the guarantor list appended to *Cain Adomnán*, appears to list Congal Cenn Magair as king of the Cenél Conaill in 697, although the attributions of the various guarantors are later additions. It is the rise of the Cenél Conaill, perhaps after a period of external control by the Cenél nÉogain,<sup>398</sup> that is important to note, particularly because of their close connection to Iona, being the kin grouping both of Colum Cille and of Adomnán, his biographer, Aldfrith's contemporary, and the most renowned abbot and scholar the monastery was to have other than its founder.

Tara itself was situated in Brega, in the lands of the Síol nÁeda Sláine. The late seventh-century saw the long rule of Fínsnechtae Fledach son of Dúinchad from 675 to 695. However it was not a peaceful reign, seeing conflict with Leinster from the south and the Dál Fiatach from the north, as well as infighting amongst the Síol nÁeda Sláine themselves. It is during the

---

<sup>397</sup> CI 703.2 and CI 705.10.

<sup>398</sup> Brian Lacey, *Cenél Conaill and the Donegal Kingdoms, AD 500-800* (Dublin, 2006), p. 329.

reign of Fínsnechtae Fledach that Ecgfrith of Northumbria's troops raid Brega, a subject that will be returned to later.<sup>399</sup>

In Mide, next door to Brega, Clann Cholmáin seem to have been under the control of the SílnÁeda Sláine, as their subsequent rise post-dates the death of Fínsnechtae Fledach, and the rise of the Cenél Conaill. For example, in 689 the Clann Cholmáin king, Diarmait son of Airmedach Cáech was killed by Áed son of Dlúthac of the SílnAedo Sláine.<sup>400</sup>

The Ulaid kingship may have fluctuated between the Cruithni and the Dál Fiatach,<sup>401</sup> with Congal Cendfhota of the Dál Fiatach dying in 674, Óengus son of Áedán, of the Cruithni dying probably in 692 and Bécc Bairche son of Dúngaile of the Dál Fiatach abdicating in 707. However the Dál Riata in Ireland were not inactive with the annals recording them laying waste to the Cruithni and Ulaid in 691.<sup>402</sup> Without listing in detail all the conflicts and rivalries between the various parties in the north of Ireland, never mind Ireland as a whole, it is sufficient to note the capabilities of even the minor kingdoms to wage war. We should also note a number of references to the British fighting in Ireland.<sup>403</sup>

---

<sup>399</sup> HE.IV.26 (24) and CI 685.

<sup>400</sup> CI 689.3; the history of Mide can be followed in Ailbhe MacSamhráin, 'Nebulae Discutiuntur? The emergence of Clann Cholmáin, sixth-eighth centuries' in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 83-98.

<sup>401</sup> Although as Alex Woolf has pointed out to me that this may be a twelfth century construct (pers. comm. 27 Aug 2014).

<sup>402</sup> CI 691.3.

<sup>403</sup> Specifically CI 682.2 The battle of Ráith Mór of Mag Line against the Britons; 697.10 Britons and Ulaid wasted Mag Muirthemne; and 702.2 Írgalach son (grandson?) of Conaing was slain by Britons on Inis Mac Nésan.



It might be argued, in the context of Aldfrith having “ably restored the shattered state of the kingdom although with narrower bounds (although) the hopes and strengths of the English kingdom began to ebb and fall away,”<sup>404</sup> that he would have had little to do with far away Ireland. However the raid on Brega in Ecgrith’s time points conclusively to a Northumbrian interest in Irish affairs. Aldfrith, although he inherited the captives taken by Berht, Ecgrith’s military leader in that campaign, didn’t release them immediately on gaining the throne, but only after Adomnán’s intervention one or possibly two years later.<sup>405</sup> Adomnán’s words suggest that there may have been some immediacy after the battle of Dún Nechtain,<sup>406</sup> but it still took special pleading on his part, rather than the new king’s natural reaction on gaining the throne. Whatever it was that Ecgrith was seeking to achieve, Aldfrith and possibly his kingdom’s interests were best served initially by holding onto the captives and then agreeing to be seen to let them go at the instigation of a senior Irish churchman.

When we turn to the Picts, examination of the few surviving facts again leads us to question Bede’s conclusions on the military aspects of Aldfrith’s reign. For a start, Bede’s notion of the unity of the Picts, and indeed his position that they were divided into northern and southern blocks, may be an eighth-century view, anachronistic for the seventh.<sup>407</sup> The Chronicle of Ireland records a battle in which Bretrid son of Bernith fell.<sup>408</sup> Both Thomas

---

<sup>404</sup> *HE*.iv.26 (24).

<sup>405</sup> *CI*.687.5.

<sup>406</sup> *VC*.ii.49.

<sup>407</sup> Alex Woolf points to this without stating it specifically in ‘Pictish Matriliney Reconsidered’, *Innes Review* 49 (1998), pp. 147-67, esp. p. 153.

<sup>408</sup> *CI*.698.2.

Charles-Edwards and Peter Hunter Blair equate these names with Berct son of Beornhaeth,<sup>409</sup> and we can accept this conclusion. This might imply that the Northumbrians lost the battle. However, either the Picts were attacking the Northumbrians, in which case Northumbria succeeded in retaining its status, or the Northumbrians were attacking the Picts, which would suggest a continued expansionist policy, albeit an unsuccessful one. There is always the possibility that this is isolated raiding, but the language used, referring as it does to a *bellum*, makes this unlikely.

By Aldfrith's day, Northumbria had been involved in Pictish affairs for some time. When Æthelfrith's sons had gone into exile, it would seem that Eanfrith had gone to the Picts, where he fathered a future Pictish king, Talorcan.<sup>410</sup> Bede tells us specifically that Oswiu held the Picts as tribute payers,<sup>411</sup> and later that Wilfrid administered the Church of the Picts "as far as Oswiu's power extended".<sup>412</sup> This has been taken to assume that at least part of the Pictish people were under Northumbrian "control" although which parts has been a matter for debate.<sup>413</sup> James Fraser, in his "historical laboratory" has suggested that a Northumbrian sub-kingdom may have been established within the Pictish area, possibly the *Niduaría*, visited by Cuthbert and under the sub-kingship of Beornhaeth and his kin.<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>409</sup> Charles Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, P. 174, note 1; Hunter Blair, 'The Bernicians and their northern frontier' in Chadwick (ed.) *Studies in Early British History*, pp. 137-172, esp. p. 171.

<sup>410</sup> Molly Miller, 'Eanfrith's Pictish Son', *Northern History* 14 (1978), pp. 47-66.

<sup>411</sup> *HE*.ii.5.

<sup>412</sup> *HE*.iv.3.

<sup>413</sup> Isabel Henderson, *The Picts* (London, 1967), P. 53.

<sup>414</sup> Fraser, *From Pictland to Alba*, P. 201.

Northumbrian control continued in Ecgrith's reign. At the beginning of his rule he was faced with a Pictish rebellion, the story of which is recounted by Stephen rather than Bede, another reminder, if we needed one, that we cannot rely on Bede alone for our history.<sup>415</sup> There is no element of Stephen's account that suggests that Northumbrian overlordship was limited to southern Pictland. It has tended to be assumed that this was the case although it has also, until recently, been assumed that the Pictish kingdom of Fortriu was in southern Pictland. If Alex Woolf's proposition that Fortriu is a northern kingdom and his parallel suggestion that Dún Nechtian was fought at Dunachton in Badenoch are accepted then, as in the words of the article's abstract, this has profound implications.<sup>416</sup> Another Alex Woolf suggestion, that Bridei son of Bile might have been helped to the throne of his kingdom,<sup>417</sup> which is later described in Irish Chronicles as Fortriu,<sup>418</sup> by Ecgrith does point to Northumbrian suzerainty stretching to the Moray Firth at least. However, the record of the sieges of Dunottar and Dundurn in 681 and 683 respectively<sup>419</sup> perhaps belies this simple picture of north and south Pictland dominated by Northumbria. If we had a number of Pictish kingdoms, of which two or more of were subject to Northumbrian control, and only some of which attracted the interest of Iona, this might better fit the evidence.

It would appear that Aldfrith had, on his northern border, an aggressively expansionist northern Pictish king, who had defeated and killed his predecessor and had begun his reign

---

<sup>415</sup> VW.41.

<sup>416</sup> Woolf, 'Dun Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts', pp. 182-201.

<sup>417</sup> Woolf, Pictish Matrilineity Reconsidered, p. 162.

<sup>418</sup> CI 763.10.

<sup>419</sup> CI 681.5 and CI 683.3.

by devastating the Orkneys,<sup>420</sup> thereby allowing the Picts to “recover their own land which the English had formerly held”.<sup>421</sup> However, the post-Dún Nechtain position held. The annals tell us that Bridei’s successor Taran was expelled from the kingship in 697 and “proceeded” to Ireland in 699. In the meantime, 698 saw the battle in which the Northumbrian Brectrid son of son of Bernith fell. As pointed out above, we don’t know who was attacking who, but it may have been Beornhaeth’s kin trying to re-establish their kingdom, as Fraser might have us think, or the new Pictish king, Bridei son of Der-Ile, flexing his muscles, or indeed, some other Pictish king. Bridei is the only Pictish king who guaranteed the Cáin Adomnán<sup>422</sup> along with presumably his bishop, Curetán.<sup>423</sup> However, this may be more reflective of the place of the Columban Church in the north in the 690s than evidence of Bridei’s hegemony or lack of it. Nevertheless by the time Bede is writing, Bridei’s brother and successor, Nechtan, is presented as a sole Pictish ruler, able to dominate ecclesiastical decision making in his kingdom. A lot seems to have happened in Pictland in the early eighth-century, including the re-invention of history to reflect the current political reality, with new king lists penned around 724.<sup>424</sup> However the trends that gave rise to this began in the late seventh-century. Bridei, son of Beli, was a powerful figure and Aldfrith could, in different circumstances, have found himself drawn into northern politics and may even have been threatened by them.

---

<sup>420</sup> CI 682.4.

<sup>421</sup> HE.iv.26 (24).

<sup>422</sup> Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ‘The Law of Adomnán: a translation’ in Thomas O’Loughlin, (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 679. Essays in Commemoration of the Law of the Innocents*, (Dublin, 2001), pp. 53-68, p. 59.

<sup>423</sup> Aidan MacDonald, *Curadan, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie*, Groam House Lecture, (Rosemarkie, 1992).

<sup>424</sup> Nicholas Evans, ‘Royal Succession and Kingship Among the Picts’, *Innes Review* 59.1 (2008), pp. 1-46, esp. p.6.

What of Dál Riata? There are strong suggestions that Aldfrith was on Iona and the news of Ecgrith's death was brought to him there.<sup>425</sup> There is also a later statement that the news accompanied Ecgrith's remains.<sup>426</sup> The specifics of the latter are more difficult to explain in an historical context, and it is probably better not to try. Better, rather, to list it amongst the other examples seen in the previous chapter of the understanding of the closeness of the pre-Aldfrith Northumbrian - Cenél nGabráin relationship. A recent article exploring again the origin myths of Dál Riata has reversed the trend of questioning the "migration from Ireland" theory to explain a Gaelic speaking people being based in Britain.<sup>427</sup> It also gives a very useful summary of the literary evidence. However, more important for the purposes here is the work by David Dumville and James Fraser excavating from the texts evidence of a much more fragmented polity than the picture provided by Bede and Adomnán.<sup>428</sup> There seems little doubt that there were four kindreds competing for the over-kingship of Dal Riáta, although this in itself may be a simplified picture, and there is even doubt as to whether it is appropriate to call the polity by that term in our period. The four major kindreds were Cenél nGabráin, Cenél Loairn, Cenél Comgaill and Cenél nOengusa, although each in turn had its sub-groups.

---

<sup>425</sup> VCA.vi.

<sup>426</sup> Hist. Dunelmensis Eccl. 1.ix.

<sup>427</sup> Cormac McSparron and Brian Williams, '...and they won land among the Picts by friendly treaty or the sword', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 141 (2011), pp. 145-158 and references therein to articles by Ewan Campbell.

<sup>428</sup> David Dumville, 'Cethri primchenéla' in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 20, (2000), pp. 175-83; David Dumville, 'Ireland and North Britain in the Earlier Middle Ages: Contexts for Míniugud Senchasa fher n-Alban', *Celtic Essays II*, (Aberdeen, 2007), pp. 35-71; James Earle Fraser, 'The Iona Chronicle: The Descendants of Áedán mac Gabráin and the 'Principle Kindreds of Dál Riada'', *Northern Studies*, 28, (2004), pp. 77-96.

The period of Aldfrith's reign saw a major upheaval amongst these kingdoms, with five kings being killed, dying or being deposed between 696 and 698. The over-kingship seems to have settled on Selbach, son of Ferchar, of the Cenél Loarne. The period of Cenél nGabráin dominance was over. This long period, along with political and ecclesiastical bias, may explain the picture we have from Adomnán of Cenél nGabráin hegemony. On the face of it Northumbria had no involvement, although James Fraser suggests that it is the removal of Northumbrian power after Nechtansmere that led to a position where Fortriu and, to some extent, Alt Clut could become more involved in Dál Riata, and the removal of Northumbrian support saw the eclipsing of Cenél nGabráin. Obviously the full arguments are too detailed to be entered into here, although I would broadly agree with the position put forward by James Fraser in his *From Caledonia to Pictland*.<sup>429</sup>

The same Northumbrian withdrawal of interest that caused instability among the kindreds of Dál Riata may have been an opportunity for the rulers of Ail Cluath (Alt Clut, Clyde Rock). It has been argued that Alt Clut was also under Northumbrian dominance in Ecgrith's reign and represented the portion of Britons who gained their freedom after the battle of Nechtansmere.<sup>430</sup> This argument would see these Britons then able to be immersed in Irish politics. Certainly Domnall son of Owain, who died in 694,<sup>431</sup> and his successor Beli son of Elffin, both had long reigns. But this is the opposite picture to Dál Riatan instability and the

---

<sup>429</sup> See particularly his summary on pp. 229-233.

<sup>430</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064*, pp. 432-3; *HE*.iv.24 (22).

<sup>431</sup> CI 694.

attacks on Ireland, if they were by Alt Clut British, began before Nechtansmere in 685, with the battle of Ráth Mór of Mag Line in 682.<sup>432</sup> We can also dismiss the tentative suggestion by James Fraser that the attack on Brega may have been a tactic to dismantle a potential agreement between Dumngual of Alt Clut, the Cenel Loairne, and Finnsnechtae Fledach of the Síl nÁedo Sláine in Brega as some sort of grand anti-Bernician alliance. In 702 it was Írgalach son of Conaing of the Síl nÁedo Sláine in Brega who was killed by “Britons on Inis Mac Nesán”.<sup>433</sup> Of course an alliance of 685 may not have lasted until 702, but as Molly Miller has proposed that these Britons were from the Isle of Man,<sup>434</sup> and Alfred Smyth that they were mercenaries from Rheged,<sup>435</sup> they may not be from Alt Clut at all. If that is the case, then all we have for Alt Clut in our period is a list of king’s names and obits, perhaps not even complete, and a seemingly internally highly stable kingdom.

A number of historians see Rheged and other British kingdoms as important to the development of Northumbria, for example Andrew Breeze and Nicholas Higham.<sup>436</sup> However the evidence is limited and has to be worked hard to deliver a coherent picture. It has been thoroughly examined and probably been pushed as far as it can be by Clare Stancliffe, in her Whithorn lecture of 2005.<sup>437</sup> There is simply not enough evidence to either

---

<sup>432</sup> CI 682.

<sup>433</sup> CI 702.

<sup>434</sup> Molly Miller, ‘Hiberni Reversuri’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 110 (1978-80), pp. 305-27, esp. p. 310.

<sup>435</sup> Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 26.

<sup>436</sup> For example Andrew Breeze: ‘The Names of Rheged’, *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society*, 86 (2012), pp.51-62; Nicholas J Higham, *The Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007).

<sup>437</sup> Clare Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, Whithorn Lecture, (Whithorn, 2007).

accurate locate Rheged or to say when it ceased being an independent kingdom, even within a generation.

So this is the northern context of Aldfrith's reign, and against which can be judged the statement that Aldfrith "ably restored the shattered state of the kingdom although with narrower bounds."<sup>438</sup> Against peoples well able to conduct warfare, Northumbria survived Nechtansmere and its aftermath. There is no need to follow Tim Clarkson's suggestion that Aldfrith may have been subject to Bridei mac Der Ile until the battle fought in 692.<sup>439</sup> The proposal has been put forward more than once that Aldfrith must have had either Pictish or Dál Riata support in order to gain the throne of Northumbria.<sup>440</sup> However, this possibility is not the picture presented by the written sources. For them, it is an internal Northumbrian matter, although as we shall see, this Northumbrian focus may itself be a bias. In reality we have no evidence other than the support amongst the Northumbrian nobility for the descendants of Æthelfrith, and Aldfrith and his son Osred in particular. One interpretation of VCA is that Aldfrith had the support of his half-sister, Ælffled,<sup>441</sup> and Osred had the support of Berhtfrith,<sup>442</sup> who as we have seen, is probably a member of a powerful family based in the north. It is interesting to note in passing that after Berhtfrith is killed fighting the Picts in

---

<sup>438</sup> *HE*.iv.26 (24).

<sup>439</sup> Tim Clarkson, *The Men of the North* (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 149.

<sup>440</sup> Grimmer, 'The Exogamous Marriages of Oswiu of Northumbria', <<http://www.heroicage.org/issues/9/grimmer.html>> [28 September 2013]; Moisl, 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century', p.117.

<sup>441</sup> *VCA*.24.

<sup>442</sup> *VW*.40.



716, five years later Osred is deposed and killed and replaced by Ceolwulf,<sup>443</sup> who was not an Æthelfrithing.<sup>444</sup> A strong Gaelic influence on Northumbria as a result of having assisted Aldfrith's route to the throne would seem to be unlikely. After all, Adomnán had to visit to negotiate the release of Irish captives taken during the raid on Brega, rather than them being returned in triumph by the supposed powers behind the Pictish victory at Nechtansmere.<sup>445</sup> In summary, it is likely that it was being the closest surviving member of the family of Æthelfrith and existing Northumbrian power structures that enabled Aldfrith to gain the throne.

### **Northumbrian 'Connections'**

We have contextualised Aldfrith in terms of the Irish nature of his upbringing, and the northern political milieu that he faced. As well as these 'pull' factors that one might expect to influence him to look north and west, there were a 'push' factors encouraging him to look south. It is likely that the greatest of these were the churchmen identified in the literature review; Theodore, Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith and Aldhelm. We know that Aldhelm and Aldfrith knew each other well but we do not know whether they had further communications after Aldhelm's congratulatory epistle on Aldfrith's accession.<sup>446</sup> Of course Aldfrith's wife, Aefflaed, was the sister of Ine of the West Saxons and although the possibility of her having a blood relationship with Aldhelm is unlikely, it is improbable that

---

<sup>443</sup> *HE*.v.24.

<sup>444</sup> Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England  
<[http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW\\_RECORDS&st=PERSON\\_NAME&value=1303&level=1&lbl=Ceolwulf](http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=1303&level=1&lbl=Ceolwulf)> [29 September 2013].

<sup>445</sup> For Adomnán's visit to recover the captives CI 687.

<sup>446</sup> Aldhelm, Letter to Arcicius

there was not regular communication between the two areas. In Wilfrid, his bishop, who Aldfrith allowed to return to his see after his banishment by Ecgrith, he had someone who portrayed himself as an arch-Romanist. Stephen says that Wilfrid saw himself as the person who removed the Irish, established the true Easter, and introduced appropriate choir singing and the Benedictine rule.<sup>447</sup> Benedict Biscop, abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, had travelled to Rome up to five times and, like Wilfrid, had introduced Roman style buildings and practices to his monasteries.<sup>448</sup> On one of his visits to Rome he had been asked to escort Theodore to Canterbury where he was to be archbishop. Theodore had been responsible for the division of Northumbria into a number of bishoprics which ultimately led to the exile of Wilfrid and the latter's appeal to the Pope for restitution. When Aldfrith became king, according to Bede, he allowed Wilfrid to return to one of these sees, but Stephen suggests that this was at the behest of Theodore.<sup>449</sup> Given Theodore's previous regular involvement, it is likely that he continued to influence the Church in Northumbria following Aldfrith's succession. Bede is highly circumspect on Wilfrid's career, and his biographer, Stephen, is highly partisan. We do not know the exact timing of Wilfrid's second expulsion, by Aldfrith this time, and whether Theodore had a role in it before he died in 690. In short, there were a number of very powerful Romanist churchmen in Northumbria. There were some who had begun their careers in an Irish milieu, and the picture Bede gives us, of Cuthbert for example, highlights his ascetic practices and his pastoral care. However, we have seen that Bede had an agenda around the issue of church reform. Cuthbert had

---

<sup>447</sup> VW. 47

<sup>448</sup> But see Ian Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid*, Jarrow lecture (Jarrow, 1995), p. 1 for a discussion of who actually founded Jarrow.

<sup>449</sup> HE.iii.19; VW.43

accepted the decision of the Synod of Whitby on Roman practices, and the anonymous life stresses that Cuthbert had always had a Roman tonsure.<sup>450</sup> This is probably untrue, at least for the period before the Synod of Whitby, but it demonstrates that Cuthbert and his biographers were keen to stress their Roman credentials. It is unlikely that there were any churchmen or women in Northumbria advocating a change back to Irish church practices. Yet, as we have seen, Aldfrith feels confident enough, a number of years into his reign, to follow the example of his predecessor and banish Wilfrid. Opposition from within the church is not recorded. Clearly the church does not feel threatened by Aldfrith's political or theological choices.

### **Evidence that Aldfrith Looked South**

Given Aldfrith's background, we might expect some further development of Northumbria's Irish links. It is difficult though, to argue from negative evidence. Given that our sources are, in the main, later or sparse, absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence. However, I am going to suggest that Aldfrith looked deliberately to his Northumbrian heritage, and to the south and east for his influences and turned away from Ireland and the north. The positive evidence lies in Aldfrith's interventions in Church politics. The discussion will look at the development of the culting of saints in Northumbria and further afield, the options open to Aldfrith and the Church in terms of who might be culted and in some detail at the culting of Cuthbert.

---

<sup>450</sup> VCA.ii.2

This argument rests on the assumption that decisions on who is culted and who is not are influenced by political considerations as well as ecclesiastical ones. The culting of Cuthbert could have happened exactly as described by the sources. A group of senior monks simply decide to move Cuthbert's relics, with the permission of their only vaguely interested bishop, Eadberht, and find Cuthbert's remains un-decayed. Eadberht then takes a greater interest, although he dies before the cult could be developed much further. Various miracles start to be associated with Cuthbert's remains, now in the sanctuary, and so the cult begins. An alternative picture is that the culting of Cuthbert was more planned, with the raising of his relics as the first step that would see, over time, the writing of two surviving lives and the development of a major cult centre.

The suggestion that the culting of Cuthbert was connected to the politics of Northumbria is not new. David Rollason has suggested that Cuthbert was culted to unify Northumbria, and Alan Thacker refers to Cuthbert as Northumbria's Martin of Tours.<sup>451</sup> Certainly the role of, for example, Merovingian kings in culting saints is well attested.<sup>452</sup> That this took place in what was effectively a royal monastery associated with the power base of Bamburgh without the broad approval at least, if not the active participation of the king, is in this

---

<sup>451</sup> David W. Rollason, 'Why was St Cuthbert so popular' in David W. Rollason (ed.), *Cuthbert: Saint and Patron* (Durham, 1987), pp. 9-22, esp. p. 19; Alan T. Thacker, '*Peculiaris Patronus Noster*: the saint as patron in the early middle ages' in John R. Maddicott and David Michael Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State, Essays presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 1-23, p. 16.

<sup>452</sup> Paul Fouracre, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempts to regulate the cult of saints' in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 143-166.

author's opinion, unlikely. Kings attend, and sometimes lead, Church Councils<sup>453</sup> and kings choose bishops.<sup>454</sup> The development of major cults in royal monasteries is unlikely to be something that passes them by.

It is possible that we are looking at the culting of Cuthbert through the lens of its subsequent success. However Eadberht, Bede tells us, had Aidan's wooden church on Lindisfarne entirely encased in lead. Might this have been in preparation for Lindisfarne becoming a more significant centre for pilgrimage, with a number of way stops within the monastery for prayer and devotion on the part of the pilgrims?<sup>455</sup> Alan Thacker suggests that the culting was planned following model practice from Gaul.<sup>456</sup> Unfortunately the debate over the dating of the Lindisfarne gospels remains too inconclusive to assist the argument. If Eadfrith did indeed scribe the gospels,<sup>457</sup> and if he did this before he became bishop, then this would suggest that the gospels were planned as part of the culting process

---

<sup>453</sup> Although this varies over time, the royal role can be seen at Streanaeshalch in 664 (*HE*.iii.25), Astwinapath in c703 (*VW*.46) and even Nidd in 706 when, although the king is a minor, his entourage act on his behalf (*VW*.60).

<sup>454</sup> For one of many examples, *HE*.iii.7 when Cenwealh of the West Saxons is credited by Bede for dividing his kingdom into two bishoprics, and the appointment of Wine, without consultation with Agilbert the existing incumbent.

<sup>455</sup> *HE*.iii.25.

<sup>456</sup> Alan T. Thacker, 'The making of a local saint', in Thacker and Sharpe, (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches*, pp. 45-73, esp. p. 60.

<sup>457</sup> For discussion see Lawrence Nees, 'Reading Aldred's Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Speculum*, 78, (2003), pp. 333-377 and Francis L. Newton, Francis L. Newton Jr. and Christopher R. Scheirer, 'Domiciling the Evangelists: A Fresh Reading of Aldred's Colophon in the 'Lindisfarne Gospels'', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41, (2013), pp. 101-144.

and underway before Cuthbert's body was raised. However Michelle Brown now dates the work to between 715 and 721.<sup>458</sup>

Much pre-planning went into the culting of Cuthbert, and what is clear is that the option chosen was one amongst others. What were these choices? Aidan was a possibility, and we have seen that his presence on Lindisfarne was remembered and celebrated by Eadberht. It is possible that it is our surviving sources that choose not to emphasise a cult of Aidan, since his church survived and was taken to Norham as a relic,<sup>459</sup> but no life survives, and the evidence does suggest that the bulk of the effort went into Cuthbert's cult. Lindisfarne, and Aldfrith, could have culted Oswald. After all, it would have been a royal cult and a direct comparison with Merovingian practices where family members were culted as a way of maintaining power.<sup>460</sup> Both Lindisfarne and Bamburgh had relics of Oswald, Lindisfarne his head and Bamburgh his hands and arms.<sup>461</sup> All in all Oswald would seem to be a prime candidate for culting, except perhaps for one thing: his Irish connections. It was Oswald who had brought monks from Iona, who brought with them Irish practices, and a different calculation of Easter from that used in Rome. Perhaps a reminder of these Irish connections was a step too far for a king seeking to establish and maintain his position in an Anglian kingdom? A third "prime candidate" is Columba. After all, as we have seen is distinctly possible, Aldfrith spent some significant time on Iona; and as we shall see below, Adomnán

---

<sup>458</sup> Michelle, P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World*, (London, 2012), p.36.

<sup>459</sup> I owe this point to Alex Woolf.

<sup>460</sup> Paul Fouracre, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempts to regulate the cult of saints' in Howard-Johnston and Hayward, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Age*, pp. 143-166, pp. 155-6.

<sup>461</sup> HE.iii.12.

spent time and resources trying to influence Aldfrith and, according to Adomnán's Life of Columba, his ancestral family owed their kingship to Colum Cille's support of Oswald and the saint's active intervention before the battle of *Denisesburn*.<sup>462</sup> Aidan's church on Lindisfarne may well have been dedicated to Columba.<sup>463</sup>

James Campbell has suggested that Cuthbert's cult exceeded, if not swamped, Aidan's because the latter was a foreigner, and his highly ascetic practices, and his relationship with kings and nobles "difficult".<sup>464</sup> However Cuthbert was also an ascetic, but despite his practices Cuthbert was close to royals.<sup>465</sup> However, I would suggest going a step further than Campbell and propose that Cuthbert was culted specifically because he was "one of us", i.e. a Bernician, "Northumbrian", Angle, with the correct view on the date of Easter.<sup>466</sup> It is notable that Cuthbert's translation takes place between the Synod of Whitby and the acceptance of the new date of Easter by Iona. In other words, he could be successfully separated from any links he had with tainted "Irish" Church practices. Now if this were the only evidence, then it could be argued that this was simply Cuthbert getting just reward for his role in supporting the accession of Aldfrith to the throne, ostensibly by reminding Æfflaed of her brother's existence.<sup>467</sup> However, there is evidence of the development of two

---

<sup>462</sup> *V Columba*.i.1; although for the name of the battle *HE*.iii.1.

<sup>463</sup> I owe this point to Alex Woolf.

<sup>464</sup> James Campbell, 'Elements in the Background to the Life of St Cuthbert and his Early Cult' in Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, pp.3-20, esp. p. 11.

<sup>465</sup> For example Ecgrith's queen (*VCA*.8); and Aefflead (*VCB*.34).

<sup>466</sup> With suitable caveats around each of those terms! Of course, Cuthbert's "Roman" practices only post-date the Synod of Whitby, although it is important to note that this is not obvious from either of his *vitae*.

<sup>467</sup> *VCA*.vi.

other cults during Aldfrith's reign, both at Whitby. Essentially the evidence is one source, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*.<sup>468</sup> Walter Goffart discusses briefly the comparative dating of this and the first version of Cuthbert's life,<sup>469</sup> but in fact we have some solid information that allows us to date the key point in the development of at least one of the cults. Despite its purpose to be a life of Gregory, the work has a great deal of information about Edwin. It describes his bones as "holy",<sup>470</sup> and of course the events that lead to the discovery of his remains and the instruction that they are to be taken to Whitby and venerated, are themselves miraculous.<sup>471</sup> This points to the development of a cult of Edwin as a saint.

As Bertram Colgrave points out, the *Life* itself tells us that Edwin's remains were "discovered" and moved to Whitby. Eanflaed, Edwin's daughter, was abbess, and Æthelred was king of the Mercians. This, as Colgrave points out, gives us dates between the death of Hild, the previous abbess, in 680, and Aethelred's retirement to a monastery in 704.<sup>472</sup> It is likely that Edwin's remains were moved to Whitby before 685, and therefore during Ecgrith's reign. The text does not mention Hild, or give her any role in the process, but instead, gives the credit to Eanflaed, Ecgrith's mother,<sup>473</sup> and Ecgrith was the last king descended from Edwin. It is however possible that the translation took place during

---

<sup>468</sup> Bertram Colgrave, (ed. and trans.), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge, 1963).

<sup>469</sup> Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 259.

<sup>470</sup> VG.19.

<sup>471</sup> VG.18.

<sup>472</sup> Colgrave, *Earliest Life of Gregory*, p. 47.

<sup>473</sup> VG.19.



Aldfrith's reign. Either way, from the later *Life of Gregory*, it is clear that both Gregory and Edwin continued to be venerated at Whitby through their relics.<sup>474</sup> Edwin, of course, had brought Paulinus and through him the Roman Church to the north and Gregory is responsible for the mission to the "English". Alan Thacker has suggested that Gregory's cult is developed in England under Theodore.<sup>475</sup>

Here again, as with Lindisfarne, we see the development of cults with local Northumbrian, and not Irish, associations. To promote a papal cult along with the cult of a king of both Deira and Bernicia was, if nothing else, a strong position statement. If Aldfrith had no other role than to stand back and let these cults advance, we see in them a strong development of local identity and a focus on Rome. What is clear is that there is no element of revisiting connections with an Irish past on the part of Aldfrith's church, and indeed the suggestion of the opposite, the specific development of cults that looked locally and south, as opposed to west and north.

It is interesting to look briefly at where major cults did not develop. Aldfrith has associations with Melrose,<sup>476</sup> although it could be argued that it is too closely associated with Lindisfarne to develop as a cult centre in its own right. Carlisle might have been a possibility because of its royal connection with Iurminburg, Ecgfrith's queen, who retired there.<sup>477</sup> However, even

---

<sup>474</sup> Relics of Gregory had been sent to Oswiu by Pope Vitalian in 688: HE.iii.29; Alan Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: The Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7.1 (1988), pp. 59–84, esp. p. 73.

<sup>475</sup> Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great'.

<sup>476</sup> HE.v.12.

<sup>477</sup> VCB.28.

more connected with royalty is Ecgrith's church at Jarrow. Ian Wood's recent work has given us great insight into both Monkwearmouth and Jarrow,<sup>478</sup> and we have the best possible evidence of the foundation stone at Jarrow itself, of Ecgrith's personal connection with the site.<sup>479</sup> It may simply be the impact of plague on Monkwearmouth and Jarrow that reduced its capacity to develop as a cult site.<sup>480</sup> On the other hand, it may have been a deliberate act on Aldfrith's part, either to downgrade the status of a monastery associated with his predecessor, or to support one major royal monastic and cult centre in each of the constituent kingdoms of Northumbria, Deira and Bernicia. The issue with this latter theory is the contemporary understanding of the position of other parts of Northumbria. Was the permanent conquest of the territory to the north of Bernicia perceived at the time as simply as the geographical expansion of Bernicia, or the absorption of a distinct entity creating a wider kingdom? Again we return to the enigmatic role of the descendants of Berht, not unfortunately for answers, but for more questions. For none of these points, including Aldfrith's view of Jarrow, can we see a definitive answer in our surviving evidence.

In terms of putting together the evidence, the maxim from Cicero is useful: "who gains"? In culting Cuthbert, Edwin and Gregory, Northumbria is looking locally for its saints and south for its influences. Cuthbert and Edwin provide Northumbrian examples of sanctity and, as it

---

<sup>478</sup> Ian N. Wood., *The Origins of Jarrow: The Monastery, The Slake and Ecgrith's Minster*, *Bede's World Studies* 1 (Jarrow, 2006); Ian N. Wood, 'Bede's Jarrow' in Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (eds.), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (Pennsylvania, 2006), pp. 67-84; Ian N. Wood, 'Monasteries and the Geography of Power in the Age of Bede', *Northern History* 45.1 (2008), pp. 11-25; Ian N. Wood, 'The foundation of Bede's Wearmouth-Jarrow' in DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, pp. 84-96.

<sup>479</sup> John Higgit, 'The Dedication Inscription at Jarrow and Its Context', *Antiquaries Journal* 59 (1979), pp. 343-74.

<sup>480</sup> *V. Ceol.* 13

happens, one is associated with the Bernicians and the other with Deirans. As Nick Higham has pointed out one of the strategies of the Church and leading clerics is to legitimise, sustain and enhance kingly power.<sup>481</sup> Have we here an example of the Church supporting a king who has to prove his Northumbrian and Anglian identity in order to avoid any political misgivings about his rule and his origins? Are we perhaps seeing an echo of these misgivings even fifty years later, in Bede's statement that Aldfrith was only said to be the brother of Ecgrith and the son of King Oswiu?<sup>482</sup>

It should be noted that the culting of Cuthbert, Edwin and Gregory allows no place for Aldfrith's greatest churchman, Wilfrid. The twists and turns of Aldfrith's relations with Wilfrid are well documented by both Bede and Stephen.<sup>483</sup> Clearly Hexham and Ripon could have been sites chosen to develop as royal cult centres, as could York. In supporting Gregory's cult, royal support reaches beyond Wilfrid to Theodore at Canterbury and his and Canterbury's veneration of the Anglian Church's founding Pope.<sup>484</sup> In Cuthbert and Lindisfarne, the turn is to a monastery that had seemingly suffered so much under a year of Wilfrid's direct rule that many of the monks had left.<sup>485</sup> It is almost as if the choices made are places unconnected with Wilfrid, if not in opposition to him.

---

<sup>481</sup> Nicholas J. Higham, 'Dynasty and cult: the utility of Christian mission to Northumbrian kings between 642 and 654' in Hawkes and Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 95 – 104, p. 95.

<sup>482</sup> *HE*.iv.26 (24): alternatively it may be being circulated as a justification of Osred's deposition.

<sup>483</sup> *HE*.v.19 and *VW*.58.

<sup>484</sup> Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great'.

<sup>485</sup> *VCB*.40.

### **The 'laboratory': Aldfrith and the Synod of Birr**

We have seen that Aldfrith and his supporters seem to specifically reject links with Ireland and Columba in particular. We can be fairly certain that there was an attempt to influence him in this direction. When he became king he was visited twice by Adomnán of Iona.<sup>486</sup> This is also the time, as we have seen, when Adomnán was claiming Columban support for Aldfrith's predecessor. This is surely more than a simple attempt to gain the return of captives as detailed in the Irish annals.<sup>487</sup> In fact the Northumbrian record is that Adomnán's visit was a specific mission, with a purpose, but unfortunately the purpose does not survive. Bede prefers to focus on the ecclesiastical consequences.<sup>488</sup> These are dramatic enough. Staying on to see the canonical rites of the church Adomnán is converted to the Roman calculation of Easter, but subsequently fails to convince his monks to follow him. This is such an outstanding piece of information as to be almost unbelievable, and of course it may simply be propaganda. On the other hand, might it have been a step in the political dance to bring Aldfrith on board to whatever proposal Adomnán's mission was seeking to implement? Again this is purely in the realms of speculation, and bordering on the wild. What becomes less fanciful is the possibility, if not the likelihood, that Adomnán would have at least wanted Aldfrith to attend the Synod of Birr some ten years later. Clearly Northumbria and Aldfrith were in Iona's desired sphere of influence.

---

<sup>486</sup> *V.Col.*ii.46.

<sup>487</sup> *CI* 687.5.

<sup>488</sup> *HE.v.*15.

Looking at this possibility in a little more detail, however, the first issue is that we do not have definitive proof that the *lex innocentum* was promulgated at a synod, although the attestation of a large number of churchmen, including the most important in Ireland, suggests that it may have been. Attestation does not equate to attendance. It is perhaps unlikely that Bruide mac Derile, a Pictish king, was actually present, although bishop Curetán may have been. Of course, Adomnán may well simply have made use of a previously planned assembly. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha has pointed out that Birr was in a strategic situation on the border between the northern and southern halves of Ireland, and therefore well-placed to be a meeting place of kings. She further points out that just that sort of meeting took place, at Birr, in 827.<sup>489</sup> On the other hand, Northumbria and Aldfrith were clearly in Iona's desired sphere of influence and a Pictish king and bishop did so attest, so it remains an intriguing possibility that Aldfrith was encouraged to adopt the Law of Adomnán within Northumbria. However, it would seem that, if such overtures were made, they were rejected.

Although Adomnán is best known today for his *Life of Columba*,<sup>490</sup> in his lifetime his great theological work was *On the Holy Places*<sup>491</sup> and his greatest achievement was seen as the adoption of the Law of the Innocents, or the *Cáin Adomnáin*, at the synod of Birr, dated to

---

<sup>489</sup> Máirín Ní Donnchadha, "Birr and the Law of the Innocents", in O'Loughlin, Thomas (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 679. Essays in Commemoration of the Law of the Innocents* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 13-32, esp. p. 14

<sup>490</sup> *V Col.*

<sup>491</sup> Dennis Meehan, *Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vol iii, (Dublin, 1958, reprinted 1983); O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*.

697.<sup>492</sup> This was an agreement that non-combatants would be protected in times of war, with them being placed under the protection of Columba, and punishment, in the form of fines, being paid to Columba's monastic federation, headed by Iona. Thomas Clancy has pointed out that Columba has been written out of the *Cáin Adomnáin* as we have it today.<sup>493</sup> He suggests that this is because of the growing sanctity of Adomnán himself, but originally Adomnán must have relied on the position and power of the name of Columba to bring together the various parties that agreed to the new law protecting non-combatants in times of war.<sup>494</sup> Although the vast majority of guarantors are Irish, from the island itself or from Dál Riata, there are guarantors from the Picts as well.<sup>495</sup> These are Bruide mac Derile, "king of the Cruithentúath" and Bishop Curetán. It is likely that the regnal titles were added later and unfortunately Curetán's See is not given.<sup>496</sup> Now to claim Curetán as a Pictish bishop may be adventurous.<sup>497</sup> Aidan MacDonald uses the argument of his placing in the list of guarantors as proof of his Scottish provenance. However, without acknowledging the possible anachronism he goes on to discuss, and in large part to accept, that he is a Bishop of a Pictish "province".<sup>498</sup> It may be that Curetán's attendance was because it was part of

---

<sup>492</sup>Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Law of Adomnán: a translation' pp. 53-68.

<sup>493</sup> Thomas O. Clancy, 'Columba, Adomnán, and the cult of saints' in Broun and Clancy, (eds.), *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots*, pp. 3-34, p. 11.

<sup>494</sup> The term *Cáin Adomnáin* is not used contemporaneously with *Birr*, and if the Law of Colum Cille promulgated in 753 and 778 is the *Lex Innocentium*, then this remained the case for much of the following century.

<sup>495</sup> Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of *Cáin Adomnáin*', *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 178-215.

<sup>496</sup> Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Uí Néill 695-743: The Rise and fall of Dynasties', *Peritia*, 16, (2002), pp. 396-418, p. 403; Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of *Cáin Adomnáin*', p. 184.

<sup>497</sup> Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of *Cáin Adomnáin*', p. 191.

<sup>498</sup> Aidan MacDonald, *Curadán, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie*, Groam House Lecture, (Rosemarkie, 1992), p. 5; the most recent discussion is Alan MacQuarrie (ed.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints:*

the monastic confederation of Iona rather than as a bishop, however, we do not know that the affiliation of Rosemarkie was to Iona. Not all monasteries in Fortriu were necessarily Columban and we do know that there were other monastic federations active in northern Scotland, since Applecross had been founded from Bangor by this point.<sup>499</sup> The foundation date of Rosemarkie is unknown. To get deeper into the question would require some discussion about exactly when most of the rest of Ireland adopted the usage of the nineteen year Easter cycle, the relationship between *Romani* and *Hiberni* and whether this was a barrier to cooperation (for example if Curedán and Bruide followed the 84 year cycle, and Bede's evidence that it is Bruide's successor, Nechtan who brought the Picts to "orthodox" practice is accepted, then this would suggest not). The point being made is that it does appear that at least one non-Irish kingdom attested the *Lex Innocentium* and it was acknowledged by both king and bishop. Given the history between Adomnán and Aldfrith, and previous missions to Northumbria, it is a possibility that Aldfrith may have been invited to be a guarantor of the *Cáin Adomnáin*, fanciful as this may initially seem. However, that Aldfrith is not recorded as attesting it is a fact.

## Conclusions

It is possible to put forward too strong an argument which proposes too much agency on Aldfrith's part, as if he had the powers of a high medieval king. I am not proposing a specific, detailed, thought out strategy on the part of Aldfrith and his supporters. Nevertheless the

---

*Readings Hymns and Prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 330-332.

<sup>499</sup> CI 671; Douglas MacLean, 'Maelrubai, Applecross and the late Pictish contribution west of Druimalban' in David Henry (ed.), *The Worm, The Germ and the Thorn: Pictish and related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson* (Balgavies, Angus, 1997), pp. 173-87: Applecross would seem to be unrepresented at Birr, although there is an intriguing reference to Fáelchú mac Maíl Rubai, (No. 31) that Ní Dhonnchadha lists as "unknown", 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin', p. 195. Of course, Applecross may not have been the seat of a bishop.

picture painted does suggest a clever and nuanced positioning that succeeded in Aldfrith retaining the throne until his death. The fancy that Aldfrith might have guaranteed the Cain Adomnan is used to complete the part of the discussion which places Northumbria and Aldfrith in the same northern milieu that saw his predecessors, Oswiu and Ecgrith, as active participants. That he did not is a small part of the argument that he deliberately chose a course of action that saw him active in promoting saints cults and that those he chose to support; Cuthbert, Edwin and Gregory, reflected a desire to look locally, and south to Canterbury and Rome for saintly exemplars. Although lack of military means may be one reason why Northumbria did not participate in the sharper end of northern politics, and whilst the argument involves some speculation in areas where proof can never be provided, it does seem from the indications that the Irish born, Iona trained *sapiens* either chose not to, or was not in a position to, bring an Irish influence to Northumbria.

The following chapters are going to look at change processes in Northumbria in more detail. Our sources tell us that Oswiu ruled Bernicia and Deira, but until towards the end of his reign his position in Deira relied on sub-kings. More than one of these challenged his position as superior. Ecgrith seems for much of the time to have ruled both kingdoms without sub-kings,<sup>500</sup> but with a significant focus on northern and western expansion, with subject groups including Pictish, British and possibly Irish (Dal Riata) peoples. It is Aldfrith who “rules his kingdom within narrower bounds”,<sup>501</sup> and who seems to have relied on the

---

<sup>500</sup> There is no record of any further sub-kings after the death of Aelfwine, *HE.iv.22* (20).

<sup>501</sup> *HE.iv.26* (24).



support of his family and the Northumbrian nobility. What did the power of these supporters look like?

What of the society that supported and was led by this nobility? Was it cohesive and did it have a sense of identity? It is during Aldfrith's reign that we get our first examples of the use of terms broadly equivalent to "Northumbria". But the focus on his not being "Irish" may be one thing amongst many others that continued the coalescing of a distinct Northumbrian identity that saw itself as part of the "Anglo-Saxon" world and not a separate and unique amalgam of Germanic, British, Pictish and Irish identity.

And what of the economy? How did the Northumbrian economy fit into that around it? Is the picture one where developments mirror the north and west, or does the picture look more like the processes that were underway to the south? When we look at the process of change in Northumbria in the next three chapters, are we presented with a kingdom in the mainstream if not in the forefront of developments underway to the south, or one that is looking north and west for its political, social and economic influences?

## Chapter 4 - Power: Kings, Over-Kings, Lordship, and Ecclesiastical Policy

### Introduction

Many of the written sources for the period focus on people who held power. For example, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*<sup>502</sup> focuses on kings and conversion and *Vita Wilfridi*<sup>503</sup> on its hero's relationships with those in high position. Bede in particular presents us with a picture of a unified Northumbrian polity under strong centralising kings, with a weak nobility. We saw in the literature review that the power of kings is the focus of much of the published research, particularly works designed to be introductions to the subject. This chapter seeks to explore the reality of this picture. It will explore the evidence for the tier of power-holders below the centralised over-kings of the sources, looking at *subreguli*, *principes* and others. It will look at how kings and authority functioned and what the relationship was between central and local power. It proposes that there was more to the rule of the regions of Northumbria than the ad-hoc giving of "life-rents" of parcels of royal land-holding to high performing members of the king's war-band. In this it follows, and seeks to build on, James Campbell's view of three levels of power: over-kings, kings and a third, unclear layer; the lack of clarity probably reflecting the uncertainty of the times.<sup>504</sup> Lastly, can we see power being used? Military power is not the subject in question here. That size is not everything is

---

<sup>502</sup> Bede: *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>503</sup> *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1927).

<sup>504</sup> Campbell, *Bede's Reges and Principes*, p. 7.

at the heart of a number of Bede's chapters,<sup>505</sup> and military skill, luck and divine support are all possible modifiers of otherwise sure outcomes. The development of "kingdoms" is not as simple as the "football league model" might imply.<sup>506</sup>

What did power mean in the seventh-century in Britain? Obviously treasure and armed retainers is part of the answer. But armed retainers are not the sole prerogative of kings. Nick Aitcheson outlines a very useful discussion on the difference between status and power.<sup>507</sup> He argues that, at least in Ireland, political power lay in the hands of those who controlled land, wealth (particularly in the form of cattle) and military might. However, there was also status linked to ritual: a sacred status which gave an individual a rank in society. The two were linked, and to some extent hidden from the historian, because those with political power developed ritual and thereby sacred rank to legitimise their rule, particularly in situations where there may have been some doubt. The late Patrick Wormald pointed out that there is a greater degree of similarity between Irish and Anglo-Saxon kingship than is often allowed.<sup>508</sup> The sacral nature of Anglo-Saxon kingship is assumed by William Chaney,<sup>509</sup> and Andres Dobat has recently argued cogently that the axe hammer at

---

<sup>505</sup> For example *HE*.iii.1; *HE*.iii.7.

<sup>506</sup> Although Stephen Bassett, credited with describing the paradigm, did not intend that it should encompass state modelling: Bassett, 'In Search of the Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', pp. 3-27.

<sup>507</sup> Nicholas Boyter Aitchison, 'Kingship, Society, and Sacrality: Rank, Power, and Ideology in Early Medieval Ireland', *Traditio* 49 (1994), pp. 45-75.

<sup>508</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship: some further thoughts', in Szarmach (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, pp. 151-84.

<sup>509</sup> Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*.

Sutton Hoo might have been a sacral object linked to kingship.<sup>510</sup> Christianity too saw a sacral role for kings. Bede stated that Ceolwulf had been appointed as king by divine authority,<sup>511</sup> and Iona in particular was developing the idea that the partnership between the Church and king included ecclesiastical anointing as a sign of God's support.<sup>512</sup> Further proof that the Church was successfully developing the concept of the king as God's chosen comes from a number of charter statements to the effect that the king rules with God's favour.<sup>513</sup>

### **Kings and Sub-kings**

Over-kings and under-kings notwithstanding, the norm against which these are judged is *rex* - king. Although a kin link was the key factor, might was demonstrably an important means of becoming king.<sup>514</sup> However, in some cases extreme lengths were resorted to, to ensure that the 'right' person got the throne. Dagobert was recalled to Austrasia from Ireland where he had been exiled for many years, in circumstances that suggests that he might have been simply forgotten about had the throne been simply available to the mightiest man.<sup>515</sup>

---

<sup>510</sup> Andres Siegfried Dobat, 'The King and His Cult: The Axe Hammer From Sutton-Hoo and Its Implications for the Concept of Sacral Leadership in Early Medieval Europe', *Antiquity* 80 (2006), pp. 880-893.

<sup>511</sup> *HE* Preface.

<sup>512</sup> Enright, 'Further reflections on royal ordinations in the *Vita Columbae*' pp. 20-35; M. Tanaka, 'Iona and the kingship of Dal Riata in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*', *Peritia* 17-18 (2003-4), pp. 199-214, esp. p. 204ff; and see further references in these articles.

<sup>513</sup> For example: S14; S11; S15; S16; S92; S150; see also Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 46.

<sup>514</sup> For example Caedualla, *HE*.iv.15.

<sup>515</sup> *VW*.28.

Aldfrith of Northumbria, too, may not have been the most likely candidate to succeed to the throne after Ecgrith, and it is probable that it was his blood line that made the difference. It would appear that, at least sometimes, Germanic kingdoms followed similar rules to their Irish counterparts, and to paraphrase Donnchadh Ó Corráin's useful phrase: the dynasty was the heir, rather than the individual.<sup>516</sup> It seems also that kings had to establish a climate of power for themselves. Stephen suggests that "the kingdom was still weak" at the start of Ecgrith's reign,<sup>517</sup> despite the unusual circumstances for Anglo-Saxon England of Ecgrith inheriting directly from his father, Oswiu.

Bede's comments on kingship are often secondary to the main point he is making and it was noted earlier that such comments are all the more useful for that, as it means they are less likely to be being made for didactic purposes. For example, in *HE.i.34*, Æthelfrith's brother Theodbald is killed at the battle of Degsastan "together with all of his *exercitus*." As stated previously, at the very least this suggests a separate command structure within Æthelfrith's forces. However, it also suggests that Theodbald had his own forces and brought them to the battle in support of his brother.<sup>518</sup> On kingship itself Bede has a few comments. In *HE.ii.16* he speaks of Edwin's *excellētia*, and gives us the sense that Edwin was aware of this, having his arrival proclaimed by a standard bearer. Oswine was Oswiu's "partner in dignity";<sup>519</sup> and Peada was "a most noble youth, worthy both of the name and office of

---

<sup>516</sup> Ó Corráin, 'Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal', p. 38.

<sup>517</sup> *VW.19*; *Nam in primis annis euis tenero adhuc regno...*

<sup>518</sup> Assuming, or course, that Theodbald was fighting on Æthelfrith's side. It might make more sense of Aedán's motives if he was attempting regime change in favour of Theodbald. I owe this point to Alex Woolf.

<sup>519</sup> *HE.iii.14*.

king.”<sup>520</sup> In his story about Oswald’s victory at *Denisesburn*, Bede tells us that Oswald ordered a wooden cross raised before the battle, and that “he seized the cross himself in the ardour of his faith, placed it in the hole, and held it upright with both hands until the soldiers had heaped up the earth and fixed it in position.”<sup>521</sup> The implication here is that such physical work might have been considered beneath a king. In these few short passages we get a sense that Bede saw kings as something different, and set apart from, other members of the elite. This is further emphasised when Bede states that “After Edwin had been killed in battle, the kingdom of the Deiri...the foundation of his royal power, passed to a son of his uncle Ælfric whose name was Osric...the other kingdom, that of the Bernicians, went to a son of Æthelfrith named Eanfrith, who derived from it both his lineage and his claim to the throne.”<sup>522</sup> Do we have an example of the two sources of kingly position, lineage (in Deira) and power (in Bernicia), coming together in Bede’s mind here? Ine of West Saxons is described as “being of royal stock” to explain how he legitimately came to the throne.<sup>523</sup>

The role of over-king, in the form of *Bretwalda*, was discussed in the introductory chapter.<sup>524</sup> It is clear that some form of “kings over kings” existed. What is of interest here is not the tributary relationship that followed defeat in battle, but rather whether there was a

---

<sup>520</sup> *HE*.iii.21.

<sup>521</sup> *HE*.iii.2.

<sup>522</sup> *HE*.iii.1.

<sup>523</sup> *HE*.v.7.

<sup>524</sup> See pp. 18-19 above.

more complicated, and subordinate relationship, implied by the term *subreguli*. Bede uses the term *subreguli* only once, in the context of what he may be wanting to project as the initial breakdown and subsequent restoration of centralised kingly control amongst the West Saxons.<sup>525</sup> We have no direct evidence of West-Saxons sub-kings during the reign of Cenwealh, the previous king, and Bede simply tells us that they were conquered and removed by Caedwalla.<sup>526</sup> It may be that the division of the West Saxons was as a result of Mercian control, rather than simply powerful men gaining the status of king by stepping into a power vacuum. By being described as *subreguli* they must have had someone over them, and this is likely to be the king of the Mercians.<sup>527</sup> In this context the term does not give us any clarity.

Bede is a little more forthcoming when he gives us some scraps of detail of the relationship between Sigehere and Sebbi, described as *reges*: kings, *praefueri*: presiding over or ruling, the East Saxons, and who are *Merciorum Uulfherae subiect*: subject to Wulfhere of Mercia.<sup>528</sup> Bede is explicit that Sigehere and Sebbi succeeded Swithelm, who was sole king of the East Saxons.<sup>529</sup> What he doesn't make clear is whether this divided kingship was an imposition by the Mercians as a policy of control. It may be that the Mercian approach to

---

<sup>525</sup> *HE*.iv.12.

<sup>526</sup> However we have the evidence of ASC 626 that Edwin killed five kings in 'Wessex', but not Cwichelm, who is referred to as *Westseaxna cininge*. However the later nature of this means that we cannot use the terms definitively in this particular discussion.

<sup>527</sup> I owe this point to Alex Woolf.

<sup>528</sup> *HE*.iii.30.

<sup>529</sup> *HE*.iii.30.

conquest is identical for the East and the West Saxons, which is one of breaking the polity down into smaller units, each with their own ruler.<sup>530</sup> Frustratingly neither Bede, nor any other source of the time, explains what this means in practice.

Stephen also refers to *subreguli*, who along with abbots and *praefecti*, attend the dedication of Ripon.<sup>531</sup> On this occasion he presents *reges* Ecgrith and Ælfwini as equals and brothers. However, later in the text the context suggests that Ælfwini may have been inferior in status to Ecgrith, as it is the latter who is making decisions about the bishop (Wilfrid), and is being supported by Archbishop Theodore.<sup>532</sup> Earlier Stephen is explicit in stating that Archbishop Theodore came from Kent to the (single) *regem Deyrorum et Berniciorum*. Bede gives us a similar impression, where in a chapter describing Ælfwini's death he is described only as Ecgrith's beloved brother, and he is only called *rex* in the following chapter. He too has Ecgrith acting alone, with Theodore, in the creation of multiple bishoprics.<sup>533</sup> Similarly the chronicle at the closure of the *Historia* fails to mention Ælfwini's kingly status in his death notice for AD 679.<sup>534</sup> Likewise, his death appears as one of the key events in Northumbrian

---

<sup>530</sup> We cannot directly match joint kingship in Kent with periods of foreign domination although it is plausible. Kent may have been under Frankish domination for much of its early history, and there is strong evidence of separate kings in East and West Kent when it is under pressure from the Mercians and then the West Saxons in the second half of the seventh-century. Ian Wood's work on links between Kent and the Merovingians is summarized and referenced by Stuart Brookes, *Economics and Social Change in Anglo-Saxon Kent AD 400-900* (Oxford, 2007), pp 8-9, and the various joint kings are tabled together by Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 33.

<sup>531</sup> VW.17.

<sup>532</sup> VW.24.

<sup>533</sup> Although interestingly Deira and Bernicia get their own bishops.

<sup>534</sup> HE.v.24.



history in the Moore Memoranda, but not in its list of kings.<sup>535</sup> Yet Ælfwini merits a mention in the Chronicle of Ireland<sup>536</sup> and in *Historia Brittonum*.<sup>537</sup> However whether this is because he is related to Oswiu, Ecgfrith or Aldfrith rather than King of Deira is not known. Certainly the Chronicle doesn't mention, for example, Alhfrith who was in a similar position.<sup>538</sup> Unfortunately, once again, we have no description of what it meant to be one of Stephen's *subreguli*. It may be that these are simply kings of the various conquered territories outwith Northumbria as opposed to local rulers within the kingdom, owing tribute, but not their position in any formal sense, to their over-king.

Adomnán's *Life of Columba*<sup>539</sup> allows us to compare another view of a different kingdom. Reading the *Life of Columba* gives the impression of a single kingdom of the Corcu Reti, with powerful kings from a single kin group. Bede, in fact, backs up this picture giving us an origin legend of the *Dalreudini* and a picture of a single kingdom.<sup>540</sup> However the *Senchus Fer n-Alban*<sup>541</sup> and the *Cethri Primchanela*<sup>542</sup> both list rivals for the control of Dál Riada as a whole,

---

<sup>535</sup> Peter Hunter Blair, 'The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian history' in Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens, *The Early Cultures of North West Europe* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 245-257, p. 255; reprinted in Lapidge and Hunter-Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*.

<sup>536</sup> CI 680; *The Chronicle of Ireland*, ed. and trans. Thomas Charles-Edwards (Liverpool, 2006).

<sup>537</sup> HB.61; I owe this reference to Alex Woolf.

<sup>538</sup> It is a supposition, but possibly a reasonable one, that Alhfrith and Aelfwine are kings of Deira, as opposed to kings in Deira. Both Bede and Stephen record Alhfrith granting Rippon (VCB.7 and VW.9). When Aelfwini was killed his body was taken to York. It is however technically possible that both were kings in a smaller polity within Deira.

<sup>539</sup> *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan O. Anderson and Marjorie O. Anderson (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>540</sup> HE.i.1.

<sup>541</sup> *Senchus Fer n-Alban*, ed. and trans. John Bannerman, *Celtica*, 7, (1966), pp. 142-162; *Celtica*, 8, (1968),

including the Cenél Loairn, Cenél nOengusa and the Cenél Comgaill, as well as the Cenél nGabráin, more than one of which were successful.<sup>543</sup> Most of the time, Adomnán presents us with a straightforward picture of kings and over-kings. Conall mac Comgell and Eochaid Láib are ‘kings’, the latter amongst the Cruithni,<sup>544</sup> but Áid Sláne mac Diarmait risked losing “*totius Euerniae regni*”<sup>545</sup> and Oswald was “*totius Britanniae imperator*”.<sup>546</sup> Roderic son of Tóthal is referred to in terms of “*rege et regno et populo*” – king, kingdom and people.<sup>547</sup> Adomnán does refer at one point to “*Orcadum regulo*” who is with “*Brudeo regi*”, which does imply some form of subordination, not just in the language but in the story, which implies that Columba was asking Brude to ensure that Columba’s monks could land on the *Orcades* safely, and that, by having hostages from this “*Orcadum regulo*”, Brude was in a position to enforce this.<sup>548</sup> However the broad picture is of kings and over-kings without any complications of power holding, which suggests that others than just Bede had an interest in promoting large, powerful, kings and kingdoms.<sup>549</sup> There is more evidence of the regional nature of Northumbria in the next chapter, but we can, perhaps, suggest that Northumbria

---

pp. 90-111; and *Celtica* 9 (1971), pp. 217-65; reprinted in Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, pp. 27-156.

<sup>542</sup> *Cethri prímchenéla*, ed. and trans. David Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20 (2000), pp. 175-83.

<sup>543</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 237-253. It should be noted that neither of the above texts actually calls any of the protagonists ‘kings’.

<sup>544</sup> VC.i.8.

<sup>545</sup> VC.i.10.

<sup>546</sup> VC.i.1.

<sup>547</sup> VC.i.15.

<sup>548</sup> VC.ii.42.

<sup>549</sup> Catherine Swift has suggested that this was exactly Tírechán’s motives regarding the Uí Néill, ‘Tírechán’s Motives in Compiling the “Collectanae”: An Alternative Interpretation’, *Ériu* 45 (1994), pp. 53-82.

may have looked a bit more like the Dál Riata of Cethri Prímchenéla with multiple sources of power, than the picture presented by Bede, which in turn is so often taken to imply unity and cohesion.

All of this throws up more questions. If there were indeed *subreguli*, did they think of themselves as such? What was a “sub-king”, and was it simply a description of the practical outcome of the wielding of power? What is clear is that Bede doesn’t see multiple kingship as unusual: Sigebert of East Anglia gave up his throne to a kinsman, Ecgric, who had previously “ruled over part of his kingdom”;<sup>550</sup> sub-kings ruled in Wessex for ten years;<sup>551</sup> “[a]t the beginning of his reign Oswiu has as a partner in the royal dignity a man called Oswine, of the family of King Edwin”,<sup>552</sup> and we have seen the position with Ecgrith and Ælfwini.

*Subreguli* cannot be shown to be Campbell’s third tier of power holders in any formal sense, although it is likely that they did act to extend the power of the over-king. Thomas Charles-Edwards has pointed out that there were different levels of over-lordship, “some lighter, some heavier, and different ways of exercising power over a client-king, ways which were alternative devices rather than different levels of power”<sup>553</sup> Perhaps the sub-kings who turned up at Ripon owed heavier dues than Ælfwini, Ecgrith’s kin. Perhaps these heavier

---

<sup>550</sup> *HE*.iii.19.

<sup>551</sup> *HE*.iv.12.

<sup>552</sup> *HE*.iii.14.

<sup>553</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064*, p. 327.

dues are the price Beornhaeth has to pay when he is described by Stephen as Ecgrith's "brave sub-king" in the early contest with the rebelling Picts.<sup>554</sup> Charles-Edwards has gone further and suggested that the charter evidence, in this case S116 and admittedly late for our purposes, suggests that a territory under clientship may have to give up land or authority over land to people from the overlord's kingdom.<sup>555</sup> This has an interesting parallel in Ireland, although Charles-Edward's himself does not allude to the connection, where early eighth-century evidence from Munster suggests that client kingdoms among the Éoganachta had to concede royal demesne to king of Munster.<sup>556</sup>

This evidence cannot be pushed too far, and is at the very least circumstantial. It would appear to be unlikely that an approach that favours the contemporary evidence is going to come up with whether anything specific was meant by the use of the term sub-kingship. It is much more likely that in a period of change, where there are religious and political movements in favour of centralised kingship, the words mean whatever the writers perceive them to mean, and mean different things at different times, to different writers. Kings are kings, and some of them are over kings. Stephen more regularly refers to some of them as *subreguli*, but it is likely that to all intents and purposes, they were kings nonetheless.<sup>557</sup>

---

<sup>554</sup> *VW 19*: James Fraser has suggested that Beornhaeth may be a king in southern Pictland, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 200.

<sup>555</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, g. 327.

<sup>556</sup> Charles-Edwards, 'Celtic Kings: Priestly Vegetables?', pp. 72-73.

<sup>557</sup> Æthelwealh is able to dispose of land to Wilfrid, although clearly a sub-king: *HE*.iv.13 and Alhfrith (if he is indeed a client king to Oswiu, and not a co-king) can change his mind about a gift, as when he gives Ripon to Wilfrid after first giving it to Eata: *HE*.v.19; *VCB*.7/8. Of course the possibility exists that sub-kings (and others) could only dispose of land with the approval of those above them.

All this may suggest that the clarity we seek in the twenty-first century simply didn't exist for those living in the seventh. Certainly there was no constitutional ranking system that determined a king's position. Presumably the status of sub-king was rarely mentioned in the court of such a person. The crux of the discussion is whether there is any difference other than loose terminology between Beornhaeth for example, who is presented to us as a sub-king,<sup>558</sup> and Berhtfrith, who is presented as "chief man next in rank to the king", some years later.<sup>559</sup> It is possible, for example, that Berhtfrith was a man in the royal court, as opposed to a regional ruler.

The questions are probably better re-stated in terms of whether and when the sense of Northumbria as a single kingdom began. Was it by the beginning of Oswiu's reign, or is Bede simply projecting back a contemporary reality? Did Oswiu share equal power with Oswine?<sup>560</sup> Certainly we shall see that Oswiu came to act in a way that demonstrates that he believed he could determine who held the throne of Deira. It would probably be an error to see the position as being static throughout the period in question. As the power base grew there may have been more need for a hierarchy of power.

---

<sup>558</sup> *VW.19*. It is worth noting that this reference, and the references to sub-kings at Ripon only appear in Stephen and that there is no hint of sub-kings within the Northumbrian kingdom in Bede.

<sup>559</sup> *VW.60*.

<sup>560</sup> Or were they both equally sub-kings of Penda? I owe this point to Alex Woolf

## Local Power

This brings us to the second area for discussion of power: that held by those other than kings. Certainly by 734 Bede believed that *comites* and *milites* held *seculariam potestatum*, secular power, and a duty to defend the kingdom.<sup>561</sup> They had retinues of men who they could persuade to take tonsure, and it would appear that they could also establish monasteries on their own land.<sup>562</sup> However is taking this at face value putting too much of a later gloss on Bede's words? Are these the early equivalent of lords and aristocrats? Did a *subregulus* differ in any practical way from any other holder of local, as opposed to kingdom-wide power, and can we define whether such other power-holders really existed in seventh-century? What, for example, was the practical difference between Stephen's *subreguli* and his *praefecti* in terms of the power they had, and how they wielded it? The glossary of the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England says that "In early Northumbrian sources the term appears to be used of a high-level office-holder. The word is used especially in late-eighth and early-ninth-century West Saxon charters for an ealdorman; thereafter it seems to be superseded by *dux*", and I would agree with this definition.<sup>563</sup> Stephen tells us that Wilfrid was sent to the "*praefectum nomine Osfrith*", and that this Osfrith "*praeerat Inbroninis urbi regis*".<sup>564</sup> Unfortunately Colgrave translates this to give the impression that Osfrith was the reeve of *Broninis*, thus giving the impression of a link between the rank and the duties towards the place. In the following chapter Osfrith is

---

<sup>561</sup> *Letter to Ecgbert*.11

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.* 12

<sup>563</sup> <<http://www.pase.ac.uk/reference/glossary.html> [21 June 2015]

<sup>564</sup> *VW*.36.

described as “*praefecti huius urbis*”,<sup>565</sup> which may suggest a link. However, when Wilfrid is sent on to Tydlin<sup>566</sup> he is described as *praefectus*, and as being in Dunbar, but not specifically as *praefectus of* Dunbar in the sense that one was a *praefectus* by having a particular control or power in or over a place. Similarly Berhtwald, nephew of King Aethelraed of the Mercians, is described as *praefectus* but not given a geographical location.<sup>567</sup> Bede’s use is similar. Æthelwine, who murdered Oswine, is given no locator;<sup>568</sup> Rædfrith is simply “*praefectum suum*” of King Egbert;<sup>569</sup> and likewise Berhtfrith is simply *praefectus* when he fights against the Picts.<sup>570</sup> There is, however, one case where Bede makes the link specifically, when he describes Blæca as *praefectumque Lindocolinae ciuitatis*.<sup>571</sup> It seems to be clear that *praefecti* were, in some cases, not part of the immediate retinue of the king. *Praefecti* were, it seems, held in positions of trust and given important tasks to undertake. Bede’s usage could be used to argue that some *praefecti* did not have localities that they were in charge of, but on the other hand, he may simply have chosen not to use a locator, and he does provide us with evidence that *praefecti* are sometimes located away from the king and his retinue.

---

<sup>565</sup> VW.37.

<sup>566</sup> VW.38.

<sup>567</sup> VW.40.

<sup>568</sup> HE.iii.14.

<sup>569</sup> HE.iv.1.

<sup>570</sup> HE.v.24.

<sup>571</sup> HE.ii.16.

If, therefore, there are powerful men located away from the king and his retinue, with access to sufficient force and wherewithal to, for example, bind and imprison bishops, what is the nature of local power? What maintained the power of a grandee in seventh-century Bernicia and Deira? Was it entirely based on their relationship with the king, in effect an “aristocracy of service”? At the other end of the scale there is the question of the possible decline of kingly rule. The Tribal Hidage is one of a number of sources that suggest that the early medieval kings and their kingdoms could wane and change status.<sup>572</sup>

We have at least two possible models of power in Northumbria, both perhaps in place simultaneously. The first is a traditional, kin based sub-kingship, clearly presented by our sources. The second has to be constructed from fragments, but may represent at least one reality on the ground, namely that some power was also held more locally. The kin based model of kingship and sub-kingship is presented by Bede and the unified picture of Northumbria presented by the sources has been accepted by many historians.<sup>573</sup> The second model is less well determined. Recently, the suggestion that Northumbria originally had a number of separate core areas has come to the fore. We cannot be absolutely certain that the *Deur* and *Berneich* of the *Historia Brittonum* represents British predecessors of the Deira and Bernicia.<sup>574</sup> However Brian Hope-Taylor undermined the prevailing picture of

---

<sup>572</sup> Wendy Davies and Hayo Vierck, ‘The Context of the Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), pp. 223-239, p. 225.

<sup>573</sup> The evidence behind the traditional picture is very usefully brought together by David Dumville, ‘The origins of Northumbria: some aspects of the British background’ in Basset, *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 213-22; revised version in Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages*.

<sup>574</sup> HB 61; Ian N. Wood, ‘Fragments of Northumbria’ in Orton and Wood, *Fragments of History*, pp. 105-130, p. 113.



straightforward Anglo-Saxon takeover when he discussed the nature of earlier British occupation of Yeavinger and the surrounding area.<sup>575</sup> Recent work by Colm O'Brien and also Brian Roberts strongly suggests that there were a number of post-Roman polities in the area that was to become Northumbria. O'Brien highlights some of the core areas that formed Bernicia namely Bamburgh, lower Teeside, and Dunbar: and in Deira, Catterick and York.<sup>576</sup> Roberts provides evidence for core territories from a geographical perspective, although it may not be possible to follow him all the way in his arguments for continuity from Roman, through post-Roman, to Anglo-Saxon.<sup>577</sup> Nick Higham summarises the evidence for the various British territories that came to be part of Northumbria, including Elmet and Rheged.<sup>578</sup> Lemont Dobson has postulated a number of "micro-regions" in Deira alone, using the surviving evidence from archaeological monuments.<sup>579</sup> Ian Wood puts it succinctly "(at) a more general political level it is important to remember that Northumbria was an amalgam of smaller units and different territories, each associated with or defended by different groups of people, clans or families".<sup>580</sup> All this does suggest that there were regions in Northumbria other than the political and ecclesiastical divides of Deiran and Bernician polities and, indeed, sub-divisions of these.

---

<sup>575</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger, An Anglo-British Centre*, pp. 293-294.

<sup>576</sup> O'Brien, 'The Emergence of Northumbria: Artefacts, Archaeology and Models', p. 114.

<sup>577</sup> Brian K. Roberts, 'Between the brine and the high ground: the roots of Northumbria' in Robert Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007); Brian K. Roberts, 'Northumbrian Origins and Post-Roman Continuity: An Exploration' in Collins and Allason-Jones, *Finds from the Frontier*, pp. 120-132.

<sup>578</sup> Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350-1100*, pp. 78-99.

<sup>579</sup> Lemont Dobson, 'Landscape, Monuments and the Construction of Social Power in Early Medieval Deira (Phd Submission, York, 2006), esp. p. 210, although his theory is based on limited available evidence.

<sup>580</sup> Orton and Wood, *Fragments*, p. 108.

In Northumbria one family provides a possible glimpse into this world, although the argument is by no means conclusive. Beornhaeth is described by Stephen as a *subregulus*<sup>581</sup> who assisted Ecgrith to attack the rebelling Picts at the start of the latter's reign. The Chronicle of Ireland states that in 698 the son of "Bernith who is called Brectrid" was killed by the Picts.<sup>582</sup> A number of writers have accepted that Beorhtred is the son of Beornhaeth<sup>583</sup> and also Colgrave and Mynor's suggestion that Beorhtred is the Berct who leads Ecgrith's army to attack Brega in 684.<sup>584</sup> Peter Hunter Blair<sup>585</sup> would only go as far as to observe that a third man had a very similar sounding name and, apparently, a similar role in fighting the Picts, namely Berctfrith who is besieged at Bamburgh;<sup>586</sup> fights against the Picts,<sup>587</sup> and acts in the king's capacity as the second man in the realm.<sup>588</sup> Berctred is listed in the Durham *Liber Vitae* in an entry which Jan Gerchow suggests is a confraternity list from the battle of the River Trent in 679.<sup>589</sup> Interestingly a *Beornic* appears as one of Ecgrith's

---

<sup>581</sup> VW.19.

<sup>582</sup> CI 698.2.

<sup>583</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle*, p.174, note 1; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 200.

<sup>584</sup> HE.iv.26 (24); Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford, 1969), p. 427, note 4.

<sup>585</sup> Hunter Blair, 'The Bernicians and their Northern Frontier' in Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 137-172

<sup>586</sup> VW.60.

<sup>587</sup> ASC 710.

<sup>588</sup> VW.60.

<sup>589</sup> Jan Gerchow, 'The Origins of the Durham *Liber Vitae*' in David Rollason, A.J. Piper, Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason (eds.), *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 45-62, p. 58.

ancestors in the Anglian genealogies,<sup>590</sup> although Alex Woolf has pointed out that Beornic is the eponym of Bernicia, which may otherwise account for it. Fortunately the argument being put forward does not depend entirely on this presumption of kinship, although it would be strengthened were it possible to prove. It would be useful if we had a Northumbrian parallel to the observation that the kings of the Hwicce became sub-kings and then later Mercian nobles.<sup>591</sup> However, what the evidence does seem to be showing us is that although Bede presents us with powerful kings, and our collective evidence has the merest hints of the possibility of others ruling over what were, in earlier times, kingdoms or regions.

If this suggestion is tentatively accepted, then this in turn throws up questions. If power was based in localities, were there people other than kings who could exploit this, and what did kings do in turn to hold onto power? The discussion will be progressed to suggest that non-kingly power was growing, but that what began to differentiate kings is their use of the Church to develop political, as well as military strategies.

We have already seen that the sources have their limitations in that their view of kingship and the power of the nobility is likely to be those of their authors at the time of writing. Bede certainly wants to present us with a developing picture of the influence of Christian

---

<sup>590</sup> David Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of the Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), pp. 23-50, p. 30.

<sup>591</sup> H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Princes of the Hwicce' in *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1972), pp. 167-180.

belief on the practice of power.<sup>592</sup> Historians also have a tendency to work back from what happened, and thereby to seek explanations. The fact that Colgrave and Mynors chose to use terminology from the later vernacular translation of Bede, such as *reeve*<sup>593</sup> and *ealdorman*<sup>594</sup> is an illustration of the dangers. These words come loaded with meanings determined from later usage, and we cannot assume that the terms Bede used had the same meanings for him as their later translations.<sup>595</sup>

### **The Power of the Nobility**

The lack of clarity we see in reference to kings in our sources is also the case when it comes to nobles. We see in the well-known case of Imma that there seems to be an acceptance that nobility had a certain *ex uultu et habitu et sermonibus* about it, as Bede's story about Imma demonstrates.<sup>596</sup> But given that *nobiles* do not have to be of the blood-line of the people that make up a kingdom in order to serve the ruler,<sup>597</sup> this is yet more proof that later concepts of tribe, people (*gens*), kings and kingdoms cannot simply be written back to the seventh-century. This links well with the recent established paradigm that ethnic

---

<sup>592</sup> Higham, *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings*, p. 5.

<sup>593</sup> *HE.v.10*.

<sup>594</sup> *HE.v.24*.

<sup>595</sup> See most recently Sharon M. Rowley, *The Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica* (London, 2011) who points out that it is a revised version, probably in an ecclesiastical context, and dating to the ninth century.

<sup>596</sup> *HE.iv.22 (20)*, Imma's appearance, bearing and speech gives him away as not being *rusticum....pauperem*, a poor peasant.

<sup>597</sup> *HE.iii.14* – "the most noble men from almost every kingdom flocked to serve him as retainers" and Bede refers to *nobilium* in *HE.iii.1* and *nobelium et infirmorum* at *HE.iii.21*. Wilfrid is an example of a native born son serving the royal household, although in his case it is the Queens.

identity is not fixed in the early medieval period. Acting in the king's name was not a task limited to sub-kings: Egbert sent his *praefectus* to Gaul to meet Theodore.<sup>598</sup> *Praefectus* seems to be more like an office, as might *comes*,<sup>599</sup> but as we see in VW 36, they seem to be able to be held by the same person at the same time, unless in this case they are literary terms used by Stephen to avoid repetition. Those closely related to the throne can hold office as well as the ordinary nobility, for example Berhtwald is King Æthilred of Mercia's nephew as well as *praefectus*.<sup>600</sup> However, although the nobility are shown in our sources to have positions, they are not shown using power in the same way as kings. Perhaps the closest is when Berhtfrith, who is definitely not presented to us as a sub-king, but rather, as we have seen is "a chief man in rank next to the king" and who spoke at the synod at the River Nith.<sup>601</sup> However the king at this time is a minor, a unique situation for the period. Our sources are clear in the message they want to give us: kings have power. They are less clear when it comes to telling us what they mean when they call someone a *praefectus*.

If it were possible to get clear answers on status in society below that of kings then it is likely that the secondary sources would give them. However our primary sources suggest a picture that is more developed than a simple *personenverbandstaaten* and an "open,

---

<sup>598</sup> HE.iv.1.

<sup>599</sup> *Comes* may simply retain the meaning of 'member of the comitatus', however Bede has a number with wives and domestic residences e.g. the *comes* whose wife was healed at Barking (HE.iv.10) and the *comes* Puch who wishes to dedicate a church near his house (HE.v.4). They may of course have been members of the *comitatus* but their status as *comes* although perhaps related, is now separate. Of course there is possibly no hard line between an 'office', a 'status' or indeed the equivalent if such a thing existed, of an 'honirific title'.

<sup>600</sup> VW.40; although it is also relevant that Berhtwald was a "sister-son".

<sup>601</sup> VW.60.

ranked society”<sup>602</sup> *Viri nobiles* sent their sons to Wilfrid;<sup>603</sup> Benedict Biscop came from *nobili quidem stirpe gentis anglorum progenitus*;<sup>604</sup> and there are different wergelds and punishments for nobles in Ine’s law codes.<sup>605</sup> Wilfrid required “arms, horses and garments for himself and his servants in which he could fitly stand before the royal presence”.<sup>606</sup> Whilst it was probably open to every free man to do likewise, would every free man have the wherewithal to do so? It may be the case that existing power and wealth provided the opportunity to gain more, or to cascade it down the generations. It is interesting that Wilfrid did not end up in the king’s war-band, but rather taken under the queen’s wing and sent to serve a nobleman, who had become a monk at Lindisfarne and had an infirmity. What happened to those who turned up for service, and were turned down? Is this the source of those who end up serving in another king’s war-band? On the other hand, is this an explanation for Guthlac’s pillaging activities, which seem to be outside of a royal retinue?<sup>607</sup> It is also interesting that Ecgfrith’s wife Æthelthryth was first married to Tondberht, described as a Middle Anglian *princeps*. It is possible that Tonberht was both *princeps* and royal, but on the other hand Bede presents us with his piety and nobility as the reasons for his suitability as a match for a king’s daughter, not his “kingliness”. It is noteworthy that his status did not reflect on Æthelthryth’s marriageable qualities after he died, as she was

---

<sup>602</sup> Heiko Steuer, ‘Archaeology and history: proposals on the social structure of the Merovingian kingdom’ in Klaus Randsborg (ed.) *The Birth of Europe* (Rome, 1989), pp. 100-122.

<sup>603</sup> VW.21.

<sup>604</sup> HA.1.

<sup>605</sup> For example, No. 30: A nobleman also shall pay according to the amount of his own wergild.

<sup>606</sup> VW.2.

<sup>607</sup> VG.16-18, although in VG.2, Guthlac’s father is described as being able to trace his descent through kings back to Icel.

considered a fit match for Ecgrith. The clearest line of status is drawn by the various law-codes that have survived, beginning with the Laws of Æthelberht, which differentiate between *eorles* and *ceorles*. Unfortunately they do not say, as our Irish sources do for their noble and non-noble ranks,<sup>608</sup> whether and how *ceorles* could gain *eorles* status. The best we can say is that there is no evidence that such a jump could not be made. Probably with luck, skill, violence or deviousness it could.

We have evidence of power being played out not just in terms of kings and over-kings, but in the relationship between king and *nobiles*. We see this in the conspiracy that drove out Eadwulf and replaced him with Osred, Aldfrith's son.<sup>609</sup> Eadwulf is clearly presented by Stephen as a king, and he has a group of advisors around him. His initial acceptance, albeit for a short time, and his subsequent removal, suggests factions in the royal kindred certainly, but also factions in their supporters. Unfortunately we do not know the relationship between Eadwulf and Osred. If Eadwulf had no kin right to kingship then factional power was an important element in gaining the throne. If he did have some right to kingship then to remove him and replace him required significant support from the *nobiles* as it does not seem to have been the result of force external to the kingdom.

If our sources focus on kings, what can we learn about what Continental scholars tend to call seigniorial power? There were appointed positions around the king, but despite Alan

---

<sup>608</sup> Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, 'Crith Gablach and the Law of Status', *Peritia* 5 (1986), pp. 53-75.

<sup>609</sup> VW.129, although Bede is silent on the matter.

Thacker's conclusion that the terminology is remarkably consistent,<sup>610</sup> any attempt to map a coherent hierarchical arrangement across kingdoms and across time fails to come up with a clear structure (see appendix 1). As polities grew in size the need for local centres of governance would have grown. Guy Halsall has suggested that, contrary to the idea that the development of local elites and royal power go hand in hand, magnates with strong local power bases were problems for kings.<sup>611</sup> Churchmen and kings may have been working together to legitimise each other, but the nobility must have acquiesced, just as they must have been in agreement when Osric and Eanfrith apostatised and turned both Bernicia and Deira back to paganism, at least 'officially'.<sup>612</sup> We are entering the murky waters of the king's advisors, the relative importance of the immediate warband around the king and regional landholders and the developing legal systems. Also coming into the picture is the concept of *gens* with its associated implications for the consent of the ruled through an imagined descent from a common stock.<sup>613</sup>

---

<sup>610</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Some Terms for Noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, 650-900' in David Brown, James Campbell and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes (eds.) *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 2*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 92 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 201-36, esp. p. 222.

<sup>611</sup> Guy Halsall, *The Woad Less Travelled paper delivered to the First Millennium Studies Group at the University of Edinburgh*, 5 October, 2010  
<<http://600transformer.blogspot.com/2010/10/woad-less-travelled-archaeology-of.html>> [25 Feb 2011].

<sup>612</sup> HE.iii.1.

<sup>613</sup> Harald Kleinschmidt, 'The Gewissae and Bede: On the Innovation of Bede's Concept of the Gens', in Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (eds.), *The Community, The Family and The Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 77-102 explores the link between *gens* and kingdoms.



## Land and Power

So how might this sub-strata of power, a putative noble class, maintain their position? As the literature review has shown, there has been considerable debate about the nature of land tenure and how land was held. Starting with what *folcland* was,<sup>614</sup> the discussion has included what might be meant by *bocland* and how it worked;<sup>615</sup> whether land was inheritable,<sup>616</sup> how early was the formation of estates<sup>617</sup> and the control of the elite over services and renders.<sup>618</sup> John Blair, for example, suggests that land exploitation is based on territories, but that these co-existed with core zones of certain estates for a long period of time. The explanation of the development of these core zones may be found in monastic estates, because for the first time the elite did not travel to the food, but rather, had to be supplied in one static place. The logical consequence of this view is that base landholders were broadly “free” and owed “render”, as opposed to being peasants who were expected to, at least for part of their time, provide varying services in return for being able to farm land.

---

<sup>614</sup> For example, Vinogradoff, ‘Folkland’, pp. 1- 17; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 309-313.

<sup>615</sup> For example, John, *Land Tenure in Early England*, pp. 24-63.

<sup>616</sup> Richard Abels and Eric John believe not, Thomas Charles-Edwards, Patrick Wormald and Trevor Aston that it did: Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 44; John, *Land Tenure*, pp. 62-63; Aston, ‘The Origins of the Manor in England’; Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, ‘Kinship, Status and the Origin on the Hide’, *Past and Present* 56 (1972), pp. 3-33; Wormald, ‘On þa wæpnedhaellfe: kingship and royal property from Aethelwulf to Edward the Elder’, esp. pp. 264-266.

<sup>617</sup> For example, Hooke, ‘Pre-Conquest Estates in the West Midlands: Preliminary Thoughts’ pp. 327-344 and much discussion on multiple estates, for which see above.

<sup>618</sup> For example, Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, pp. 1-14.

However, rather than returning to arguments about render versus rent, and of service dues versus freedom, we may profit rather by looking at the world from the perspective of the late seventh-century cultivator of the land. None of our sources suggest that any Anglo-Saxon kingdom was a "free commonwealth" without an elite. Even if we assume some totally free peasants existed, some peasants were expected to provide at least a part of their produce to someone. Now it is possible that this was only to the king and the court, and then infrequently, as they ate their way around the kingdom. But this in turn throws up issues. Could a peasant expect any king to simply turn up and demand a share of the available food? How did they know what was expected to be delivered where, and when? How could kings then reward their followers, and donate parcels of land to the Church? Our sources show us a countryside organised into parcels of land,<sup>619</sup> at least some of which a king knew he had rights over, and was aware enough of this to donate to the Church.<sup>620</sup> Alan Thacker describes it well: "the king could operate an elaborately organised and standardised system of assessment, valued in hides....arrangements which can be regarded as landscapes of obligation rather than ownership."<sup>621</sup> Once the rights over land were donated, there was enough of a system in place for the Church to be able to define the parcel of land and write the gift down. The obvious implication of having the rights pertaining to one piece of land held by the Church (the argument about whether it is the land itself or the dues from that

---

<sup>619</sup> In *HE*.ii.9 and *HE*.iii.4, for example, Bede speaks of numbers of hides, and in *VCB*.33, of *uillis ac possessionibus* in the sense of owned land – Colgrave translates the terms as villages and estates.

<sup>620</sup> *HE*.iii.24, Oswiu donates twelve *possessiunculus terrarium*, but Bede is able to give their measurements.

<sup>621</sup> Alan Thacker, 'England in the Seventh Century' in Paul Fouracre, (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* 1 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 462-495, p. 477.

land notwithstanding)<sup>622</sup> is that rights from the next door land are held by someone else.

There is a view that the king also rewarded his followers with the use of a portion of land for the rest of their lives, after a youthful period of loyal service, on the understanding that they will turn up and fight for the king when required.<sup>623</sup> They may also be given some of the duties outlined above and be called a *duces* or *praefectus*.

Susan Reynolds has pointed out that historians have assumed that tenure was how the medieval mind understood land ownership. She postulates that the seventh-century would simply not have understood the difference. Land simply comes with obligations.<sup>624</sup> Agreeing with her, but going further, I suggest that those working the land had obligations to others and knew clearly who they had obligations to. Equally, those who relied on these obligations, rather than farming the land themselves, also knew what they were entitled to. Whether they understood it in terms of rent, dues, service or render is immaterial.

The length of the debate shows that there is nothing in our contemporary sources to prove that land was inheritable, but equally there is nothing that proves the opposite. With Thomas Charles-Edwards, I would accept that the evidence rather suggests that some land was inheritable. Heiko Steuer has mapped out a progression, from Merovingian to Carolingian society, and from open, ranked society to one where rank is more fixed, and

---

<sup>622</sup> Chris Wickham, 'Problems of Comparing Rural Societies in Early Medieval Western Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 6, 2 (1992), pp. 221-246, esp. p. 232.

<sup>623</sup> Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-saxon England*, p. 44.

<sup>624</sup> Reynolds, 'Bookland, Folkland and Fiefs', pp. 211-228.

status is legally protected.<sup>625</sup> The small free landholder still existed and would do so for some time to come, but powerful men were building up the capacity to pass this power down the generations. Conquered territories allowed regionalisation to develop further and faster. The closer these powerful men were in relation to the king, the greater their chance of actually acquiring the throne in periods of instability, and some had their lands precisely because of their connections to the royal kin. It appears that the reality of seventh-century rule is competition for power, whether in terms of rivals for the throne or the management and control of powerful subordinates. But what are the implications of powerful landed *nobiles*? What difference might it make to the picture of powerful kings presented by our religious and legal sources?

### **Lordly Power - Conclusions**

As usual, we are very much at the mercy of our sources and, unfortunately, our Northumbrian sources are more interested in kingly power than in power held by others. Were we to focus on the Merovingian kingdoms, a case can be made for a strong nobility, acting politically, and influencing and sometimes controlling the king.<sup>626</sup> The case of Dagobert II, who Wilfrid assisted to return to Austrasia, is one example, where local magnates at least had significant influence on the choice of king.<sup>627</sup> However, this is one

---

<sup>625</sup> Steuer, *Archaeology and History*, p. 120.

<sup>626</sup> For example Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>627</sup> Jean-Michel Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II' in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 27-52; Paul Fouracre, 'Forgetting and remembering Dagobert II: the English connection' in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.),

case where we cannot simply transfer findings from one kingdom to another. The Northumbrian situation in the mid to late seventh-century might be very different, and it is a valid interpretation of the evidence that the regional political structure consisted of the king, his warband and his advisors, who may be one and the same,<sup>628</sup> itinerating between regional power centres in the form of royal estates that were themselves centres for receiving render from the outlying areas. This approach permits little in the way of power other than in the hands of kings. On the other hand the evidence cited above could suggest that there was the beginnings of a number of regional centres and consequently the possibility of the beginnings of regional power held by a developing nobility. When Edwin wants to fight the West Saxons, after an assassination attempt, he summons his army first, rather than simply riding off with his war-band.<sup>629</sup> The one example we have of what might be a simple action of a king and his war-band, Ecgrith's response to a Pictish attack, is presented by Stephen as impetuous, and even then Ecgrith was supported by the *subregulus* Beornhaeth, whose followers may have formed a significant part of the force. We have looked at the evidence for at least some *praefecti* being based around the kingdom, for example, those at *Broninis* and at Dunbar,<sup>630</sup> and we see them able to act independently, for example Ealdorman Berht leading Ecgrith's army to Ireland.<sup>631</sup> One key

---

*Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008), pp. 70-89.

<sup>628</sup> Edwin, for example consulted with his counsellors about his conversion. However, the picture Bede paints is one of a smaller grouping, acting as advisors to the king, and that this group includes religious figures such as Coifi, described as the chief of priests (HE.ii.13).

<sup>629</sup> HE.ii.9.

<sup>630</sup> VW.37 and 38.

<sup>631</sup> HE.v.26.

example of a *comes* making a political decision is, of course, Hunwold's decision to jump ship and side with Oswiu against Oswine, the ruler of Deira.

It would, however, be pushing the evidence too far to think of Northumbria in the second half of the seventh-century with fixed rankings of power, with some form of legal redress should a particular individual be deprived of their position. Rather we should see a development of various roles serving the king and those roles increasingly being monopolised by key kin groups, as evidenced by Beorht and Beornhaeth. It is difficult to get a "snapshot in time" at any particular date or even decade, given the sparsity and nature of our sources.

### **The Use of Power**

In terms of strategies for using and maintaining power, Patrick Wormald has suggested that kings are using their law making role precisely to enhance their "kingliness".<sup>632</sup> Kings are also starting to take the profits of justice for themselves.<sup>633</sup> In the late seventh-century we begin to see kings using a number of strategies to gain power, and hold onto it. The support of the church and law-making provide some of the charisma surrounding kingship. The

---

<sup>632</sup> Patrick Wormald, '*Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: legislation and Germanic kingship*' in Peter Sawyer and Ian N. Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 105-38, p. 129.

<sup>633</sup> Patrick Wormald, '*Inter Cetera Bona Genti Suae: Law-making and Peace-keeping in the Earliest English Kingdoms*', *Settimana di Studio del centro Italiano di Studi sull' alto Medioevo* (1985), pp. 179-200, pp. 194-195, reprinted in Wormald, Patrick, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 179-200.

emulation of *Romanitas*, however reinvented, must have added gravitas. This is an addition to what were the more traditional forms of power display, including royal “princely burials”<sup>634</sup> (now often, but certainly not exclusively, beside churches<sup>635</sup>) and, of course, the results of conquest. Princely burial may be closely linked to genealogy in their ability to create “awe” based on ancestral power.<sup>636</sup> It is interesting to note that the term “princely” is currently increasingly being used to determine status that is not certainly “kingly”. For example, it has recently been used to describe the higher quality production material in the Staffordshire Hoard.<sup>637</sup> Lastly, kings are significantly adding to the royal *fisc*, both through control of the law and, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, through other economic innovations. Although kingship and power are nebulous concepts and were probably, as we have seen, ill defined, it is likely that one “knew it when one saw it.” It is certainly clear that those with power were using a number of strategies to maintain their position and to increase it.

What of power in use? Accepting that our sources are weighted towards the deeds of kings, can we see more than military might and the power of the sword in action? If we take Oswiu as an example, we can see a number of strategies that are developed as alternatives to armed conflict. The most obvious is royal marriages. A major source of conflict for Oswiu’s

---

<sup>634</sup> Geake, ‘Burial practice in seventh and eighth century England’, pp. 85-86.

<sup>635</sup> Deborah Maukopf Deliyannis, ‘Church Burial in Anglo-Saxon England: The Prerogative of Kings’ in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), pp. 96-119.

<sup>636</sup> Dumville, ‘Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists’, pp. 72–104.

<sup>637</sup> <http://historywm.com/films/princely-seax-knife-shows-sophisticated-craftsmanship-of-anglo-saxon-england/> [24 August 2014].

Northumbria is Mercia, and here we see a strategy not just of royal marriage, but dynastic inter-marriage. Oswiu's son, Alhfrith, married Penda's daughter Cynburh and Penda's son, Peada, married Oswiu's daughter, Alhflaed.<sup>638</sup> Strategic royal marriages are nothing new, but this inter-marrying of sons and daughters suggests a fairly sophisticated and thought through process.<sup>639</sup> Unfortunately it was one that didn't work, as Peada and, probably, Alhfrith were killed and perhaps failed to achieve their potential as future kings of their respective major polities.<sup>640</sup>

The other area where we see what may be a considered approach, is in Oswiu's use of the Church.<sup>641</sup> We see this explicitly in Oswiu's support of Peada and the condition that he converted to Christianity in order to marry Oswiu's daughter, Alhflaed.<sup>642</sup> This would have significant repercussions and was taken as an opportunity to introduce a source of influence beyond simply the Queen and her retinue. Perhaps there was a greater understanding of what Paulinus' role beyond 'Queen's chaplain' had been in Edwin's day. Of course, this is pre-Whitby, so the Church in question is led by Lindisfarne and Iona. However, Bede goes

---

<sup>638</sup> *HE*.iii.21. I accept that Bede presents us with a slightly different picture of the reasons for these royal marriages.

<sup>639</sup> Perhaps in this case either an attempt to bolster peace negotiations through reciprocal marriages, or Alhfrith and Peada attempting to support each other against their fathers. I find the former more likely.

<sup>640</sup> It must have been particularly frustrating to Oswiu if Peada was killed at the instigation of Alhflaed, *HE*.iii.24.

<sup>641</sup> I owe much of this thinking about the political role of the church to Nicholas Higham, although he does not suggest the level of political control by the Church that I hint at, see Higham, *The Convert Kings*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>642</sup> *HE*.iii.21.



out of his way to tell us that of the four priests who went with Peada, one was Irish and three were English.<sup>643</sup>

An example of Oswiu's approach is in the conversion of Sigeberht and the East Saxons, described by Bede as being *instantia regis Osuii receperunt* and translated by Colgrave and Minors as "at the instance of King Oswiu".<sup>644</sup> We might use the word 'insistence', but that inflection does not match Bede's purpose. This time a bishop was supplied, in the form of Cedd.<sup>645</sup> Cedd had had practice in being a Northumbrian 'placeman' since it is probable that he is the Cedd who is named as one of the four priests sent to Peada. How close he was to Oswiu is seen by his attendance at, and acceptance of the result of, the Synod of Whitby.<sup>646</sup> How close the Church of the East Saxons was to Northumbria is shown by the fact that two of Cedd's brothers, Cynebill and Caelin, were monks in Cedd's monastery in the kingdom of the East Saxons. Caelin had been close to Northumbrian royalty having, in Bede's words, ministered the word and sacraments to Oethelwald, Oswald's son, and Oswiu's nephew and sub-king. There is also a hint that Cedd had some influence in East Anglia, as he baptised Swithelm of the East Saxons at Rendlesham in the kingdom of the East Angles with Æthelwold, king of the East Angles, as sponsor.<sup>647</sup> As it happens, Æthelwold may owe his kingship to Oswiu, since his predecessor, and brother, Æthelhere, was killed while

---

<sup>643</sup> It is of note that Peada didn't get a bishop. Does this perhaps put into context Ahlfrith's attempt to have Wilfrid as his bishop?

<sup>644</sup> *HE*.iii.22.

<sup>645</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>646</sup> *HE*.iii.26.

<sup>647</sup> *HE*.iii.22.

supporting Penda at the Battle of *Winwaed*.<sup>648</sup> However the information Bede gives us about East Anglia is limited and so, consequently, is our knowledge of the kingdom.<sup>649</sup>

After the Synod of Whitby and Oswiu's acceptance of Roman usage, we see another strategic move. The political nature of the Synod has been well discussed<sup>650</sup> and Oswiu's smile when it came to announcing his decision is well known.<sup>651</sup> However, after his turn to Rome, Oswiu's next action was to try to influence the appointment of the Archbishop at Canterbury. Bede tells us that Oswiu and Ecgbert of Kent consulted on the future of the Church in England.<sup>652</sup> Although it was one of the clerics at Canterbury, Wigheard, who was put forward, it was to Oswiu, not Ecgbert or to both jointly, that Pope Vitalian replied.<sup>653</sup> This was the high-point of the returns on Oswiu's strategy of using the Church for political ends. It may be this manipulation of the Church, with its consequential view of the balance of power between king and bishop (one suspects that Wilfrid would not have survived long had he served Oswiu), that meant that Bede never quite describes Oswiu in the glowing terms he does some of Northumbria's other kings, particularly his brother Oswald.<sup>654</sup>

---

<sup>648</sup> *HE*.iii.24.

<sup>649</sup> Richard Hoggett, *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.25-27.

<sup>650</sup> Although polar opposite views are still possible, e.g. was it Ahlfrith's initiative to undermine his father - Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, p.107 or Oswiu's to control his son's ambitions - Higham, *The Convert Kings*, pp. 256-7.

<sup>651</sup> *VW*.10.

<sup>652</sup> *HE*.iii.29.

<sup>653</sup> *HE*.iv.1.

<sup>654</sup> *Chistianissimus*, *HE*.iii.241.

## Conclusions

In conclusion, it would appear that perhaps power is more dispersed than a general surface reading of, for example, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, gives us. The evidence does not allow us, yet, to argue for a very specific hierarchy and stable political establishment. But it does suggest that power was to some extent decentralised and wielded by more than just the sword. Power is wielded in and by sub-kingdoms, regional centres and royal appointees. It is wielded locally in the relationship between those who receive render and those who owe them render (and service?). This regional power framework resulted in a response by kings, who increasingly used the Church to boost their position.

As is most often the case, there must be an element of consent between 'the ruled and the ruling' and an opportunity for power to be influenced. This chapter has suggested the possibility of the early beginnings of power centres in Northumbria and the beginnings of a layering of power as opposed to a single focus on the king. The evidence is slight and the case is by no means proven beyond doubt: but it is sufficient to suggest that, in terms of change in Northumbria, we are seeing both a consolidation of power around the figure of the king, and a growing power of the nobility. It suggests that the case made earlier that, when Aldfrith took the throne of Northumbria the Northumbrian nobility at the least acquiesced and at the most were influential in the result, is feasible within the evidence available to us. It also allows for a situation where the growing power of the nobility may be a reason why Aldfrith felt the need to move away from aspects of his Irish inheritance,

despite having the power of a king. Powerful kings and increasingly powerful nobles, within the milieu of a powerful church, were a mutually supporting elite.

## 'Offices' taken from Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England

## Selection criteria:

1. Sources that can be taken as broadly contemporary with period under discussion i.e. late vii and early viii as defined by PASE <<http://www.pase.ac.uk>>.
2. Early charters where these are not quoted in PASE taken from Electronic Sawyer <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk>>.
3. Terminology that may relate to offices, but see discussion below.
4. Charters that are unanimously seen as spurious have been excluded (comments, text and translation from Electronic Sawyer).
5. Charters where experts disagree whether they are genuine are listed as (mixed views).

Source	Office	Name		Comments
Bede	<i>Dux</i>	Andhun 1	HE.iv.15	<i>a ducibus regis</i>
		Anonymous 'duces'	HE.iii.24	<i>xxx duces regii</i> assist Penda at Battle of Winwaed
		Anonymous	HE.iv.13	<i>Duces et milites</i> of Aethelweah 1
		Bass 1	HE.ii.20	<i>illuc duce Basso milite regis Eduini fortissimo</i> , escorted Aethelburg back to Kent
		Beorhthun 1	HE.iv.15	<i>a ducibus regis</i>
		Beorhtred 2	HE.v.24	<i>Dux regius Nordanhymbrorum</i>
		Eadbert 1	HE.iii.24,	<i>Duces gentis Merciorum</i> ; princeps in S67 and S68, but both seen as forgeries
		Eafa 1	HE.iii.24	<i>Duces gentis Merciorum</i>
		Immin 1	HE.iii.24	<i>Duces gentis Merciorum</i>
		Pippin 1	HE.v.10	<i>Ducem Francorum</i> and Mayor of the palace)
	<i>Minister</i>	Anonymous 214	HE.iii.6	<i>ministerium ipsius cui suscipiendorum inopum erat cura deligenta</i> "Minister (of Oswald 1), whose duty was to relieve the needy"
		Eosterwine 1	Hist Abb 8	<i>cum fuisset minister ecgfridi regis</i>
		Imma 2	HE.iv.22	<i>ministerium se regis fuisse</i>
		Lilla 1	HE.ii.9	<i>minister regi amicissimus</i>
		Owine 1	HE.iv.13	He came with Queen Æthethryth from the kingdom of the east Angles where he was her <i>Primus ministrorum et princeps dominum</i>
	<i>Praefectus</i>	Æthelwine 1	HE.iii.14	<i>Per praefectum suum</i>

		Beorhtfrith 3	HE.v.24	<i>Berctfrid praefectus</i>
		Blæcca 1	HE.ii.16	<i>Praefectumque Lindocolinae ciuitatis</i>
		Hildmer 1	VCB.15;31	<i>Praefectus Egfridi regis Hildmer nomine; Hildmeri praefecti</i>
		Rædfrith 1	HE.iv.1	<i>Raedfridum praefectum</i> was sent to meet Theodore and Hadrian
	<i>Princeps</i>	Phocas 1	HE.ii.4	<i>A Focate principe</i>
		Tondberht 1	HE.iv.19	<i>Princeps uidelicet Australium Gyriorom uocabulo Tondberht; first husband of Æthelthryth</i>
Stephen	<i>Dux</i>	Anonymous 304	VW.6	<i>Duces</i> acting under orders from Queen Bathild
		Anonymous 360	VW.36	<i>Duces regis</i> , officers of Ecgrith who took Wilfrid to <i>In Broninis</i>
		Ebroin	VW.25;27;33	<i>Impium ducem</i> and mayor of the palace in Neustria
	<i>Minister</i>	Anonymous 138	VW.47	Ex ministris regis
	<i>Praefectus</i>	Osfrith 2	VW.36;37	<i>Praefectum nomine Osfrith - In Broninis</i>
		Tydlin 1	VW.38	<i>Praefectum nomine Tydlin</i>
	<i>Princeps</i>	Beorhtfrith 3	VW.60	<i>Secundes a rege princeps</i>
		Anonymous 326	VW.21	Some of those who entrust their children to Wilfrid for education are <i>principes quoque seculares</i>
		Anonymous 340	VW.26	<i>Omnes principes</i> of the Frisians were baptised by Wilfrid
		Anonymous 388	VW.60	<i>Principes</i> who met at Synod of Nidd
Charters	<i>Dux</i>	Aethelweard 3	S102,	Subscribed Ego Æ̃eluard <i>dux</i> described as subregulus in S54 (mixed views)
		Bryni 1	S1173	Subscribed Ego <i>Bruny dux Suthsaxonum</i>
		Eadberht 2	S1800	Text not available. Eadberht is described as <i>Minister</i> in S102
		Heardberht 1	S89	Subscribed Ego <i>Heardberht frater atque dux præfati regis consensi et subscripsi</i>
		Hunstan (not listed in PASE)	S88	Subscribed <i>Ego Hunstan dux</i>
		Humberht	S88	Subscribed <i>Ego Hunberht dux</i>
		Mucel (not	S88	Subscribed <i>Ego Mucel dux</i>

		listed in PASE)		
		Ofa 5	S91	Subscribed <i>Signum manus Obani ducis</i> ; described as minister in S101, 102
		Stronglic 1	S102	Subscribed <i>ego Stronlic dux</i>
		Wilfrid 6	S102	Subscribed <i>ego Wilfridus dux</i>
	<i>Minister</i>	Oslef 2	S75 (mixed)	Subscribed <i>qui aliquando fuit minister meus</i>
		Eadberht	S102	Subscribed <i>ego Eadberht minister</i>
		Eadwulf 3	S102	Subscribed <i>ego Eadwlf minister</i>
		Ofa 5	S101; S102	Subscribed <i>ego Oba minister</i> ; described as <i>dux</i> in S91;
		Sigebed 1	S101	Subscribed <i>ego Sigebed minister</i>
		Sigeberht 6	S102	Subscribed <i>Ego Sigberhtus minister</i>
	<i>Praefectus</i>	Puttoc 1	S255	<i>Signum manus Puttoc prefecti</i>
		Aethelheard 5	S249 (mixed)	Subscribed <i>Ego Adelherd prefectus</i>
		Bruta 1	S249 (mixed);	Subscribed <i>Ego Bruta prefectus</i>
		Heardberht 1	S89	Subscribed <i>Ego Heardberht frater atque dux praefati regis consensi et subscripsi</i>
		Hun 1	S274 (mixed)	Subscribed <i>Signum manus Hunes praefecti</i>
		Nottheard	S1782	Text not available
		Umming 1	S249 (mixed)	Subscribed <i>Ego Vmming prefectus</i>
		Waldhere 3	S249 (mixed)	Subscribed <i>Ego Weldhere prefectus</i>
		Wilhfrith 1	S103	Subscribed <i>Ego Uuilferð prefectus</i>
		Æthilfrith	S258	<i>Signum manus Ædelfridi praefectus</i>
	<i>Princeps</i>	Æthelbald 4	S89	<i>Ego Æthilric subregulus atque comes gloriosissimi principis Æthilbal[di] huic donatione consensi et subscripsi</i>

## Discussion

A review of the limited evidence does not enable us to definitively determine whether these were ‘offices’ as such. i.e. appointments to a position, or literary explanations of more informal functions.

The term ‘minister’ may simply be a term for someone in the king’s service. Bede describes Owine as Æthelthryth’s chief *minister* but requires the qualification that he was also *princeps dominum* to aid his readers to understand his role. This suggests that Bede thought

that the *princeps dominum* was not always the chief *minister*. On the other hand *ministri* could attest charters alongside bishops, *duces* and others, and in S75 Æthlered of Mercia describes Oslaf as his “former minister and now a servant of God”.

It is interesting that none of the supposedly early references to *princeps* in the charters survives the selection criteria.

In examining the evidence for *praefectus*, S249 has an additional attestation not found in PASE, namely *Ego Adelard frater regine praefectus*. However, although this charter is listed as ‘mixed’ in the above table, Heather Edwards, who has undertaken the most recent and detailed research on the charters of Wessex, believes it to be a tenth-century fabrication. The listing of Heardberht as both *dux* and *praefecti* in PASE, quoting S89 would seem to be an error. Æthifrith in S258 is likewise not listed in PASE.

One possibility is that a *dux* is simply a ‘commander’ under certain circumstances, although its use in a charter context suggests that those who held or saw the status regarded it as important enough to recognise and record it, in some circumstances. On the other hand, Bede’s 30 *duces* were also *reges*, which might suggest that they were kings, who also happened to be acting as commanders. *Duces* are clearly close to the king, and Berhtun and Andhun *regnum prouincia tenuerunt* after expelling Cædwalla from the kingdom of the Gewisse (HE.iv.15). Immin, Eafa and Eadberht, *duces* amongst the Mercians, rebelled against Oswiu, and put Penda’s son on the throne. This might suggest that some *duces* were royal kin and could gain thrones for themselves, and some were not. However, *duces* are not just the king’s soldiers as Bede’s description of the baptism of Wulfher’s *duces et milites* demonstrates (HE.iv.13), as does Basso, who is both *dux* and *fortissimo milite*, (HE.ii.20). Bede’s *duces* are senior figures. It is Stephen who either plays down the role, or more likely makes Wilfrid seem more important, by requiring *duces regii* to take him to Aldfrith *praefectus* at *In Broninis*. It may be a similar situation with the *principes quaque seculars* who send their children to Wilfrid to be educated. There is no early evidence of *duces* as the equivalent of later ‘dukes’ i.e. ruling over discreet provinces.



## Chapter 5 - Society and Identity

### Introduction

If we are to understand change in Northumbria, then we need to set out what we know about its society, and in particular how Northumbrians thought of themselves. The use of language is problematical here, as we shall see. It is unlikely that there was a “Northumbrian society” then, just as there is no such thing now. It is likely that a sense of identity was fragmented along geographical, community, religious, class and gender lines, perhaps even more so than the present day. However it may be that we can trace the processes of change through the latter part of the seventh-century to a more unified albeit stratified sense of identity.<sup>655</sup> The archaeological and written evidence available to us suggests that it may be profitable to look at three areas of society: the identity, or rather multiple identities, of the people that made up society and how Christianity may have impacted on these; the role of women; and how society addressed issues such as poverty and illness. In its conclusion the chapter will suggest that Northumbrian society was, on the whole, dynamic and open to change as opposed to static and conservative.

### Identity

The topic of identity was introduced in the literature review above, however it is worth clarifying what from the academic debate is of use in understanding change in Northumbria.

---

<sup>655</sup> It is also important to understand how historians themselves see the past through the lens of their present, for example see Ian N. Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2013).

There appears to be a modern consensus amongst British archaeologists, although not in Europe,<sup>656</sup> that identity is a social construct;<sup>657</sup> individuals have multiple identities,<sup>658</sup> and that although archaeology can tell us much about society, objects by themselves cannot indicate ethnic identity.<sup>659</sup> This is not to say that we can know nothing about the sense of identity that individuals had or rather chose to express, particularly through their mortuary practices. Helena Hamerow, for example, has suggested that many of the British population must have deliberately chosen to switch their markers of identity affiliation.<sup>660</sup> This issue will be explored in more depth later in this chapter. Lastly, a section of the ethnogenesis debate has been concerned with the role of the elite.<sup>661</sup> We will see that it is particularly apposite for the discussion of Northumbria that the various developments of identity expression that we may be able to trace are linked to the elite strata of society, particularly in the later

---

<sup>656</sup> Halsall argues that the same consensus does not exist on the continent: Guy Halsall, 'Ethnicity and Early Medieval Cemeteries' paper delivered to the University of the Basque Country, Vitoria, 29 Nov, 2010, <[http://york.academia.edu/GuyHalsall/Papers/1285369/Ethnicity\\_and\\_Early\\_Medieval\\_Cemeteries](http://york.academia.edu/GuyHalsall/Papers/1285369/Ethnicity_and_Early_Medieval_Cemeteries)> [17 September 2012].

<sup>657</sup> Florin Curta, 'Medieval Archaeology and Ethnicity: Where are We?', *History Compass* 9.7 (2011), pp. 537-548; Heinrich Härke, 'Anglo-Saxon Immigration and Ethnogenesis', *Medieval Archaeology* 55 (2011), pp. 1-28.

<sup>658</sup> Susanne E Hakenbeck, 'Situational ethnicity and nested Identities: new approaches' in Semple and Williams, *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*, pp. 19-27; Woolf, 'Community, identity and kingship in early England', in Frazer and Tyrrell, (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 91- 109.

<sup>659</sup> John Moreland, 'Ethnicity, power and the English' in Frazer and Tyrrell, *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 23-52; reprinted and updated in John Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages* (London, 2010), pp. 159-192.

<sup>660</sup> Helena Hamerow, 'The Earliest Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in Paul Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* 1 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 263- 288, esp. p. 269.

<sup>661</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'The politics of culture: ethnicity and nationalism' in Tim Ingold, (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Anthropology* (London, 1994), pp. 706-733; John Hines, 'Society, community, and identity' in Thomas M. Charles- Edwards (ed.), *After Rome* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 91-101.

phases of the development of the polity. John Hines has also pointed out that one route into the elite may have been the acquisition of skills valued by them.<sup>662</sup>

### **Angle, Saxon or Other?**

There has been much debate on the role of Bede in creating a sense of English identity.<sup>663</sup>

However, there are dangers in looking too closely at this in this discussion: the first being teleology: that we assume that the coalescing of identity is the inevitable result of a historical process and the second reading back from a later situation. Although Bede is a major plank in the structure of English identity, it is as much due to the later popularity of his work as to his own specific agenda.<sup>664</sup> Also the role of multiple identities cannot be overstated and is worth mentioning again.

---

<sup>662</sup> John Hines, 'Changes and Exchanges in Bede's and Caedmon's World' in Frantzen and Hines, *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the World of Bede*, pp. 191- 220, where he argues that the Caedmon story is illustrative of someone with a valued skill being given access to higher echelons of society, pp. 212-215.

<sup>663</sup> The discussion can be followed in the works of Nicholas Brooks who argues that it was a planned approach by Rome and its missionaries: for example Nicholas Brooks, *Bede and the English*, Jarrow Lecture 1999 (Jarrow, 1999); 'Canterbury and Rome: The Limits and Myth of Romanitas', *Settimane de Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 49 (2002), pp. 789-832. Michael Richter and Patrick Wormald made important contributions: Richter, 'Bede's Angli, pp. 99-114; Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origin of the Gens Anglorum' in Wormald, Bullough and Collins, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*; reprinted in Stephen Baxter (ed.), *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 106-134.

<sup>664</sup> Windy A. McKinney, 'Creating a Gens Anglorum, Social and Ethnic Identity Through the Lens of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*' (Phd dissertation, University of York, 2011).

Procopius tells us that there were Angles, Frisians and the Britons in *Brittia* in the sixth century.<sup>665</sup> Patrick Wormald proposed that a unified sense of English identity was effectively an ecclesiastical literary device that emphasised the salvation of the *gens Anglorum* through the role of Saint Gregory as their apostle.<sup>666</sup> Michael Richter suggested that it was an invention derived from Rome,<sup>667</sup> and Nicholas Brooks has proposed a deliberate act of policy on the part of Rome and Canterbury to develop the role of the Roman Christian emissaries and to downplay any other role in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons either by the Church in Ireland or the British Christians, or indeed the Franks.<sup>668</sup> It is, however, not necessary for this unified Anglian identity to have been a construction of the Church for it to be a reality. We see the concept develop in our sources from *Vita Gregorii*,<sup>669</sup> *Vita Wilfridi*,<sup>670</sup> through Bede,<sup>671</sup> to the letters of Boniface.<sup>672</sup> The earlier *Vita Cuthberti* does not use the term, but on no occasion does it offer an opportunity for it or the use of an alternative. Only Aldhelm singularly fails to use the phrase, although he does refer to “we” in the clear context of those parts of Britain whose inhabitants saw themselves as being of Germanic continental

---

<sup>665</sup> Procopius, Gothic Wars iv.viii.20. The Greek used is ‘Ἀγγίλοι, Φρίσσορες, Βρίττορες’. For a discussion of the evidence see Avril Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 214-216.

<sup>666</sup> Wormald, ‘Bede, Bretwaldas and the Origins of the Gens Anglorum’, p. 118.

<sup>667</sup> Richter, ‘Bede’s Angli’, p. 105.

<sup>668</sup> Brooks, ‘Canterbury and Rome’, p. 222.

<sup>669</sup> VG.6.

<sup>670</sup> VW.6.

<sup>671</sup> HE.

<sup>672</sup> *The Letters of Saint Boniface*: ed. and trans. Ephraim Emerton, (New York, 1940), Letter No. 36, p. 74.

descent<sup>673</sup> and also refers twice to Gregory as “our teacher” in a similar context.<sup>674</sup> What is clear is that one part of the population of the British Isles, that part that Bede says speaks *lingua Anglorum*, had a sense of difference from the others, whether they were called Angle or Saxon. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the *gens Anglorum* was the only large scale identity possible. In Rome they were clear that Theodore was *Βρετανίας ἀρχιεπίσκοπον*, Archbishop of Britain<sup>675</sup> and Wilfrid was the bishop of Eboracum in the Island of Britain. Likewise Aldhelm attended an episcopal Council which included bishops “out of almost the entirety of Britain”<sup>676</sup> and Adomnán refers to Oswald as *Britanniae imperator*.<sup>677</sup>

The myth of the term “English” is so strong that Patrick Wormald has to remind readers that Bede did not invent it.<sup>678</sup> In Ine’s laws the term used to identify those who are not *Wealh* is *Englisc*. 24 refers to Englishmen held as slaves; 46.1 and 54.1 to circumstances when it was appropriate for an Englishman to swear an oath; and 74 to what happens if an Englishman is killed by another’s British slave. Unless this is later editing this is the first use of the term in a legal context. It does not occur in earlier laws, which simply refer to rank rather than ethnic

---

<sup>673</sup> Aldhelm, *De Virginitate*.13; although the insertion of the word “English” in the translation (albeit in brackets) does not follow the original: ...*verum etiam Gergorius, sedis apostolicae prae-sulis, a quo rudimenta fidei et baptismi sacramenta suscepimus* which Lapidge and Herren translate as “Gregory, pontiff of the apostolic see, from whom we (English) took the rudiments of faith and the sacraments of baptism..”

<sup>674</sup> Aldhelm, *De Virginitate*.42 and 55.

<sup>675</sup> Agatho’s Synodical letter, III, *Patria Latina* database, <[http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z300012849&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=../session/1349643700\\_19587](http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z300012849&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=../session/1349643700_19587)> [28 March 2015].

<sup>676</sup> Aldhelm, *Letter to Geraint*.

<sup>677</sup> *VC*.i.1

<sup>678</sup> Patrick Wormald, ‘Bede, the Bretwaldas and the origin of the *Gens Anglorum*’ in Wormald, Bullough and Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 99-129, esp. p. 119

identity. However, its use is not constant. Nicholas Higham has recently suggested that Bede's vision of the Church in England was much more pluralistic than is normally allowed for by historians.<sup>679</sup> Bede's own abbot, Hwaetbert, refers to himself being of St. Peter's in the land of the Saxons, in a letter to Pope Gregory.<sup>680</sup> The reference in the colophon of Ceolfrith's great pandect, to Angles,<sup>681</sup> may be a reference back to Gregory's term detailed in the Whitby Life, where it is ascribed to a playful papal pun.<sup>682</sup> However, another source offers us evidence of the use of the term. Boniface refers to *gente Anglorum*.<sup>683</sup> Although Boniface does frequently use the term Saxon, there is evidence that he not only understood the terms Angle and Saxon, but used them to some extent inter-changeably. In *Epistola* 46 Boniface writes to "all God fearing Catholics of the stock and race of the Angles" and claims that he is born of that same race. He then goes on to call on these Angles to pray for the conversion of the pagan Saxons, because they "are of one blood and one bone with you."<sup>684</sup> This is *contra* to Walter Pohl, who suggests that Boniface struggled with his terminology between two groups of Saxons and gives the example of Boniface resorting to the phrase

---

<sup>679</sup> Nicholas J. Higham, 'Bede and the early English Church', in Alexander R. Rumble (ed.), *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church from Bede to Stigand* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 41-60.

<sup>680</sup> *Hist Abb*, 19.

<sup>681</sup> H.J. White, *Codex Amiatinus of the Latin Vulgate Bible and Its Birthplace* (New Jersey, 2006), pp. 11-12 and *Vita Ceolfridi*.37.

<sup>682</sup> *AVG*.9.

<sup>683</sup> Emerton unfortunately translates this as "England". In a footnote he points out that the only source of this part of the letter is the papal archives, and the section is missing from a number of manuscripts. The section is not included in *Patrologia Latina* (Vol 89), but is included by Spelman and by Haddan and Stubbs.

<sup>684</sup> *The Letters of St Boniface*, 46.

*antiqui Saxones* to refer to the pagan continentals.<sup>685</sup> Recently Guy Halsall has suggested that the *Angli* were a sub-set of the *Saxones*.<sup>686</sup>

This understanding of the common nature of the Anglo-Saxon community in England, and its Continental origins, is also held by Aldhelm. In his *Epistola ad Arcicum* he refers to *our race* as being a *Germanic people*.<sup>687</sup> There is a similar concept of identity and language as Bede demonstrates in his opening to *HE*, where he speaks of the five languages of Britain.<sup>688</sup> Aldhelm, in *Epistola ad Acircium* also refers to the *Latins* as a distinct people. For Aldhelm, he was *of Saxon stock*.<sup>689</sup> More importantly, Aldhelm is pointing out that Aldfrith, too, was of German stock. He emphasises the common bond that they have in a specific identity. It has been suggested that the *Epistola ad Acircium* was sent at the beginning of Aldfrith's reign, as a gift to the new king. It is certainly exhortatory in its approach, and this reminder of his Anglo-Saxon identity, as opposed to that of his supposedly Irish mother, may be another aspect of this. It may be encouragement to look south and east, as opposed to north and west, for both ecclesiastical and lay identity. It is certainly a reminder of an important part of Aldfrith's origins and the part that has led him to the throne.

---

<sup>685</sup> Walter Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles' in Hines, (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, pp. 7-32, esp. p. 15.

<sup>686</sup> Guy Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur: Fact and Fictions of the Dark Ages*, (Oxford, 2013), pp.237-238 where he suggests that when the Saxon confederacy broke up c400, the groups that made it up resumed their previous identities.

<sup>687</sup> Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, p. 45.

<sup>688</sup> *HE*.i.1.

<sup>689</sup> *Epistola IX: to Cellanus*.

Turning now to more local identities John Hines has identified three signifiers of identity for Bede: location in a given territory, tradition and language.<sup>690</sup> Problematical as it is, the Tribal Hidage would seem to be clear evidence, if more was needed, that we can identify geographical communities who were seen, and presumably saw themselves, as distinct from “others”.<sup>691</sup> The *Vita Gregorii* talks of the nation of Kent.<sup>692</sup> Turning to Northumbria, despite its focus on Gregory as an apostle to the English, the author of *The Earliest Life of Gregory* is the first to use the word *Humbrensiūm*.<sup>693</sup> Edwin was *gens nostra Humbrensiūm*, of our people who live on the Humber. Erin Dailey has pointed out that the author may be referring to both sides of the Humber.<sup>694</sup> *Vita Wilfridi* has *ultra Humbrenses*,<sup>695</sup> and by the time of Bede, *Nordanhymrorum provincia* and *Ultrahumbrensiūm* are terms in use.<sup>696</sup> Bede occasionally uses *Transhumbrana gens*, before later settling for the term *Nordanhymbri* in *HE*.<sup>697</sup> A *discipulus Umbrensiūm* penned a version of the Penitential of Theodore, although Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge point out that we do not know when or where he did so.<sup>698</sup> Earlier Lapidge linked it to Deira and the timeframe of *The Life of Gregory*.<sup>699</sup> Now

---

<sup>690</sup> Hines ‘The Becoming of the English, pp. 49- 59.

<sup>691</sup> Davies and Vierck, ‘The Context of the Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns, p. 223.

<sup>692</sup> VG.12

<sup>693</sup> Erin Thomas A. Dailey, ‘The Vita Gregorii and Ethnogenesis in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Northern History* 47 (2010), pp. 195-207, p. 199.

<sup>694</sup> VG.12;

<sup>695</sup> For example VW.52.

<sup>696</sup> HE.i.15; VW.47.

<sup>697</sup> The various terminologies are reviewed and discussed in Peter Hunter Blair, ‘The Northumbrians and their Southern Frontier’, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th Series 26 (1948), pp. 98-126, reprinted in Lapidge and Hunter-Blair, (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*.

<sup>698</sup> Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 151; *Canons of Hadrian*: ed. Paul Willem Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori*



this use of the term in and around the time of the writing of the *The Life of Gregory* may simply be a reflection of our limited sources and lack of material earlier than it. This is well trodden ground, however it is important if we are to try and understand some of the pressures for change, and pressures for conformity, that faced Aldfrith in particular as ruler of late seventh-century Northumbria. It would be too strong an argument to suggest that Aldfrith is a direct cause of the start of its use, however it is notable that the use of identifying words grouping together a single *gens* in the area of Northumbria coalesces during Aldfrith's reign. Of course one highly and deliberately constructed identity is contained in the royal genealogies. Our surviving Northumbrian royal genealogies would appear to be eighth-century compositions preserved in later manuscripts.<sup>700</sup> These trace royal genealogy back to a mythic Germanic past and, in the case of the so-called Moore Memoranda, would seem to seek to excise memory of the Deiran royal line.<sup>701</sup> In these genealogies we have direct evidence of constructed identities. So there is evidence of agency by kings here but we cannot, yet, link it to Aldfrith's time.

The narrative of Bernicia being a polity that developed differently from other Anglo-Saxon regions now has a long history dating from Brian Hope-Taylor's work at Yeavering.<sup>702</sup> His

---

*Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Wiemar, 1929), pp. 63-68, trans. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, pp.182-215.

<sup>699</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'The school of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 45-72, esp. pgs. 48-49.

<sup>700</sup> Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', pp. 23-50.

<sup>701</sup> The text can be found in Hunter Blair, 'The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian history' in Fox and Dickens *The Early Cultures of North West Europe*, pp. 245-257; reprinted in Lapidge and Hunter-Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*, although he suggests that there may have been a parallel, lost, list of Deiran kings, p. 249.

<sup>702</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria*, pp. 276-324.

pioneering views about British inheritance and influence, once not generally accepted, have recently been rehabilitated, despite reservations about Hope-Taylor's reasoning.<sup>703</sup>

Subsequently there has been a move amongst a few researchers to look at identity below the traditional divisions of Bernicia and Deira. The late Roman period saw divisions of the area into three distinct zones: a wealthy civilian area in the south which sees an element of Anglian settlement; an area on either side of Hadrian's Wall that remains under the control of the descendants of the late Roman army, many of whom may themselves have been originally Germanic; and a British military nobility in the north.<sup>704</sup> Over time these groups adopt a common militarised culture, a model which would be perfectly acceptable in a European context. Brian Roberts argues for four "cultural cores": Bamburgh/ Dinguaroi, Bernicia = Brynaich, Catraeth and Deira,<sup>705</sup> and that Bernicia probably originates in the Tyne valley.<sup>706</sup> Mark Wood, in his PhD submission and subsequent article proposes from place-name and archaeological evidence the Tees Valley, the Tyne and Wear basins and the Tweed basin as core lands and possibly early polities.<sup>707</sup> The Tweed basin thesis has

---

<sup>703</sup> Frodsham and O'Brien, *Yeaving: People, Power and Place*, particularly articles by Paul Frodsham, Sam Lucy and especially Ian Wood, 'An Historical Context for Hope-Taylor's Yeaving', pp. 185-188, esp. p. 187.

<sup>704</sup> Rob Collins, 'Military communities and transformation of the frontier from the fourth to the sixth centuries' in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities. AD 450-1100* (Tournhout, 2012), pp. 15-34; 'The Frontier Foundations of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', (paper given at the 63 Internationales Sachsensymposium, Life on the edge: Social, Political and Religious Frontiers in Early Medieval Europe, Durham, 1st – 6th September 2012); 'Frontier Foundations' (paper given at The Royal Archaeological Institute Conference, Legacies of Northumbria: Recent Thinking on the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries in Northern Britain(sic), Newcastle, 28<sup>th</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012).

<sup>705</sup> Brian K. Roberts, 'Northumbrian origins and post-Roman continuity: an exploration', in Collins and Allason-Jones (eds.), *Finds from the Frontier*, pp. 120-132.

<sup>706</sup> Roberts, 'Between the brine and the high ground: the roots of Northumbria', pp. 12-32.

<sup>707</sup> Mark Wood, 'Bernician Narratives: Place-Names, Archaeology and History' (Phd dissertation, University of Newcastle, 2007); Mark Wood, 'Bernician transitions: place-names and archaeology' in Petts and Turner, *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities*, pp. 35-70.

tantalising possibilities for research, with both Yeavinger and Bamburgh on its southern borders. Christopher Ferguson has gone further still and proposes the Dunbar area as another such core land.<sup>708</sup> All this is further evidence that Northumbria is, in the late seventh-century, a polity made up of many more parts than is reflected by the Deirans and Bernicians. Similarly, we see that local identity may be rooted in a sense of place, but that it is multi-layered. We can also accept that how that identity is seen to have been formed can both change over time and be manipulated.

### **Wessex: A Case Study in Identity Change?**

There are close associations between the two kingdoms of the West Saxons and the Northumbrians dating from when Oswald acted as godfather at the baptism of Cynegils whose daughter he was later to marry.<sup>709</sup> D.P. Kirby gives a useful summary of the various friendships and marriages.<sup>710</sup> There is a tantalising reference by Bede to Benedict Biscop's close relationship with Cenwalh, king of the West Saxons, although frustratingly we hear nothing about how it came about.<sup>711</sup> We also know that these relationships were not always positive: Cwichelm of the West Saxons (or perhaps Gewisse, although Bede uses the nomenclature of his own time), tried to have Edwin of Northumbria assassinated. However,

---

<sup>708</sup> Christopher Ferguson, 'Navigation, Movement and Place: Northumbrian Riverine and Coastal Sites c450-800', (paper given at The Royal Archaeological Institute Conference, Legacies of Northumbria: Recent Thinking on the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries in Northern Britain(sic), Newcastle, 28<sup>th</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012)

<sup>709</sup> *HE*.iii.7.

<sup>710</sup> D.P. Kirby, 'Problems of Early West Saxon History', *English Historical Review* 80 (1965), pp. 10-29, esp. p. 2, note 2.

<sup>711</sup> Bede, *HA*.4.

Bede presents relationships with the Æthelfrithings in a positive light, although the West Saxon positive reception of Wilfrid suggests that the relationship was not a simple one of mutual cooperation in all areas.

The West Saxons have a number of surviving charters from which trends can be traced.<sup>712</sup> It has a late narrative history in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, not however without its problems of interpretation and bias; and it has religious writings.<sup>713</sup> Uniquely it has a surviving law code which specifically refers to its British population.<sup>714</sup> Other sources available to us to look at West Saxon identity include the West Saxon king lists and genealogies seemingly used to legitimise the rule of descendants of Gewis and, in particular, familial connection to Cerdic, whether real or contrived.<sup>715</sup> However John Henry Clay has shown that the genealogical and king list evidence belongs to the ninth-century, not the seventh, and reflects the politics of that later time.<sup>716</sup>

The West Saxons may provide a possible insight into the process of the development of identity in the seventh-century. The reason is the statement by Bede that in *antiquitus* they

---

<sup>712</sup> Heather Edwards, *Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 198 (Oxford, 1988).

<sup>713</sup> For example: Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*; Michael Lapidge and James Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985).

<sup>714</sup> Attenburgh, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 37-61.

<sup>715</sup> Kenneth Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953), pp. 287-348 remains a good introduction, despite its age; David Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia* 4 (1985), pp. 21-66.

<sup>716</sup> Clay, 'Adventus, Warfare and the Britons in the Development of West-Saxon Identity'; Richard Coates, 'On Some Controversy Surrounding Gewissae/Gewissei, Cerdic and Ceawlin', *Nomina* 13 (1989-90), pp. 1-11 suggests that the identification of Gewis as an eponymous ancestor is also a ninth century invention.

were called the Gewisse.<sup>717</sup> He repeats this later when he states that the South Saxons were subject to the bishop of the Gewisse, *id est Occidentalium Saxonum*.<sup>718</sup> However it is not clear how far in the past the Gewisse started to be known as the West Saxons. The implication from Bede is that it was relatively recently, as he uses the term Gewisse contemporaneously with a number of mid-seventh-century events such as the East Saxon's defeat after they had expelled Bishop Mellitus,<sup>719</sup> Agilbert's episcopacy,<sup>720</sup> and Caedwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight.<sup>721</sup> A simple reading would suggest that the term West Saxon came into use subsequent to Caedwalla's rule. On the two occasions when Bede refers to Ine, Caedwalla's eventual successor, he is consistent in using the term West Saxon, only on one occasion using the qualifier that they used to be called the Gewisse.

Northumbria and Wessex both expanded to take over British kingdoms in the late seventh-century.<sup>722</sup> Both kingdoms must have had British populations.<sup>723</sup> Ine's laws specifically

---

<sup>717</sup> HE.iii.7.

<sup>718</sup> HE.iv.15.

<sup>719</sup> HE.ii.5.

<sup>720</sup> HE.v.10.

<sup>721</sup> HE.iv.16 (14).

<sup>722</sup> For example: H.P.R. Finberg, 'Sherbourne, Glastonbury and the expansion of Wessex' in *Lucerna: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London, 1964), pp. 95-115; W.G. Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion of Wessex*, Department of English Local History Occasional papers No 13 (Leicester, 1960, re-printed 1979); and Maddicott, 'Two frontier states: Northumbria and Wessex, c.650-750' in Maddicott and Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, pp. 25-45.

<sup>723</sup> Discussion about the British can be followed in Higham, *The Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, *passim* with Alex Woolf's article providing both a summary of the debate and a discussion of the issues: 'Apartheid and Economics in Anglo-Saxon England' pp. 115-129. The discussion can be further followed in Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Why did the Anglo-Saxons not Become More British?', *English Historical Review* 115 (2000),

mention *Wealh*,<sup>724</sup> in terms of British taxpayers (23.3); British land-holders (24.2 and 32); a king's horseman who is British (33); and British slaves (54 and 74).<sup>725</sup> As Barbara Yorke points out, the British are represented in all strata of society, from slave to significant land holder, possibly even of noble status.<sup>726</sup> Their oath taking requirements are set at a lower rate than the West-Saxon counterparts (46). Although nowhere is it explicitly stated, it is likely that the *wergild* is also set at a lower rate. Patrick Wormald has pointed out that Ine's laws read more like a recorded set of pronouncements than a systematic law-code and that these were probably made to address specific situations.<sup>727</sup> I agree with this, and certainly the codification is not 'Justinianic' in its ambition and it does not, for example, state the basic level of *wergild* for a given class of West Saxon, and then list circumstances in which this may vary. Nevertheless, Britons are not just given legal standing, but in some cases a higher standing than some *Englisc*, who can, after all, be themselves slaves (24). The *Wealh* are also differentiated from *ældēodiges mannes* which Attenborough translates as foreigners, since the *Wealh* are specifically mentioned in a subsequent paragraph, in order to clarify the situation (23). However, it is a moot question whether it is pushing things too far to suggest that Ine was referring to both West Saxon and British populations when he decreed that "[i]f anyone sells one of his own countrymen, bond or free, over the sea, even

---

pp. 513-533. Stephen Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British: A Genetic Detective Story* (London, 2006) has interesting points on exactly when Germanic language and culture was introduced to southern England, but should be treated with caution until further evidence becomes available.

<sup>724</sup> Margaret Faull points out that this is the first recorded use of the term, but it is accepted that it refers to the British population of the West Saxon Kingdom; Margaret L. Faull, 'The Semantic Development of Old English *Wealh*', *Leeds Studies in English* 8 (1975), pp. 20-44.

<sup>725</sup> *Laws of Ine*; Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*; figures in brackets refer to paragraph numbering in the laws.

<sup>726</sup> Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 72.

<sup>727</sup> Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 104.

though he be guilty, he shall pay for him with his wergild, and make full atonement with God [for his crime]" (11).

Unfortunately none of this gives guidance on the process of assimilation. It merely suggests a signpost on the way. However, that Ine recognised that he required to bring the British population under West Saxon law, rather than both groups existing under their own legal systems, as was possible and practical in for example Ostrogothic Italy, is itself noteworthy. Alex Woolf has put forward a cogent argument that, under Ine's law code, the British population would lose out over time to the West Saxon, as the higher compensation payments ate into their land and wealth. It would be useful to know, but the evidence is not there, whether ethnic identity was, at some point, a matter of choice. At what point did someone whose family had been "British", if they spoke English, dressed as West Saxons, and, for example, served at court, come to be seen as West Saxon?

For our discussion it places the situation in Northumbria in a different light from Stephen's delight in the British clergy fleeing from the swords of Northumbrian warriors.<sup>728</sup> We know that the British population remained in Northumbrian territory, rather than being driven out *en masse* or exterminated, partly, for example, because Stephen tells us of Wilfrid's curing of a British child, who was subsequently taken in as a monk at Ripon, presumably in Wilfrid's service. At what point, if at all, was this man seen as "one of us" by his fellow

---

<sup>728</sup> VW.17.

Northumbrians?<sup>729</sup> Wilfrid's actions may suggest that the British population in Northumbria were taken under Northumbrian laws at an early stage.

### **Identity: The Material Culture Evidence**

Most of the information available to us is gleaned from material culture linked to burials, whether from those with grave goods or burials deposited without them it is argued that changes in burial practices in the sixth and seventh centuries reflect increased stratification of society, changing gender roles and cremation verses inhumation.<sup>730</sup> However, space will limit the discussion in the main to so called 'final phase' burials; and geographically, Northumbria. 'Final phase' burials have been posited as being a phase between pagan burials with grave-goods and Christian graves without.<sup>731</sup> Sally Crawford has argued that we cannot identify beliefs from mortuary assemblages, only changes in social structures. She argues that votive deposits in pagan burials cannot be said to be placed there in the assumption of use in the after-life any more than the opposite assumption can be made for Christian burial.<sup>732</sup> However the proposal had already been criticised when Andy Boddington suggested that there were problems ascribing a single cause, Christianity, to the decline of use of grave goods. He also pointed out that with richly furnished burials there was a clear

---

<sup>729</sup> Alex Woolf has pointed out to me that the child has an English name when he grew up.

<sup>730</sup> See, for example Lucy and Reynolds, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*; and for a short summary Hamerow, 'The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms', esp. pgs. 276-280.

<sup>731</sup> The key text is Geake, *The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion Period England*

<sup>732</sup> Sally Crawford, 'Votive Deposition, Religion and the Anglo- Saxon Furnished Burial Ritual', *World Archaeology* 36.1, (2004), pp. 83- 102.



increase in the status of deposits in some graves.<sup>733</sup> Helen Geake identified four types of burial in the seventh-century: final phase, princely burials, unfurnished and deviant, although all four terms can be said to be “loaded”, insofar as they introduce from the outset the views of the describer. The last ten years has seen publications focusing more on the variation in burial rites, sometimes to the point where patterns become difficult to establish. Jo Buckberry has shown, for example, that cemeteries vary much more than was thought and are not necessarily closely linked to churches.<sup>734</sup> This obviously extends the somewhat confused or varied picture much further forward into the Christian period. Recently, John Hoggett has returned to the argument that we can trace changes in burial rites to the adoption of Christianity.<sup>735</sup> However, 2013 saw the publication of a significant work using new mathematical methods of analyzing radiocarbon dates to get a much more precise dating range.<sup>736</sup> The authors have offered a very precise date for the end of male and female furnished burials of a year either side of 670 AD and offer a 92-99% probability that they had ceased by the death of Archbishop Theodore.<sup>737</sup> It is too early to ascertain the response to the highly detailed arguments and evidence put forward to support the view that furnished burials do come to an end with the wide acceptance of Christian burial

---

<sup>733</sup> Boddington, ‘Models of burial, settlement and worship: the final phase reviewed’, pp. 177-99.

<sup>734</sup> Jo Buckberry, ‘Cemetery diversity in the mid to late Anglo- Saxon period in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire’ in Jo Buckberry and Annia Kristina Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 1-25. A similar point is made by Annia Kristina Cherryson, ‘Such a resting place as is necessary for us in God’s sight and fitting in the eyes of the world: Saxon Southampton and the development of churchyard burial’ in Buckberry and Cherryson, (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 54-72.

<sup>735</sup> Hoggett, *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion*.

<sup>736</sup> John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013). The methodology is explained in detail, pp.33-60, but the results will require a scientific response

<sup>737</sup> Ibid p. 465 and 471.

practices, but the publication of the results of the English Heritage funded dating project is likely to significantly impact on historical theory.

In Northumbria, in Deira to be precise, there is now powerful evidence of a rich “princely” burial at Street House, Loftus. The excavation director is so convinced that the quality of the grave goods is linked to status, and so high, that he refers to it as a royal burial ground.<sup>738</sup> A number of the graves are certainly rich, and the cemetery is laid out in a strict fashion with a focus on a single rich grave, possibly associated with a cult building, and a strong argument has been made that the grave goods show Christian links.<sup>739</sup>

Another strand of recent work has been to examine evidence for both the re-use of prominent prehistoric monuments for burial and also the context of these and other burials in the landscape.<sup>740</sup> Northumbrian researchers are fortunate that a number of local studies demonstrate that, here again, Northumbria was in the mainstream of practices elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England. Lemont Dobson has mapped the inter-visibility of monuments in the Driffild area, suggesting that they show local variation and local communities.<sup>741</sup> Similarly

---

<sup>738</sup> Steve J. Sherlock and Mark Simmons, ‘A Seventh Century Royal Cemetery at Street House, North-East Yorkshire’ *Antiquity* 82 (2008)

<sup>739</sup> Stephen J. Sherlock, *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North-East Yorkshire* (Hartlepool, 2012).

<sup>740</sup> Perhaps pushed to its limit in Sarah Semple, ‘Burials and Political Boundaries in the Avebury Region, North Wiltshire’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12 (2003), pp. 72-91 and Sarah Semple, ‘Politics and Princes AD 400- 800: New Perspectives on the Funerary Landscape of the South Saxon Kingdom’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27.4 (2008), pp. 407-427.

<sup>741</sup> Lemont Dobson, *Landscape, Monuments and the Construction of Social Power in Early Medieval Deira* (Phd Dissertation, University of York, 2006).

Sam Lucy undertook significant work in the area, concluding that no two communities buried their dead in exactly the same way.<sup>742</sup> The cemetery at the Bowl Hole, at Bamburgh, highlights the presence of both locally born individuals, and others who grew up in what were different polities, some from Scandinavia and some who were brought up either in Ireland or the west of Scotland.<sup>743</sup>

This evidence shows that burial archaeology does highlight variation in local burial practice and demonstrates that there is localism in identity. However, within this more confused picture patterns emerge, in Northumbria and elsewhere, which show that although people are confirming identity through burial rites, this identity has multiple layers.<sup>744</sup> If I take my own layered identity as an example, these layers include Highlander, Scot, Briton and European. From an external, for example Asian, perspective, my most obvious identity is likely to be European or British. Being born in Glasgow and despite having lived in the Highlands for many years, the least impact is probably from the local, Highland identity. However, my identity is shaped by hundreds of years of the development of the nation state. A person based in what is now Northumberland might have had layers of identity covering local, Bernician, Northumbrian and Anglian. We can assume that to our external

---

<sup>742</sup> Sam J. Lucy, 'Early medieval burials in East Yorkshire: reconsidering the evidence' in Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11-18, esp. p. 15.

<sup>743</sup> Sarah E. Groves, C.A. Roberts, Sam Lucy, G. Pearson, D.R. Gröcke, G. Nowell, C.G. Macpherson, and G. Young, 'Mobility Histories of 7th-9th Century AD People Buried at Early Medieval Bamburgh, Northumberland, England', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 151 (2013), pp. 462-476, pg 469.

<sup>744</sup> For further discussion, in a Northumbrian context, see Martin Carver, 'Intellectual communities in early Northumbria' in Petts and Turner, *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100*, pp. 185-206.

observer, the predominantly visible identity would be the last in the list, that is, Anglian.<sup>745</sup> However, day to day impact may in fact come most from local identity. It is probable that there was a growing impact of Northumbrian identity, resulting from the development of kings and their kingdoms.

We may have more than a hint in the material culture of both this sense of wider identity and how it was displayed in the use and construction of brooches. In 1993 Margaret Neike made the suggestion that brooches may have been used to promote identity and power.<sup>746</sup> Alice Blackwell has taken this up and has argued that gold and garnet brooches are part of a wider trend promoting a distinct, as she calls it, common English identity.<sup>747</sup> Recently there have also been steps forward in recognising the use of the cross and other religious motifs in jewellery and other art works that would have been intelligible to the wearer and the viewer, but until now we have missed. The sense of identity displayed through craft design is open to us if we can decipher the riddles some of which, it would seem, were intentional in the fabrication of the objects.<sup>748</sup> The local identity that we see is not incompatible with a wider sense of belonging, whether to a kingdom or to an even wider grouping.

---

<sup>745</sup> This may have varied through time, with a greater proportion of British earlier in the century, or depending on location, but the point is valid.

<sup>746</sup> Neike, 'Penannular and related brooches' in Spearman and Higget, *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, pp. 128-134.

<sup>747</sup> Alice Blackwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian: A Brief Reassessment of the Archaeological Evidence and Some Chronological Implications', *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010), pp. 361-371.

<sup>748</sup> Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Win Stephens, 'The cross in the grave: design or divine?' in Karen Louise Jolly (ed.), *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honour of George Hardin Brown* (Morgantown, 2008), pp. 118-152.

## Identity – A Christian Contribution

Religion is another layer of identity. The process of conversion has been closely examined in terms of Europe; the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and most recently, regionally, with a focus on East Anglia.<sup>749</sup> As Hoggett shows, the archaeological evidence for conversion is growing, as demonstrated by the very recent find of the Trumpington bed burial, in Cambridgeshire.

This has been dated to the first generation of Christian converts through the gold and garnet cross dated to the 650s to 680s.<sup>750</sup> The historical evidence is very slim, almost limited to the cheering peasants watching a group of monks in some difficulty on the river and claiming that they don't know what they are now supposed to believe.<sup>751</sup> However, our focus may more profitably be on the generations immediately following the general conversion.

Aldfrith himself was a second generation Christian on his father's side, Oswiu having been converted either in Dál Riata or Ireland, although, of course, his mother's family may have been Christian longer. Casting a wide net suggests that we have a reasonable amount of evidence about what the informed Christian might understand. We will look briefly at the evidence for the uninformed lay Christian, later.

As we glimpsed earlier, the higher echelons of the Church were well aware of the latest theological developments emanating from Rome and ultimately Byzantium. In 1973 Gerald

---

<sup>749</sup> Carver, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*; Marilyn Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons c597-c700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife* (London, 2009); and Hoggett, *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion*.

<sup>750</sup> <<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/mystery-of-anglo-saxon-teen-buried-in-bed-with-gold-cross/>> [3 January 2014].

<sup>751</sup> VCB.iii.

Bonner stated that Anglo-Saxon churchmen were in the vanguard of theological thought of their day.<sup>752</sup> Some illustrations may suffice to make the point, above the sheer number of travellers to Rome and the number of trips some of them made.<sup>753</sup> One of the greatest theological and political issues of the second half of the seventh-century was the monothelite controversy. This, and its predecessor controversy monophysitism, centred round whether Jesus had both a human and a divine will and the interaction between these. It had been the subject of major church Councils and caused political disruption to the point where various emperors had tried to resolve the issue, but only succeeded in making things worse. It had reached a climax with the death of a pope (Martin) whilst under imperial arrest and exile.<sup>754</sup> One of the theological experts in the controversy was Theodore of Tarsus, the very man that Pope Agatho sent to Canterbury to be archbishop. It is likely that he undertook some of the preparatory work for the Lateran Council of 649, the holding of which, in direct opposition to the emperor's orders, eventually led to Pope Martin's arrest and death. Pope Agatho was involved in the attempt to resolve the issue and in preparation for a sixth ecumenical Council in Constantinople sought the support of the various western diocese. A Council was held at *Hæthfeld* in AD 679x680 that formally accepted the decisions of the Lateran Council and thereby the western Church's position on Christ's human and divine wills.<sup>755</sup> Three points should be mentioned in passing. There is no need to see any

---

<sup>752</sup> Gerald Bonner, 'Anglo-Saxon Culture and Spirituality', *Sobornost*, 6<sup>th</sup> Series 8 (1973), pp. 533-550, esp. p. 547; reprinted in Gerald Bonner, *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition*.

<sup>753</sup> Benedict Biscop went four times and Wilfrid, three.

<sup>754</sup> The details can be found in a number of church history and theological studies of the period, but two works that both explain the controversy well and link it to the Anglo-Saxon church are O'Carragain, *Ritual and the Road*, pp. 225ff and Chadwick, 'Theodore, the English Church and the Monothelite controversy', pp. 88-95.

<sup>755</sup> *HE*. iv.17.

doubts about the orthodoxy of Theodore's theology, or that of the Church in *Britannia*, in the attendance at *Hæthfeld* of John, the Pope's Archcantor. It is more likely that he was simply the Pope's representative at one of the five western diocesan councils requested by Agatho, as is assumed by Catherine Cubitt.<sup>756</sup> Secondly, although Bede and some contemporary historians present it as a Council of the English church, the Council saw itself as being under the auspices of the Archbishop of the island of Britain.<sup>757</sup> Similarly, when Wilfrid was in Rome, albeit on other business, he witnessed Agatho's submission to the sixth ecumenical Council *per Brittannium* and also correctly identifies himself as Bishop of York.<sup>758</sup> This suggests that he has little personal reason to claim to be speaking for the whole of Britain, but is reflecting either what the synod claimed, or Agatho's need to be seen to pull the whole western Church together. This is not to directly propose that *Hæthfeld* was a Council of a Church in Britain attended by churchmen other than those representing Anglo-Saxon diocese and monasteries. There are many reasons why Theodore, Wilfrid and Agatho would wish it to be presented as a Council representative of a single British province when it wasn't. However, the ecclesiastical relationships between those Irish churchmen orthodox on the position of the date of Easter and their English counterparts, and also the developing role of a single metropolitan for Ireland, do not completely preclude some sort of Irish participation at least in the debate, if not in the synod itself. This subject merits further research. Thirdly, the emphasis the Council puts on the Holy Spirit *proceeding from the*

---

<sup>756</sup> Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c650-850* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 253-254.

<sup>757</sup> *HE*.iv.17 (15); Henry M. Chadwick, 'Review of Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum. Concilii Actiones I-XI. Edited by Rudolf Riedinger', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), pp. 630-635, p. 630.

<sup>758</sup> *Patrologia Latina*, 87, col. 1237A.

*Father and the Son*<sup>759</sup> is another sign that the churchmen in England were “up to speed” on current issues, albeit that they may have taken their lead on this point from Theodore. If it wasn’t current practice, it must have caused some discussion, and the *filioque* clause was to become another major point of division between east and west in the future. The link between the latest theological thinking influencing churchmen, and the impact on wider society will be explored below.

The depth of theological knowledge and understanding in seventh-century Insular Christianity is now beginning to be understood. Thomas O’Loughlin has demonstrated the biblical knowledge required for Adomnán to produce *De Locis Sanctis* and James Bruce some of the detailed theology, albeit not perhaps to modern tastes.<sup>760</sup> Although debatable, for the sake of brevity we should probably accept that it was the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus and his companion Hadrian and their entourage that “fast-forwarded” the theological development of the Church in Britain. Theodore and Hadrian established a school of learning that was attended by many Anglo-Saxon and Irish scholars.<sup>761</sup> That said, there was significant theological expertise in Britain and Ireland, and Theodore himself was influenced by its exegetical and particularly its penitential thinking. We saw the theological impact of penitential thinking in the section on Chapter Two on sources.<sup>762</sup> Much work on the

---

<sup>759</sup> HE.iv.17 (15).

<sup>760</sup> Thomas O’Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*; James Bruce, *Prophecy, Miracles, Angels and Heavenly Light?*

<sup>761</sup> Aldhelm, Letter V to Heahfrith; Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, pp. 160-163.

<sup>762</sup> See pp. 71-75. Thomas Charles Edwards urges caution in accepting this: Thomas M.Charles-Edwards, ‘The penitential of Theodore and the Iudicia Theodori’ in Lapidge, *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies*, pp.141-71, esp. p.170



practical implications of this on Irish and Anglo-Saxon studies remains to be done, but two important points can be made here, both largely ignored by most commentators. Firstly, the giving of land giving was an accepted form of penance:<sup>763</sup> and secondly Kathleen Hughes' almost throwaway line in her posthumous article for the Oxford *New History of Ireland*, that the Irish invented the commutation of penance!<sup>764</sup> The impact of penitential practice is beginning to be explored, for example in the work of Arnold Angenendt<sup>765</sup> and Marilyn Dunn<sup>766</sup> examining in turn payments for ecclesiastical services, and the rapidly increasing belief in suffering, both in this life and the next, as the theology of purgatory develops.

Turning now to Christ as hero, we have seen in the carvings at Ruthwell, the Cross itself witnessing the courageous hero sacrificing himself for humanity. The role of sacrifice and veneration of the cross is further expanded by those researching the visual art history of the great insular gospel books.<sup>767</sup> The work of Aldhelm provides one demonstrable link between an heroic philosophy and Christian theology as shown by Dempsey in his article on Aldhelm

---

<sup>763</sup> Arnold Angenendt, 'Donationes pro anima: Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy' in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 131-143, esp. p. 137.

<sup>764</sup> Kathleen Hughes, 'The Church in Irish Society 400-800' in Dáibhí, Ó Cróinín (ed.), (2005), *A New History of Ireland, 1 Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), p. 325.

<sup>765</sup> Angenendt, 'Donationes pro anima: Gift and countergift in the Early Medieval liturgy' in Davis and McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, pp 131-143.

<sup>766</sup> Marilyn Dunn, 'Gregory the Great, the Vision of Fursey, and the Origins of Purgatory', *Peritia* 14, (2000), pp 238-54.

<sup>767</sup> Michelle P. Brown, *In the Beginning was the Word?: Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 1999 (Jarrow, 2000).

of Malmesbury's social theology and the Christianisation of the barbarian ideal.<sup>768</sup> The full impact of the adoption of these beliefs on personal and community identity may well offer the opportunity for further research.

At least one contemporary continental development is detectable in artwork, although the precise dating of many pieces remains unresolved. The developing cult of Mary, as *Theotokos*, the Mother of God, is seen on the coffin of St Cuthbert, on the Ruthwell Cross<sup>769</sup> and on the Franks casket.<sup>770</sup> Anglo-Saxon England also sees the import of the latest icons and pictures through Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid and, presumably, others not mentioned in the sources.<sup>771</sup> We can also assume that, at least at Wearmouth/ Jarrow and monasteries influenced by it, liturgy and worship reflected up to date practice in Rome for at least a period after the visit of John, the Archcantor, mentioned above. So in summary we can show, even in a brief look, that Northumbria had up to date access to theological and liturgical trends in the western Church. What impact might this have on wider society?

We cannot directly determine the theological knowledge and understanding of the higher echelons of Anglo-Saxon society. Our best evidence comes from the *Life of Wilfrid*. That he

---

<sup>768</sup> G. T. Dempsey, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury's Social Theology: The Barbaric Heroic Ideal Christianised', *Peritia* 15 (2001), pp 58-80.

<sup>769</sup> Éamonn O'Carraigáin, 'The necessary distance: *Imitateo Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross' in Hawkes and Mills, *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 191-203.

<sup>770</sup> Richard Philip Abels, 'What Has Weland To Do With Christ? The Franks Casket and the Acculturation of Christianity in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 84.3 (2009), pp. 549-581.

<sup>771</sup> *V Ceolfridi*. 9.

had an armed entourage capable of defending him is well known.<sup>772</sup> One of Aldfrith's thegns warns Wilfrid of the plotting against him at the Council of *Atswinapathe* because he had been brought up by Wilfrid since babyhood.<sup>773</sup> Interestingly Wilfrid had with him, during his exile under Aldfrith's reign, the son of Eadwulf, who was briefly to be king after Aldfrith. More specifically still, Stephen describes how secular men sent their sons to be taught by Wilfrid, at the end of which period they had the choice whether to go into the Church or become warriors in the king's retinue.<sup>774</sup>

Richard Fletcher, in a particularly interesting chapter entitled "The Chalice and the Horn", has linked Anglo-Saxon England into the *Adelskirche* of German scholars, that is, a church of the nobility.<sup>775</sup> He describes many of the links between noble families who enter the church, and how monasteries continue to have links with founder families, to the point where they might be described as being "owned". The Church, in many ways, reflected the importance of kin in wider society, as might be expected. Through these means, it can be argued that learning and theological understanding may have been fairly widely disseminated amongst the higher stratas of society.

---

<sup>772</sup> VW.13 talks of 120 men.

<sup>773</sup> VW.47.

<sup>774</sup> VW.21.

<sup>775</sup> Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe from Paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* (London, 1997), pp. 160-192.

The evidence for the establishment of monasteries and monastic estates is well known.<sup>776</sup>

As we have seen above, the number of sophisticated and rich Christian burials dated to the early stages of Christianity in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is growing. With the publication of the excavation report of the cemetery at Street House, Loftus in North East Yorkshire we have evidence that, from the earliest days of Christianity in the north, the wider landscape was changed and modified.<sup>777</sup> This cemetery includes a lay-out of graves in a rough rectangle, around a series of features. One was a bed burial under a mound; a feature which the excavator describes as a mortuary house which would appear to have had an external wooden covering; and a post-built building, aligned east-west, tentatively postulated as a chapel. The unique pendant, with a shell shaped central gem-stone, is claimed as a Christian motif: and two pre-Roman coins, converted to pendants, could be seen as presenting a version of the Christian cross to sit against the wearer's skin. The site has a number of elements to suggest that it was an elite Christian cemetery, highly visible in the landscape, with no suggestion that it formed part of a monastic complex. At a very basic level Christianity was a visible religion.

How all this impacted on the rest of society is a different question. Here our view must be one of probabilities after weighing up the evidence. As is often the case much of it comes from Bede, who can be seen as painting a picture of rural ignorance: "...they have robbed men of their old ways of worship, and how the new worship is to be conducted, nobody

---

<sup>776</sup> As examples of many: Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites, 1 & 2*; Ian N Wood., 'Monasteries and the Geography of Power in the Age of Bede', *Northern History* 45.1 (2008), pp. 11-25.

<sup>777</sup> Sherlock, *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North-East Yorkshire*.

knows".<sup>778</sup> However, Bede had a personal agenda, that there were not enough bishops in Northumbria performing pastoral duties, as he details explicitly in his letter to Bishop Ecgbert.<sup>779</sup> Bede did not write a social history of the Church. His focus is on the conversion of kings and kingdoms, the actions of great churchmen and God's support of the kings that obey them. As an aside though, he tells us that John of Beverley undertakes a miracle of healing when visiting the house of a *comes* named Puch specifically for the purpose of dedicating a church.<sup>780</sup> This is presumably a church built by Puch and on his estate. Churches on monastic estates were also features in the landscape, as we see in Bede's *Life of Cuthbert*, when the saint dedicates a church at *Osingadun*, one of Whitby's holdings.<sup>781</sup> It could be argued, and Catherine Cubitt makes the point, that although the text goes on to say that the estate held "no small number of the servants of Christ", these were the equivalent of Irish *manaig*, monastic clients tied to the Church and therefore not representative of the general populace.<sup>782</sup> However, the thrust of Cubitt's article is to review the evidence for non-monastic churches in Anglo-Saxon England and to provide an alternative to the accepted position detailed by John Blair, of a largely monastic (minster) based church.<sup>783</sup> In the previous chapter and others in the *Life of Cuthbert*, we have evidence of Cuthbert visiting non-ecclesiastical estates and ministering to the general

---

<sup>778</sup> VC.iii.

<sup>779</sup> Bede, Letter to Ecgbert,9.

<sup>780</sup> HE.v.4.

<sup>781</sup> VC.33.

<sup>782</sup> Catherine Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research* 78 (2005), pp. 273-287, esp. p. 275.

<sup>783</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*.

populace.<sup>784</sup> The point being that churches in the landscape were not unusual features, and whilst Bede is emphasising how good Cuthbert was at visiting extremely rural areas, he is not suggesting that the general populace had no access to Church ministrations. However, as Susan Wood's review of "proprietary" churches demonstrates, much more research is required before we have a clearer picture of the Church in Anglo-Saxon England to compare with the evidence she provides for Gaul and other parts of Europe.<sup>785</sup>

A fundamental tenet of Christianity in the period is the requirement for participation in the sacraments, particularly baptism and associated confirmation, and communion. Although there are concerns about how the rite is performed, as Sarah Foot points out, infant baptism is the norm for all but converts.<sup>786</sup> Nowhere in the recorded writings of Theodore, Aldhelm or Bede, or in the various Church Councils, is there mention of the need for a "root and branch" attack on surviving paganism. Instead, after occasional first and possibly second generation backsliding, the picture is one of general ignorance of good practice and lack of regular access. Gerald Bonner's excellent summary of Bede's reform agenda demonstrates that what Bede wants is more teaching, more access to bishops and the ceremonies for which they are responsible and more frequent attendance at communion.<sup>787</sup> Bede does not imply that access is being completely denied to those who wish it. His is the reform of the committed churchman, not the ecclesiastical politician. Bede also implies that payments to

---

<sup>784</sup> VC.32.

<sup>785</sup> Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*.

<sup>786</sup> Sarah Foot, 'By Water in the Spirit: the Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in John Blair and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 171-192.

<sup>787</sup> Bonner, *The Christian Life in the Thought of the Venerable Bede*, pp. 15-55

the Church were common place and, again, he does not condemn this. By implying that people are paying for, but not getting, ecclesiastical services, he in fact suggests that payment to the Church is in the form of a tax, rather than in return for specific functions. Although “payment by results” would be anathema, it was probably the case, as in Ireland, that payments or “gifts” were made to the Church at times of baptism, marriage and burial.

It is not possible from the evidence to definitively say how Christian society was, and it might be argued by analogy with today, that this is an impossible task. The evidence does suggest that society was, by and large, Christianised and by that, that Christian ceremony was the norm, and people were expected to participate. Most likely, kin groups converted together and Christian beliefs would be disseminated through the kin hierarchy and the family as much as by preaching and teaching. Baptism, confirmation by a bishop on his diocesan rounds, however infrequent these might be, rapidly became the norm and attendance at communion expected. Most likely, Christianity would impinge on peoples’ lives during events of social change i.e. birth, marriage and death, including those of their “masters and mistresses” and their servants. Equally, we have evidence of the Church distributing alms, for example Ceolfrith, leaving Jarrow for his final trip to Rome, was mourned by the homeless and poor of the surrounding area because he had been such a great benefactor.<sup>788</sup> In day to day terms, again by analogy, we might not expect deep theological knowledge in the general populace, but the use of spoken charms and prayers, as part of everyday tasks was probably commonplace. We can probably see evidence of

---

<sup>788</sup> *V Ceolfridi*.34.

aspects of this folk religion, and also its manipulation by church and king, in the growing cult of saints.

From the extensive work of Peter Brown, historians have gained an understanding of the nature of the power of the living “holy man” and also how saints, who could be defined as “dead holy men”, both popularised religion and strengthened the power of the places where they were culted.<sup>789</sup> Yet Paul Hayward could point out that one of the primary purposes of a saint’s cult was to legitimise the power of elites by linking them to divine approval as evidenced by miracles.<sup>790</sup> How do we explain this apparent dichotomy between popularity on the one hand and elite control on the other? The answer lies in the local nature of saints cults in Anglo-Saxon England. Although the Northumbrian saints we know of are either royal or culted sometime after their death in circumstances that might suggest some ecclesiastical rivalry, nevertheless they provide a local focus, and a root in the familiar local community and landscape, for a populace for whom the universal saints may be distant figures.<sup>791</sup> Similarly, the developing use of relics offered an opportunity for a personalised contact with saintly figures.

---

<sup>789</sup> Peter Brown, ‘The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80-101; Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, especially chapter 10, pp. 232-247.

<sup>790</sup> Paul Anthony Hayward, ‘Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom’ in James Howard-Johnstone and Paul Anthony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 115-142, esp. p. 141.

<sup>791</sup> Catherine Cubitt, ‘Universal and local saints in Anglo-Saxon England’ in Thacker and Sharpe, *Local Saints and Local Churches*, pp. 423-454; for a more generalised discussion see David W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), especially pp. 83-104; and for the situation in Ireland Charles Doherty, ‘The use of relics in early medieval Ireland’ in Próinséas Ni Chathain and Michael Richter (eds.), *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter: Irland and Europe – The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 89-101.



## Women in Society

The gendered nature of identity and the role of women in early medieval society remains an understudied area, despite some major publications that come from both a historical studies and feminist studies perspective.<sup>792</sup> Changes in kinship practices are more difficult to identify in the short period under study, but it is clear that, amongst the elite, women could attain very powerful positions<sup>793</sup> that could politically influence the succession of kings. The obvious example is Ælfflaed, who from Bede's account was interested in Ecgfith's successor and was probably heavily involved in Aldfrith gaining the kingship.<sup>794</sup> In Alan Thacker's words Ælfflaed could also "make and unmake bishops".<sup>795</sup> We are heavily dependent on our written sources here, and it has been suggested that Bede, for example, plays down the role

---

<sup>792</sup> For example Lisa Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genofeva of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe* (Oxford, 2009); Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate*; and Fell, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of 1066*. The enthusiastic interpretation of the strong role of women in Germanic society and in the seventh and eighth-century church represented by Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, 1992) and Christine Fell, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of 1066* (London, 1984), received a post-feminist correction in Sarah Foot's *Veiled Women*, Vol 1, (Aldershot, 2000), p. 39, particularly the suggestion by Hollis that "canon law.....enclos(ed) from the world at large female religious who had once participated in the church's ministry to the laity" (p. 11): see also John Godfrey, 'The Place of the double monastery in the Anglo-Saxon minster system', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi*, pp. 344-350. Although run by politically powerful women, preaching and pastoral care in double monasteries remained the role of men. However, Barbara Yorke points out the importance of understanding gender bias in sources in her introduction to *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003), p. 7. Christina Harrington offers a perspective on Ireland in *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450-1150* (Oxford, 2002); although as Lisa Bitel points out, some aspects must be treated with care; 'Review of *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450-1150* by Christina Harrington', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 89.4, (October, 2003), pp. 749-751. The first major study of the role of women in the Anglo-Saxon Church by Linda Eckenstein, *Women Under Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1892), (reprinted New York, 1963), remains a useful introduction to the sources, particularly saint's lives. The important work on gender and burials cannot provide sure ground for the late seventh and early eighth-centuries attitudes influenced as they are by Christianity.

<sup>793</sup> Thomas Pickles, 'Church Organization and Pastoral Care', in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c500-c1100* (London, 2009), pp. 160-176, p. 162.

<sup>794</sup> VCB.24.

<sup>795</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Ælfflaed', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <[http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=8622&back=,8392#cosubject\\_8622](http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=8622&back=,8392#cosubject_8622)> [22 February 2013].

of women.<sup>796</sup> However, it is Bede who calls Ælfflaed *doctrix* implying not only that Streanaeschalch was a centre of learning, but that Ælfflaed was responsible for leading some of the teaching. That she was a learned woman is proved by the survival of a letter from her to Abbess Adolana of Pfalzel, seeking support for one of her nuns who is on a pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>797</sup> Not only does the letter suggest a high level of female literacy amongst some religious women, the fact of female pilgrimage to Rome in the period speaks of the ability of some women to act independently of men. Before we allow any suggestion either that Ælfflaed is unique in her learning, or indeed that she had literate male scribes to hand, we should cite a few of the examples of female literacy.<sup>798</sup> When Aldhelm writes to Hildelith and her nuns at Barking, he is writing directly to them, and there is no greeting for any male, literate and intermediary priest. Aldhelm is expecting them to read and reply to his writings.<sup>799</sup> Although the Bonifacian correspondence is slightly later than the period under examination, it provides significant evidence both of female literacy and of active *scriptoria* in nunneries.<sup>800</sup>

Perhaps we should not be too surprised at this. Exogamous royal marriages had been part of the political strategies of royal houses in the pagan period, and there is little doubt about

---

<sup>796</sup> Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church*, p. 115.

<sup>797</sup> The text and a translation of the letter is available at the Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters website <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/338.html>, [22 February 2013].

<sup>798</sup> These are usefully reviewed in Fell, *Women and Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 109-120

<sup>799</sup> Aldhelm, *De Virginitate*.I.

<sup>800</sup> Letter from Abbess Egburga; from Abess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburga; from Boniface to Eadburga thanking her for the gift of some books.

the political power of some queens.<sup>801</sup> As Sarah Foot has pointed out, Anglo-Saxon nunneries were for the elite<sup>802</sup> and she also suggests, albeit without citing evidence, that nuns were expected to come with a dowry.<sup>803</sup> Given our sources our picture is skewed, although not entirely, towards royal endowments. Without getting into detailed discussion of what constituted royalty in Ireland, the picture presented is slightly different. However, as we have seen so often with Irish and Anglo-Saxon material the difference lies more in the depiction than in the reality, much like the difference in artist's depictions of the same subject. The difference is also in the questions being asked by historians of the evidence. Notwithstanding this, women play an important role in the Church in Ireland, not least as posthumous powerful leaders. Brigit and her *paruchia* are in a position to at least bid for a primacy role in Ireland and in the long term carve out some level of independence from the growing power of Armagh.<sup>804</sup> Christina Harrington provides a lucid summary in her chapter on the seventh-century including the following "Irish hagiographers of the seventh and eighth-centuries.....rejected notions of God's virgins (as) enclosed, non-travelling and subservient to the male clerics. For their models they looked more to the Apocryphal Acts and were probably influenced by native values and ideas of gender roles, though these are

---

<sup>801</sup> Susan Harrington, 'Beyond exogamy: marriage strategies in early Anglo-Saxon England', in Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds, *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 527 (Oxford, 2011), pp. 88-97.

<sup>802</sup> Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2000), p. 44.

<sup>803</sup> Foot, Sarah, *Veiled Women*, p. 42.

<sup>804</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards suggests that Kildare's adoption of the Roman Easter before Armagh, allowed the bishop there to claim primacy of Ireland. However Once Armagh had changed its Easter practices an accommodation had to be reached: *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 428-9.

indeterminable”.<sup>805</sup> In a single sentence Harrington captures one reality of the Church in early medieval Ireland and one reason for the different slants in our sources.

Bede gives us a long passage on the life and death of another important church-woman, Hild. In it he tells us that Hild was made Abbess of *Heruteu* (Hartlepool), which had not long before been founded by Heiu, said to be the first woman in Northumbria to become a nun. However, Heiu had retired to *Kaelcacaester* (Tadcaster?).<sup>806</sup> It may be the case that she became a solitary there although there is no proof. I disagree with Thomas Pickles that it is their asceticism that makes Anglo-Saxon female ecclesiastics special, because I believe we lack the models of female sanctity that one might expect if female power was the result of identical behaviours. Instead I would develop Peter Brown’s model of the ‘holy man’ as one of what is, no doubt, a number of factors.<sup>807</sup> This model was referred to earlier in the chapter and has been described as “seminal”.<sup>808</sup> The long term success of a “holy man” depended on a mix of charisma in life and the requirement to develop a cult after death to ensure survival in the world of ecclesiastical and princely politics. We see this exactly modelled in the various lives of Brigit. We also see it in the ultimately successful attempts to preserve the power of Whitby both as an ecclesiastical centre and as a royal cult site in Northumbria. It is in this mix of real charisma, no doubt enhanced by royal connections, and

---

<sup>805</sup> Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450-1150*, p. 68.

<sup>806</sup> *HE*.iv.23 (21).

<sup>807</sup> Brown, ‘The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity’.

<sup>808</sup> Averil Cameron, ‘On defining the Holy Man’ in James Howard-Johnstone and Paul Anthony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 27-44, p. 27. Amongst other seminal works by Peter Brown, and relevant to the subject, is *The Cult of Saints : Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed London, 2015)

the development of cults, both royal and ecclesiastical, that we should see the development of “holy women”.

### **Societal Norms**

It would be expected in any study of change to look further at the social and legal norms of that society and the evidence for any differences between the start and the end of the period in question. We know so little of pagan society, and our sources are determined to relate virtuous acts to Christian belief, that it is difficult to get a clear picture how society managed social issues, such as poverty and distress. If one can believe the story, Columba encountered individuals so impoverished that they benefitted from him giving them a sharpened stick (albeit a magical one) to hunt with.<sup>809</sup> It may be that Columba taught the man how to set traps. The miracle was that no tame animal was accidentally killed until the man stopped using it as Columba had directed. This puts some context to the acceptance at face value of the background details to a tale designed to emphasise the holiness, wisdom and charitable behaviour of the saint. It was clearly custom for largess to be expected from the visit of the king and his entourage, although this may not always have extended to breaking up and distributing silver plate.<sup>810</sup> We hear often about the sick going to monasteries to seek healing after the establishment of a cult, but in Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* we get evidence, in one chapter, of large numbers coming to Lindisfarne to seek healing.<sup>811</sup> Bede ascribes this to Cuthbert's fame as a miracle worker, but it is likely that it was a

---

<sup>809</sup> VC.ii.37.

<sup>810</sup> HE.iii.6. Bede records Oswald instructing that a dish be broken up and divided amongst those seeking alms.

<sup>811</sup> VCB.xxii.

combination of the growing fame of the charismatic holy man and the role of monasteries as centres for care of the surrounding and wider community.<sup>812</sup> Ceolfrith at Monkwearmouth/ Jarrow was also known for his generosity to the poor, who wept at his departure for Rome.<sup>813</sup> However the source goes onto mention Ceolfrith's father's generosity to the poor in distributing both the food, and notably the goods, intended to celebrate a king's visit that was subsequently cancelled. In chapter two of the *Vita* Ceolfrith's parents are described as Christians, but chapter twenty-two suggests that Ceolfrith, as the son of a noble, inherited the obligation, and the attitude to the obligation, from his father. This is in addition to, and apart from, his Christian virtue and is possibly a rare example of societal values that extended beyond the introduction of Christianity.

Poverty and distress, as a result of illness or plague, is a common feature of our sources, although this might be expected from their nature. Plague is mentioned frequently in the sources<sup>814</sup> and more often than a simple reading of the secondary sources would seem to allow. There is, apparently, a lack of discussion by historians of its impact, perhaps because of the lack of demographic figures for this period.<sup>815</sup> The impact of the plague must have been considerable but in the big picture did not ultimately impede the growth of Christianity

---

<sup>812</sup> For a recent discussion see Sarah Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical households' in Benjamin T. Hudson (ed.), *Familia and Household in the Medieval Atlantic World* (Tempe, AR, 2011), pp. 51-72, pgs 65-67 and associated references.

<sup>813</sup> V.Ceol.

<sup>814</sup> For example, *VCA.vi*; *HE.iv.3*; *AU 683.4*.

<sup>815</sup> There are exceptions: J.R. Maddicott, 'Plague in seventh century England' in Lester K. Little, (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750* (Cambridge, 2007), 171-214; David Woods, 'Adomnán, Plague and the Easter Controversy', *Anglo-Saxon England* 40 (2011), pp. 1-13; Ann Dooley, 'The plague and Its consequences in Ireland' in Little, (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity*, pp. 215-230.

or, as we shall see, economic developments. Indeed it is possible that such disruptions provide a stimulus for entrepreneurial activity and economic growth.<sup>816</sup> What is seen in the seventh-century is not the wholesale breakdown of society, but possibly a loosening of the boundaries to allow smaller scale change and development.

## **Conclusions**

Overall, we do not have unchanging, conservative communities, focused on repeating long term ritual and maintaining an inward focus. Instead we have communities prepared to embrace major religious change, to adapt and modify their identities in response to internal change and to their neighbours, and to adopt new and exotic practices to bury their dead, live their daily lives and to prepare for eternity. When we compare the Northumbrian evidence with that from Wessex we see similar processes underway in terms of developing higher level identity and this identity being used for socio-political purposes that focus on kings and kingdoms. The view of Northumbria embracing innovation and change alongside other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms will only increase further in the next chapter.

---

<sup>816</sup> The literature on drivers for entrepreneurship is extensive but is summarised in Murray B. Low, and Ian C. MacMillan, 'Entrepreneurship: Past Research and Future Challenges' in Alvaro Cuervo, *Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory and Perspectives* (New York, 2007), pp. 131-154, with Socio-Cultural theories covered in pp. 141-2.

## Chapter 6 - Economy

### Introduction

Previous chapters discussed the relationship between local and central power and examined dynamic interaction between the two. If there was indeed an elite strata, this at least creates a milieu in which economic activity above the level of basic surplus exchange could take place. This chapter will make three key arguments: That there were trading settlements in the seventh-century; that there was in addition, rural trading, and not just in the hinterland of these settlements, beginning in the seventh-century, not the eighth; and that this was not confined to the south with Northumbria as a developing participant during Aldfrith's reign. I will look briefly at economic models for the early medieval period before focusing on the evidence for technological developments, the production and use of coins and the evidence for trading. An important part of the latter will be a detailed examination of the evidence for developed rural settlement, to determine whether the infrastructure existed to allow trade beyond the occasional peddler type visit to dispersed rural farms. This will be followed by a look at the evidence for larger settlements and markets. The review cannot be exhaustive regarding the archaeological information available. This is a rapid area of growth and metal detecting and excavation regularly provides new and sometimes startling information.<sup>817</sup>

---

<sup>817</sup> Not least the Staffordshire Hoard, already producing 'coffee-table' versions: Caroline Alexander, *Lost Gold of the Dark Ages* (Washington DC, 2012).



Two questions perplexed the author at the outset of this research: when the man whose horse was cured at the site of Oswald's martyrdom stayed at a *hospitium*, did he pay for his lodgings?<sup>818</sup> When Aldhelm wrote to the young monk Wihtfrith advising him not to consort with *prostitutae* who lived around the monastery where he was going to study, how did Aldhelm think these prostitutes were paid?<sup>819</sup> These questions will be generally be treated as rhetorical, rather than specific. It is possible, for example, that the prostitutes were concubines rather than service workers. Although they may not be fully answered, the questions nevertheless offer a possible glimpse into a more complicated economic system, and an earlier development of it, than some have allowed for.

As we saw in the literature review, current work on the subject leaves us with the dilemma of determining where on two axes of development the various parts of late seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England sit. One axis is the development of the countryside and its society into a hierarchical patchwork of managed estates; and the other is the development of trade and commercial activity as perhaps determined by the number and role of merchants and the distribution of traded goods across many strands of society, not just the elite. The position is further complicated by the fact that much of the argument is couched using later evidence

---

<sup>818</sup> HE.iii.9. "...et posito ibi signo non multo post ascendit equum atque ad *hospitium*, quo proposuerat, accessit. Quo dum adueniret, inuenit puellam ibi neptem *patris familias* longo paralysis morbo grauata" which Colgrave and Mynors translate as "He put up a sign to mark the place, shortly afterwards mounted his horse, and reached the inn where he intended to lodge. On his arrival he found a girl there, niece of the patron, who had long suffered from paralysis." In fact we don't know what Bede meant by *hospitium*, which is translated as "inn", and it is perhaps a stretch to translate *patris familias* as "patron". Perhaps the editors were placing more emphasis on the translation that it would bear.

<sup>819</sup> Aldhelm, Letter to Wihtfrith: *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, Michael and Herren, Michael (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 154-5: Monumenta Germaniae Historica 15, Aldhelmi Opera, p. 480 <[http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000827\\_00507.html?sortIndex=010%3A010%3A0015%3A010%3A00%3A00](http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000827_00507.html?sortIndex=010%3A010%3A0015%3A010%3A00%3A00)> [21 Jun 2015].

and reading backwards, and also a tendency to see the economy as an upward evolutionary curve, when the reality is that it peaked and troughed and was disrupted by 'events', and so is somewhat of a moving target. This tendency to a teleological approach is not confined to economic history.

Economics as an academic discipline is strongly based on models, and the study of the historical economy follows this practice. The classic model of production and consumption in the early middle ages is outlined by Howard Clarke as:

- Primary: food and drink
- Secondary: clothing and other artefacts
- Tertiary: exchanges through barter and trade<sup>820</sup>

Michelle Comber outlines a range of economic models in her view of the early Irish economy:<sup>821</sup>

- Custom - individual contributions are prescribed and guided by "rules"
- Command - usually a result of emergencies and usually military in nature
- Feudal - the centre has to rely on local leaders with a hierarchy of classes
- Bureaucratic - more complex than feudal with a civil administration

---

<sup>820</sup> , Howard B. Clarke 'Economy' in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2009), pp. 57-75, p. 67.

<sup>821</sup> Michelle Comber, *The Economy of the Ringfort and Contemporary Settlement in Early Medieval Ireland*, British Archaeological Reports International Series No. 1773 (Oxford, 2008), p. 5.

- Early market - beginnings of fairs and bartering through middlemen acquiring goods for their trade value

These models are of use if they are seen as neither hierarchical nor progressive. It is more likely that these aspects of production can be found coexisting to a greater or lesser extent. To paraphrase a statement in an earlier chapter, the farmer may not have a clear thought process of whether the slice of production given to “the big man” (or woman in the case of some monastic estates) was a gift exchange, render, rent or tax. Equally, it is likely that little thought was given to which phase of economic development was underway at any particular time. This is not to deny sophistication and a capacity for strategic thinking on the part of individuals. Marylin Gerriets has shown that Irish farmers were faced with choice in terms of both lordship and in, for example, the quantity versus quality of cattle, or the balance between land kept in arable or pasture. However she avoids discussion about how clear such a choice might have been to an individual.<sup>822</sup>

What by now might be termed the classic model of Dark Age economics was first defined by Georges Duby and significantly developed by Richard Hodges and Tom Saunders.<sup>823</sup> This sees a stagnating economy following the collapse of the Roman empire, driven by elite consumption and gift exchange; with slowly developing markets as a means of the elite

---

<sup>822</sup> Marylin Gerriets, ‘Economy and Society: Clientship According to Early Irish Laws’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 6.2 (1983), pp. 43-62, esp. p. 58 and pp. 46-47.

<sup>823</sup> Georges Duby, trans H.B. Clarke, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century* (London, 1974); Hodges, *Dark Age Economics*; Tom Saunders, ‘Trade, Towns and States: A Reconsideration of Early Medieval Economics’, *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 28.1 (1995), pp. 31-53.

retaining power; leading to increased production to fund the increased demand, ultimately leading to urbanisation and feudalism.

Grenville Astill, in a recent article,<sup>824</sup> gives an alternative picture of the first half of the eighth-century where emporia, rather than being places for the control of elite goods coming into the kingdom, process rural surplus that is collected from regional centres, with this trade being facilitated by coins. Parallel to this there is a reorganisation of the countryside to increase production, with a consequential change in the role of the elite from conspicuous consumers of gift exchanges, or perhaps render, to significant landholders. This requirement to link long distance trade with production was strongly argued by John Moreland.<sup>825</sup> He also put the case that the view that society was largely structured around gift exchange needs to be modified. Various forms of economy can co-exist together and it is the linking of these with the capacity for production that we need to look at.<sup>826</sup>

In terms of models Marxist thinking on feudalism provides a useful paradigm to promote thinking about economic management and exploitation of surpluses (albeit with an element of caution, see below).<sup>827</sup> The extent to which the agriculturalist was forced to labour on

---

<sup>824</sup> Grenville Astill, 'Exchange, coinage and the economy of early medieval England' in Julio Escalona and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 253-272.

<sup>825</sup> John Moreland, 'Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy' in Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 1-34.

<sup>826</sup> Moreland, 'Concepts', p. 34.

<sup>827</sup> There is a good summary in Saunders, 'Trade, Towns and States: A Reconsideration of Early Medieval Economics', pp. 32-36. However, again caution is required. It is possible to go too far in the other direction, but work on the psychological motivation of the individual in an economic context suggests a balance between

another's land or hand over surplus produce from his own land is, as we have seen, central to the argument. However, no amount of coercion is going to produce surplus if the technology and the skills are lacking. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the evidence for economic development in the seventh-century, from the capacity for production, through the processes of exchange, to the likely changing impact on society.

### Technological Developments

In 2011 there was much excitement at the announcement by Reading University that an iron coulter had been found in a securely dated seventh-century Anglo-Saxon context.<sup>828</sup> The comment attributed to Professor Peter Fowler, that “This is the object I have been waiting for all my life”<sup>829</sup> reflects the importance of the find. Before the discovery it was generally thought that heavy ploughs were re-introduced to Anglo-Saxon England in the tenth century. However, heavy ploughs were known in seventh-century Ireland. According to *Críth Gablach* an *Ócaire* had to have “a fourth part of a plough, to wit an ox and a ploughshare and a goad and a halter”.<sup>830</sup> This suggests that what is being referred to is a four oxen plough and not a light ard that was normally pulled by two oxen. Although Fergus Kelly draws attention to the fact that *Críth Gablach* does not list the coulter as an essential

---

large scale ‘push’ and individualistic ‘pull’ factors is appropriate. The psychology of individual motivation is now well developed, for example, Andreas Rauch, and Michael Frese, ‘Born to be an Entrepreneur: Revisiting the Personality Approach to Entrepreneurship’ in Robert, J. Baum, Michael Frese and Robert Baron (eds.), *The Psychology of Entrepreneurship* (New Jersey, 2007), pp. 41-67. Chris Wickham, *Framing The Early Middle Ages* is an important recent study esp. chp. 6.

<sup>828</sup> Mike Pitts, ‘Kent Plough Find Challenges Farming History’, *British Archaeology* 118 (May/June 2011), p. 5.

<sup>829</sup> <<http://www.reading.ac.uk/news-and-events/releases/PR361415.aspx>>, [24 January 2015]

<sup>830</sup> Eoin MacNeill, ‘Ancient Irish Law: The Law of Status or Franchise’, *Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Ireland* 36 (1924), pp. 256-316, esp. p. 289.

piece of equipment,<sup>831</sup> most experts accept that the heavy plough was available in Ireland in the seventh-century.<sup>832</sup> It may have been a result of insularity that led some Anglo-Saxon scholars to ignore the fact that something available in Ireland might not also be in use in England. As we shall see below, the importance of this find lies in the implications for the types of fields and consequently farming practices that were in place in the seventh-century. A heavy plough works at a deeper level than an ard and turns the soil, thus producing a deeper tilth and a more productive crop. It also requires long fields that allow the plough and its team of oxen to turn more easily. It also allows more difficult land to be brought into cultivation.

Another feature suggesting a more developed rural economy is the water mill. Several examples of seventh-century water mills are known from Ireland. The fullest description in our sources is that in *The Life of St. Brigit the Virgin* by Cogitosus, which details the acquisition of millstones; the existence of a monastic mill and a miller; the misuse of the mill by a pagan, which is the excuse for a miracle; and a mill fire.<sup>833</sup> Adomnán also refers to a

---

<sup>831</sup> Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-Texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD* (Dublin, 2000), p. 470.

<sup>832</sup> Specialist articles include Michael Duignan, 'Irish Agriculture in Early Historic Times', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 74 (1944), pp. 124-45; Frank G Mitchell, 'Tillage Tools in Ireland During the Past 5,000 Years', *Irish Journal of Earth Sciences* 2.1 (1979), pp. 27-40. General texts include Nancy Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London, 1990), p. 62; Donnchadh Ó Corrain, 'Ireland c800: aspects of society' in Ó Cróinín, *A New History of Ireland*, pp. 549-608, pgs. 557-8; esp. p. 191. A number of these refer to an article by Niall Brady in which he suggests that the coulter is a tenth century introduction. However this does not detract from the evidence of heavy ploughs and may itself be influenced by new evidence from England: Niall Brady, 'Reconstructing a Medieval Irish Plough', *Primeras Jornadas Internacionales Sobre Tecnología Agraria Tradicional* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 31-44.

<sup>833</sup> Oliver Davies and Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Spirituality* (New Jersey, 1999), pp. 122-139, esp. pp. 135-137.

cross set into a millstone in his moving version of the story of Columba's death.<sup>834</sup> However we do not have to rely solely on written sources. The most recent example of an early water mill to be fully published is a seventh-century tide-mill at Nendrum monastery, dated by dendrochronology to 621 AD.<sup>835</sup> This highly sophisticated apparatus was dismantled and replaced by a second mill around 789 AD.<sup>836</sup> This strongly suggests that the earlier mill remained in use from its construction. Other examples of Irish water mills include High Island, described by the excavator as one of the earliest known.<sup>837</sup> There are numerous others.<sup>838</sup>

One might argue that it is a short step from monasteries in Ireland, to Irish monasteries in what is now England, to Anglo-Saxon water mills. Again we are fortunate not to have to rely on conjecture. The mill at Old Windsor has been dated to after 690. The lack of precision is based on the fact that a number of the sapwood rings are missing.<sup>839</sup> However the mill at Northfleet, on the lower River Thames, is secularly dated by sap-wood dendro-chronology

---

<sup>834</sup> VC.iii.23.

<sup>835</sup> McErlean and Crothers, *Harnessing the Tides: The Early Medieval Tide Mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Lough*, p. 71.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80

<sup>837</sup> Colin Rynne, Grelland Rourke and Jenny White-Marshall, 'An Early Medieval Monastic Watermill on High Island', *Archaeology Ireland* 10.3 (1996), pp. 24-27, esp. p. 27; for a detailed description see the chapter in the excavation publication Jenny White Marshall and J.D. Rourke, *High Island: An Irish Monastery in the Atlantic* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 185-214.

<sup>838</sup> Colin Rynne, 'The Introduction of the Vertical Watermill into Ireland: Some Recent Archaeological Evidence', *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), pp. 21-31.

<sup>839</sup> John Fletcher, 'Dendro-dates: Roman and Saxon', *Current Archaeology* 76 (1981), pp. 150-152.

to the winter or spring of 691-2.<sup>840</sup> It had a mill pond, a spill-way, and sophisticated horizontal mill wheel and used tidal levels to fill the pond on a twice daily cycle. On the other hand the water mill at Tamworth has been shown to be ninth century by dendro-chronology.<sup>841</sup> The earlier publication of the radio-carbon dates allowed it to enter the canon as a possible candidate for a seventh-century mill. The Anglo-Saxon evidence is much more tantalising than that for Ireland, but lack of evidence has never proved a case. There is evidence of at least two mills dating to our period. The argument that might be put forward, that these mills are in the south of England, not Northumbria, is diminished by the fact that the Northumbria is the very area most likely to be influenced by Irish monastic economic practices.<sup>842</sup> It is perhaps more likely that the limited excavation evidence for the north is an explanation of the lack of evidence for mills. When this is combined with the concentration on the religious heart of the monastic sites that have been excavated, it might well be the case, given the Irish influence at Lindisfarne in the 650s, that finding sophisticated mechanical grain processing technology in the north is but a matter of time.<sup>843</sup>

---

<sup>840</sup> Phil Andrews, Edward Biddulph, Alan Hardy and Richard Brown, *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age. Roman, Saxon and Medieval Landscape, 1: The Sites* (Oxford, 2011), p. 339.

<sup>841</sup> Philip Rahtz and Robert Meeson (eds.), *An Anglo-Saxon Watermill at Tamworth, Excavations in the Bolebridge Street Area of Tamworth, Staffordshire, in 1971 and 1976*, CBA Research Report No. 83 (York, 1992), p. 122.

<sup>842</sup> Martin Watts, *The Archaeology of Mills and Milling* (Tempus, 2002), p. 72 argues that water mills may have been re-introduced to south-east England from mainland Europe in the seventh-century.

<sup>843</sup> Following an exchange of e-correspondance David Petts has looked for, and believes he has found, a mill leet linked to the monastery on Lindisfarne, although at this stage it is, of course, undated and the link unproven.



Before leaving the technological advances of the late seventh-century, a mention must be made of fish traps. There is evidence from Burghfield in Berkshire of fish or eel traps dating to the seventh-century, although the nature of the evidence, radio-carbon dates rather than dendro chronology allows for a significant margin of error.<sup>844</sup> Once again we have evidence of collective working by communities, this time in an estuary environment. At issue here is whether this technology was used to create surpluses that were capable of being turned into a medium of exchange.

### **Coins and Exchange**

At first sight it looks like the evidence points towards a developing economy in the late-seventh-century. However, most of the evidence comes from research taking a *longue durée* approach and when we look at the specific evidence the picture is less certain. The availability of evidence being increasingly quoted in the literature from the PAS is showing a trend, rather than offering specifics, despite the enthusiasm of a number of researchers. When the actual evidence is examined the picture is less clear. For example, a search of the PAS database for “Early Medieval”; “650-750” and Hampshire, cross referenced with the most recent British Museum Sylloge of Anglo-Saxon coins,<sup>845</sup> returns 40 coins, of which 8 may fit into the period we are examining.<sup>846</sup>

---

<sup>844</sup> C.A. Butterworth and S.J. Lobb, *Excavations in the Burghfield Area, Berkshire. Developments in the Bronze Age and Saxon Landscapes* (Salisbury, 1992), p. 168; see also the table of radio-carbon dates in Peter Murphy, ‘The landscape and economy of the Anglo-Saxon coast: new archaeological evidence’ in Nicholas J. Higham and Ryan J. Martin (eds.), *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 211-222, at pp. 218-9.

<sup>845</sup> Anna Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins 1, Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles*, (London, 2013).

<sup>846</sup> Hamp. 3895; 932646; EFF9C0; 6B73E6; OAFEA1; Sur. 3190E3; Sur. E882E5; Suss. 295466.

The key paper, however, in this discussion is the 2005 article by Michael Metcalf on early coinage in Wessex (*sic*).<sup>847</sup> In the first half of the paper he argues that in the second phase of silver coinage, dating from c720, regression analysis shows us that the use of coins was widely distributed in the countryside around Hamwic. The second part of the paper argues that the first silver coinage actually minted in Wessex, as opposed to the use of coins minted elsewhere, was Series W. Its production might in fact pre-date the establishment of Hamwic. Metcalf points out that in 2005, 50 series one sceattas, dating from 680-710, are known from southern Hampshire,<sup>848</sup> although their find spots are often less secure than those from PAS. Metcalf concludes that the monetisation of the Solent area happens very quickly after its conquest by Caedwalla and the consolidation of Ine's power. More importantly for this discussion, he argues for a fully monetised economy within twenty years. One might expect enthusiasm for coin use from a numismatist but there is, for the archaeologist and historian, little doubt that there is a trend that appears to show more rural economic activity than was allowed for by previous theories on the role and function of wics. It is by no means definitive proof of the argument, but as these coin finds are likely to be the tip of a very large iceberg of lost coins, this is itself indicative of their use, which in turn strongly suggests that something more than a simple exchange of required commodities and certainly more than merely self-sufficient economic practices is developing.

---

<sup>847</sup> D. Michael Metcalf, 'The First Sceattas Minted in Southern Wessex: Series W', *British Numismatic Journal*, 75, (2005), pp. 1-17.

<sup>848</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

So far, most of the information for economic development has been from the better evidenced southern kingdoms. However, when we turn to coins we have for the first time, clear and convincing evidence of change (*sic*) in Northumbria. This is in the form of *sceatta*, with the name *Aldfridus* on the reverse and a beast on the obverse, being found in increasing numbers.<sup>849</sup> It used to be thought that these might be coins of Aldfrith of Lindsey, although as early as 1984 James Booth had put forward the suggestion that they may be Northumbrian.<sup>850</sup> That they could be considered to be coins of Lindsey, when none at that time had been found within the boundaries of the kingdom, demonstrates the perception of seventh-century Northumbria as an undeveloped kingdom and, indeed, in the desire to place coins in the period of later kings, the pervading view that the seventh-century saw only limited economic development. The case for Aldfrith of Northumbria was decisively proved, unusually for an archaeological context, by the finding of an Aldfrith coin in a securely dated layer in Southampton.<sup>851</sup> This coin is so significant for the argument being put forward in this paper that it is worth confirming the detail, since Aldfrith of Northumbria is the only candidate we know of for a coin found in a context that dates to the early eighth-century. The site report states that it was found in an occupation level (context 6184) associated with a building adjacent to the north-south street and immediately to the south

---

<sup>849</sup> In 1984 seven examples were known. In February 2012 twenty-four were recorded by the Fitzwilliam Museum, and an additional example was noted by the Portable Antiquities Scheme:

<[http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc\\_search\\_reply.php](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc_search_reply.php)> [24 February 2010];

<<http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/74136>> [24 February 2012].

<sup>850</sup> James Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria' in David Hill and Michael Metcalf (eds.), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent: The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 71- 113, p. 72 and p. 85.

<sup>851</sup> D. Michael Metcalf, 'The Coins' in P. Andrews (ed.), *Southampton Finds Volume One: The Coins and Pottery from Hamwic* (Southampton, 1988), pp. 17-59, esp. p. 36.

of east-west street (Structure 1 on SOU 31T4).<sup>852</sup> It was in a charcoal layer dating 700-725, and there is a dendro-chronological date from a nearby well of 710.<sup>853</sup> However, to take an archaeological position, a name stamped on a piece of metal, albeit a regularly recurring motif, cannot be assumed to be evidence of economic activity. It is first necessary to discuss some definitions and contexts.

James Bolton provides a useful hand list defining money,<sup>854</sup> albeit that he concludes that a monetised economy didn't exist in England until sufficient coinage was circulating, sometime in the thirteenth century.<sup>855</sup> For him money has the following characteristics:

- Portability: it should come in shapes and sizes convenient for being taken from one transaction to the next.
- Divisibility: its many forms and values are multiples of each other-
- Convertibility: a transaction made in a higher-value unit can be made equally well in lower-value multiples.
- Generality: virtually all goods and services have a monetary value.
- Anonymity: for virtually all purchases any person with the appropriate money can make a transaction.

---

<sup>852</sup> Andrews, *Excavations at Hamwic. Vol.2, Excavations at Six Dials*, p. 210.

<sup>853</sup> Metcalf, 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685- 704)', p. 149.

<sup>854</sup> J. Bolton, 'What is money? What is a money economy? When did a money economy emerge in medieval England' in Diana Wood (ed.), *Medieval Money Matters* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1-15, p. 4.

<sup>855</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

- Legality: the nature and quality of money in circulation will be controlled by the state.

The development of coins in England and on the Continent can be followed in articles by Mark Blackburn and by Stéphane Lebecq and most recently by Rory Naismith.<sup>856</sup> The types of coins in circulation were given a typology accepted by modern scholars by Michael Metcalf.<sup>857</sup> The traditional view is that early coins, particularly gold coins, were an elaborate form of bullion, probably with a social significance resulting from their iconography.<sup>858</sup> However C.J. Arnold and Gareth Williams have both argued that gold coins can be both money and bullion at the same time.<sup>859</sup> The question for us is: was there was trading underway to any significant extent in the late seventh-century? The crucial indication that small amounts of bullion were exchanged is the extensive evidence for small sets of scales found in burials. In 1990 nine balances from fifth to seventh-century graves were known.<sup>860</sup> A number have been found since, although without dating evidence, including in the north

---

<sup>856</sup> Mark Blackburn, 'Money and Coinage' in Rosamund McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, II, c700-c900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 538-559; Mark Blackburn, 'Coinage in its archaeological context' in Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 580-599; Stéphane Lebecq, 'England and the Continent in the sixth and seventh centuries: the question of logistics' in Richard Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 50-67; Rory Naismith, *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern Kingdoms, 757-865* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>857</sup> D. Michael Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum*, Three Vols. (Oxford, 1994).

<sup>858</sup> Philip Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959), pp. 123-140.

<sup>859</sup> C.J. Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (London, 2000), p. 106; Gareth Williams, 'The circulation and function of coinage in conversion period England', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*, *The Northern World*, 19 (Leiden, 2006), pp. 145-192.

<sup>860</sup> Scull Christopher, 'Scales and Weights in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Archaeological Journal* 147 (1990), pp. 183-215, p. 184.

at Barton on Humber.<sup>861</sup> It is the use of such small scale bullion that might explain the payment of overnight expenses at “*hospitium*” we noted earlier.<sup>862</sup> As Scull noted, the weights found along with some of these balances seem to be calibrated with earlier gold coinage and their purpose may be to provide calculations of smaller pieces of gold more useful for day to day commerce.<sup>863</sup>

Gold coins were being struck in Northumbria before Aldfrith’s reign. The number of *thrymsas* of the “York group” is growing steadily through metal detecting.<sup>864</sup> It has been suggested that these come from a mint at York,<sup>865</sup> although the monarch under whose auspices such a mint might have flourished remains in doubt. Pirie’s suggestion that the name Ecgrith rendered backwards can be seen on the coins has not found favour.<sup>866</sup>

---

<sup>861</sup> The Portable Antiquities Scheme database search for “balance” and “early medieval”, <http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/BALANCE/broadperiod/EARLY+MEDIEVAL/> [11 March 2012].

<sup>862</sup> See p. 69 and also note 563 above.

<sup>863</sup> Scull, *Scales and Weights*, p. 197.

<sup>864</sup> Elizabeth Jane Elphinstone Pirie, ‘The Seventh Century Gold Coinage of Northumbria’, *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), pp. 1-15; Elizabeth Jane Elphinstone Pirie, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria c. 700-867* (Llanfyllin, 1996); Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds, search “Northumbria” and “Early English Shilling”, [http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc\\_search\\_reply.php](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc_search_reply.php), [11 March 2012].

<sup>865</sup> Joan Moulden and Dominic Tweddle, ‘The 7<sup>th</sup> century gold coins from York’ in Dominic Tweddle, Joan Moulden and Elizabeth Logan (eds.), *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence* (London, 1999), pp. 226- 230, esp. p. 230.

<sup>866</sup> Pirie, *The Seventh Century Gold Coinage*.

In general terms, the introduction of silver coinage in England seems to occur in a similar timeframe to its introduction in the Frankish kingdoms.<sup>867</sup> However, what is unique about the coins of Aldfrith is the use of his name. The only other precedent for this are the gold coins attributed to Eadbald of Kent (616-40). Apart from the Northumbrian coins of Eadberht, it is not until the second half of the eighth-century that silver coins bear the names of kings.<sup>868</sup> So unless new evidence is found to the contrary, Aldfrith is the first Northumbrian king to produce silver coinage, which someone clearly and without precedent wished to link to royal authority. Finds of these coins are extensive, and D.M. Metcalf has noted that a considerable number of dies were in use.<sup>869</sup> He has little doubt that coins were produced in such quantity that their use in trading is clear.<sup>870</sup> The question to be answered, after examining evidence from settlement studies, is “what trading”?

### **Rural Settlement and Economic Activity**

The problems of trying to pin down a settlement typology for Anglo-Saxon England, never mind its constituent regions, are well known.<sup>871</sup> Excavations are generally small scale, particularly compared with their counterparts in mainland Europe; dating evidence is

---

<sup>867</sup> Blackburn, *Money and Coinage*, pp. 545-6.

<sup>868</sup> Anna Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* (Oxford, 2003), p. 12, note 51.

<sup>869</sup> 24 are reported in Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds, search “Northumbria” and “Aldfrith”, [http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc\\_search\\_reply.php](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc_search_reply.php), [11 March 2012]; D. M. Metcalf, ‘The coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685- 704)’, pp.147-58.

<sup>870</sup> Metcalf, *The Coinage of King Aldfrith*, p. 154.

<sup>871</sup> Helena Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-Western Europe 400-900* (Oxford, 2002), p. 10 and more recently Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 70.

imprecise; and the seventh-century origins of Ipswich ware pottery has been thrown into doubt.<sup>872</sup> Crucial evidence could often be sitting just outside an excavated area, with implications for arguments about dating settlement shift and village nucleation.

Methodology plays its part too, and the sites that appear to end in the seventh-century, or begin “in the middle Saxon period” may be more a result of excavator expectations, excavation funding in terms of the availability of post excavation study or scale change.<sup>873</sup> In short, the evidence may not be clear and unambiguous. Likewise, arguments for the dates for the creation of open field systems have made little concrete progress between Joan Thirsk’s work in the 1960s<sup>874</sup> and Susan Oosthuizen’s recent publications.<sup>875</sup> However, despite her own views about the innate conservatism of rural practices and that this may result in long term continuity, Oosthuizen does acknowledge that there is significant innovation in agriculture from the mid-seventh-century.<sup>876</sup> However some of her views about mid-Saxon innovation have been criticised, for example by Gabor Thomas, who has

---

<sup>872</sup> The results of the Ipswich Ware project remain unpublished, but Paul Blinkhorn has reported that they will suggest a start date of c720 AD; however, Christopher Scull is still prepared to quote the original dating. Paul Blinkhorn, ‘Of cabbages and kings: production trade and consumption in middle-Saxon England’ in Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia*, 4-23, p. 9; Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich*, p. 305.

<sup>873</sup> Robert Cowie and Lyn Blackmore, *Early and Middle Saxon Rural Settlement in the London Region* (London, 2008), p. 165; Sally Crawford and Anne Dodd, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire: 1. Introduction: Nature of the Evidence, History of Research and the Role of Material Culture*, <<http://oxfordshirelocalhistory.modhist.ox.ac.uk/siteimages/STRF%20Anglo-Saxon%20Oxfordshire.pdf>> [8 April 2012].

<sup>874</sup> Summarised in Thirsk, ‘The Origins of the Common Fields’, pp. 142-7.

<sup>875</sup> Susan Oosthuizen, ‘Medieval field systems and settlement nucleation: common or separate origins’ in Higham and Martin, *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 107-132.

<sup>876</sup> Susan Oosthuizen, ‘Anglo-Saxon fields’, in Hamerow, Hinton and Crawford, *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, pp. 377-404, p. 383.



pointed out Oosthuizen's uncritical use of "nucleated settlements".<sup>877</sup> Helen Hamerow too believes that there are changes in the seventh-century, with the introduction of fixed boundaries which she is tentatively prepared to accept are the result of a change to market orientated stock rearing.<sup>878</sup>

The debate about the function and purpose of various settlement forms in England is beginning to heat up, as more evidence becomes available. On the Continent this discussion has been underway for some time. Some of the debate is down to terminology. Riccardo Frankovitch pointed out that the written evidence leads historians to marginalise villages (the opposite of the situation from that in England) and archaeological evidence is often dismissed as "proto-villages". However, the evidence from Italy is that villages survive through the first millennium and are absorbed into new political and social structures.<sup>879</sup>

The debate in France follows what I hope to demonstrate is a similar picture for the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In 1985 Jean Fossier and Robert Chapelot could argue of the dangers in assuming the normal from the exceptional.<sup>880</sup> At that time a few key sites suggested that the accepted picture of dispersed peasant settlement with seigniorial centres might not be the whole story. By 2004 Patrick Périn could summarise the evidence for a picture of hamlets and villages and suggest that there is indeed continuity of settlement under modern villages

---

<sup>877</sup> Gabor Thomas, 'Review of Tradition and Transformation in Anglo-Saxon England by Susan Oosthuizen', *The Antiquaries Journal* 94 (September 2014), pp. 379-380.

<sup>878</sup> Helena Hamerow, 'The Development of Anglo-Saxon Settlement Structure', *Landscape History* 31.1 (2010), pp. 1-23, esp. p. 20.

<sup>879</sup> Riccardo Frankovich, 'The beginnings of hilltop villages in early medieval Tuscany' in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 55-82.

<sup>880</sup> Jean Chapelot, and Robert Fossier, *The Village and the House in the Middle Ages* (London, 1985), p. 14.

and settlement shift to the new churches being built in the eighth-century. For Périn some of the deserted settlements available for excavation were failed settlements and therefore untypical, rather than providing model type sites.<sup>881</sup> Carenza Lewis' work on the Currently Occupied Rural Settlement (CORS) project may provide similar results.<sup>882</sup>

We are fortunate that we do not have to wait for early stage evidence of rural economic development in the seventh-century. Two important sites have recently been published, Flixborough<sup>883</sup> and Bloodmoor Hill.<sup>884</sup> Interestingly both excavators, Christopher Loveluck and Sam Lucy, highlight in their own way that it is too simplistic to argue for "high" and "low" status sites. The evidence from early Flixborough and later Bloodmoor Hill is rather for a mixed economy on the same site, with high and low status individuals living in a settlement that is not characterised as occupied by an elite group.<sup>885</sup> In other words, more recent excavations are suggesting that the old split between palace sites and farmsteads is a false one, and that we might expect a rather higher access to trade goods and other non-subsistence objects than we might have expected from earlier excavations. Like a number of other sites Flixborough began in the seventh-century; however the clear evidence for

---

<sup>881</sup> Patrick Périn, 'The origin of the village in early medieval Gaul' in Neil Christie (ed.), *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 255-278.

<sup>882</sup> Carenza Lewis, 'Exploring black holes: recent investigations in currently occupied rural settlements in eastern England' in Higham and Martin, *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 83-106; Coddenham, Suffolk, <<http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/aca/coddenham.html>> [21 April 2012].

<sup>883</sup> Flixborough in four volumes, but see Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD*.

<sup>884</sup> Sam Lucy, Jess Tipper and Alison Dickens, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeology 121 (Cambridge, 2009).

<sup>885</sup> Lucy, *Bloodmoor Hill*, p. 432; Loveluck, *Rural Settlement*, p. 147.

surplus, trade and exchange belongs to the eighth. At Bloodmoor Hill on the other hand, zoning dated to the second half of the seventh-century seems to suggest some form of centralised control of the site. It too relied on either trading or itinerant craftspeople.<sup>886</sup> There is some evidence that it may have been involved in rearing cattle for traction and dairy, with young male cows being disposed of elsewhere. It may be that these animals were the surplus used for trading purposes.<sup>887</sup>

At Cottenham in Cambridgeshire a large enclosure was frequently recut in the seventh-century. Post-built buildings were discovered to have had their own enclosures.<sup>888</sup> The excavation report focuses on the development of a nucleated settlement in the eighth-century, and the research agenda was 'village development'. Nevertheless, the evidence produced is group organisation of the settlement with ditches and boundaries, presumably for the control of people and livestock. Other sites in East Anglia that demonstrate seventh-century origins include Staunch Meadow, Brandon<sup>889</sup> and the famous sites of West Stow<sup>890</sup> and Mucking.<sup>891</sup> However these latter demonstrate settlement shift between the seventh and eighth-centuries and have become the type sites that Chapelot and Fossier warn about.

---

<sup>886</sup> Lucy, *Bloodmoor Hill*, p. 430.

<sup>887</sup> Lucy, *Bloodmoor Hill*, p. 321.

<sup>888</sup> Richard Mortimer, 'Village Development and Ceramic Sequence: The Middle to Late Saxon Village at Lordship Lane, Cottenham, Cambridgeshire', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 89 (2000), pp. 5-34.

<sup>889</sup> R.D Carr, A. Tester and P. Murphy, 'The Middle Saxon Settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity* 22 (1988), pp. 371-7.

<sup>890</sup> Stanley E. West, *West Stowe: The Anglo-Saxon Village*, 2 Vols, East Anglian Archaeology 24 (Ipswich, 1984).

<sup>891</sup> Hamerow, *Excavations at Mucking, Volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (London, 1993), p. 96.

Turning to the area that was to become the kingdom of the Middle Angles, at Raunds in the seventh-century the evidence suggests both dispersed farmsteads with patterns of nucleation.<sup>892</sup> The Raunds Area Survey identified twenty-two nucleated settlements in a roughly forty-two square kilometre area, each with an infield-outfield system, although these cannot be dated more closely than 450-850 AD.<sup>893</sup> The fifth to seventh-century 'village' of Eye Kettleby in Leicestershire unfortunately remains unpublished; however fourteen 'halls' and eighteen sunken featured buildings (SFBs) were excavated, with some of the post-built buildings showing signs of re-build on the same site.<sup>894</sup> Catholme on the other hand was fully published in 2002.<sup>895</sup> Here the settlement was defined by a series of enclosures and trackways with post built structures and SFBs. It was so stable and long lived that the excavators suggest that it might be a British settlement taken over by Anglo-Saxons. However, Helena Hamerow firmly rejects this in her summary in the same report, claiming that all the evidence is for a Saxon settlement.<sup>896</sup> Each of the enclosures at Catholme featured a number of buildings. The material culture base is poor, so there is no suggestion of this being an elite site.

---

<sup>892</sup> Michel Audouy and Andy Chapman (eds.), *Raunds: The Origin and Growth of a Midland Village* (Oxford, 2008), p. 52.

<sup>893</sup> Stephen Parry, *Raunds Area Survey: An Archaeological Study of the Landscape of Raunds, Northamptonshire, 1985-94* (Oxford, 2006), p. 274.

<sup>894</sup> 'A Rare Early Saxon Village in Midlands', *British Archaeology* 26 (July 1997), <<http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba26/BA26NEWS.HTML>>, [21 Oct 2014]. Richard Buckley, in charge of the post-excavation publication, believes that a number of the hall-type buildings were occupied at the same time, as opposed one or two halls being rebuilt on numerous occasions, pers.comm.

<sup>895</sup> Stuart Losco-Bradley and Bradley Kinsley, *Catholme: An Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire*, Nottinghamshire Archaeological Monographs 3 (Nottingham, 2002).

<sup>896</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

At Pennylands in Buckinghamshire, the excavator suggests that the site was organised and gathered together from dispersed settlements sometime in the seventh-century, since the level lacked any middle Saxon pottery. This site reverted to a dispersed pattern in a later phase, with the proposal being put forward that the settlement moved to the nearby church site at Great Linford.<sup>897</sup>

In what was to become Wessex, Cowdery's Down was developed in the sixth and seventh-century as an organised settlement, abandoned around 800. It consisted, like most of the others mentions of 'halls' and 'grübenhäuser', although the excavator postulated that it was a high status site, particularly because structure C12 was on a similar scale to sites such as Yeavinger.<sup>898</sup> However, the expectation of the time was that any site with a hall-type building was likely to be high status.

Turning now to Northumbria, as is often the case, the evidence differs from the south and north. At this stage it is sufficient to suggest that this perhaps reflects the available information rather than differential development, although this possibility cannot be ruled out and will be explored later. But before looking at the archaeological evidence, there is a literary source that strongly suggests the existence of at least one settlement with a number

---

<sup>897</sup> Robert J. Williams, *Pennylands and Hartigans: Two Iron Age and Saxon Sites in Milton Keynes*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph Series 4 (Aylesbury, 1993), p. 92.

<sup>898</sup> Martin Millet and Simon James, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978-81', *Archaeological Journal* 140 (1983), pp. 151-279, esp. pp. 246-247.

of *habitacula* close enough for fire to spread from one to another and that is the *viculi Hruringaham*, mentioned in the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti*.<sup>899</sup> If fact, relying on the sources alone would give a rural picture of grouped buildings as the norm.

West Heslerton, in the Vale of York, is another site where a full excavation report is awaited but a full interim report has been published and further information is available on the internet.<sup>900</sup> The cemetery site has been published<sup>901</sup> and enough information made available by the excavator, Dominic Powlesland, to suggest a unique site, if not yet enough evidence to fully substantiate his claim of a “proto-town”.<sup>902</sup> West Heslerton has provided evidence for having been deliberately planned from the outset, with clear zoning of activities for housing, agricultural and craft processing. The site development is dated by Powlesland to the early Anglo-Saxon period, from which evidence he argues strongly for a sophisticated trading network being in place, working through a number of “central places” of which he includes West Heslerton and Mucking. Here he disagrees with Hamerow’s conclusions and sees Mucking as a southern version of West Heslerton.<sup>903</sup>

---

<sup>899</sup> VCA, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1940), p. 91.

<sup>900</sup> Dominic Powlesland, Christine Haughton, and John H. Hanson, 1986 'Excavations at Heslerton, North Yorkshire 1978-82', *Archaeological Journal* 143 (1986), pp. 53-173; Dominic Powlesland et al. 'The West Heslerton Assessment', *Internet Archaeology* 5 (1988), <[http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue5/westhes\\_index.html](http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue5/westhes_index.html)> [05 Jul 2015].

<sup>901</sup> Christine Haughton and Dominic Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian Cemetery*, 2 Vols (Yedingham, 1999).

<sup>902</sup> Dominic Powlesland, 'West Heslerton settlement mobility: a case of static development' in Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD* (Oxford and Oakville (CT), 2000), pp.19-26, esp.p. 22.

<sup>903</sup> Dominic Powlesland, 'Anglo-Saxon settlements, structures, form and layout' in Hines, *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, pp. 101-16, esp. p. 110.

Another planned development seems to have been undertaken at the nearby site of Sherburn, where recent excavation has uncovered an enclosure with a large grain drier, dated to the seventh-century and described by the excavator as “far too large for a domestic grain dryer”.<sup>904</sup> Here again Dominic Powlesland argues for, at the very least, communal activity with the grain drier serving a local community working together, or large scale crop processing organised in what might be seen as an estate centre.

West Heslerton and Sherburn are situated in what was Deira, the southern component of Northumbria. As has been said above, Bernicia has yet to provide similar evidence of planned or nucleated settlements, although there is evidence from the far west of possible seventh-century activity at Lockerbie<sup>905</sup> and early eighth at Titswood, Mearnskirck.<sup>906</sup> Thirlings is dated as a late sixth century settlement,<sup>907</sup> and there is an undated SFB at New Bewick.<sup>908</sup> The site known from aerial photography at Sprouston<sup>909</sup> may be either an elite

---

<sup>904</sup> Dominic Powlesland, *Archaeological Investigations at Sherburn, Vale of Pickering, North Yorkshire, September 2011*, (The Landscape Research Centre, Heslerton, 2011), Internet publication, <<http://www.landscape-research-centre.org/Archaeological%20Excavations%20in%20Sherburn%202011.pdf>> [21 April 2012], p. 6.

<sup>905</sup> Magnus Kirby, *Lockerbie Academy: Neolithic and Early Historic Timber Halls, a Bronze Age Cemetery, an Undated Enclosure and a Post-Medieval Corn-Drying Kiln in South-West Scotland*, Scottish Archaeological Internet Report 46, (2011), < <http://www.sair.org.uk/sair46/>> [21 April 2012].

<sup>906</sup> Melanie Johnson, Alastair Rees and Ian Ralston, ‘Excavations of an Early Historic Palisaded Enclosure at Titswood, Mearnskirck, East Renfrewshire’, *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 29.2 (2003), pp. 129- 145.

<sup>907</sup> Colm O'Brien and Roger Miket, ‘The Early Medieval Settlement of Thirlings, Northumberland’, *Durham Archaeological Journal* 7 (1991), pp. 57–91.

<sup>908</sup> P.W.J. Glover, ‘The Discovery of an Anglo-Saxon Grubenhaus at New Bewick, Northern UK, Using Electrical Surveying and Predictive Deconvolution’, *Archaeometry* 52.2 (2010), pp. 320- 342.

centre or a site similar to those we have been discussing.<sup>910</sup> Clearly this is not evidence for early stage rural development as seen further south, but it may be hints of things to come.

If Sprouston is an elite centre, then it may resemble the excavated site of Higham Ferrers.<sup>911</sup> Here a site was laid out in the in the late seventh or early eighth-century with a large horse-shoe shaped enclosure with two settlement foci beside it. The excavators saw it as an estate centre that developed over the next one hundred years as a place where justice was dispensed, including legal executions. The closest parallel they could suggest for the early stages of the site was Yeavinger in Northumbria, with the assumption that both enclosures had the similar purpose of corralling cattle, probably paid as tribute or rent.

With this we get to the heart of the discussion. Is the countryside a patchwork of dispersed, self-sufficient farmsteads, perhaps producing enough surplus to provide the occasional render of food to the king's circuit, or do we also see communities beginning to specialise in order to provide surplus and trading for those items they cannot subsequently produce themselves? This leads us to discuss the economic context in which these rural sites developed.

---

<sup>909</sup> Ian M. Smith, 'Sprouston, Roxburgh: an Early Anglo-Saxon Centre of the Eastern Tweed Basin', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1991), pp. 261-94.

<sup>910</sup> A further speculative site has been suggested by Ian Wood, the *Portus Ecgfridi*, which may have been an important harbor and trading place: 'Bede's Jarrow' in Lees, Clare A. and Overing, Gillian R. (eds.), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (Pennsylvania, 2006), pp. 67-85 at p. 72.

<sup>911</sup> Alan Hardy, Charles Bethan Mair and Robert J. Williams, *Death and Taxes: The Archaeology of a Middle Saxon Estate at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire* (Oxford, 2007).



## Larger Settlements and Economic Activity

What is now required to advance the argument is to examine the evidence for larger settlements that may act as centres for trading activity. The debate on the origin of towns is too long to enter into here. It is suffice to say that the larger settlements referred to here are all places that boats can reach. Tim Pestell has pointed out that defining these sites using specific terminology or modelling is “problematic”, and we might do well to be cautious in our use of the terms *wic* and *emporia*.<sup>912</sup> Ross Samson has written a polemical but apposite critique of the issue.<sup>913</sup> However, accepting the relevant strictures and recognizing that they can be places of production, consumption and probably trade, although the evidence for this last is the most problematical, the term *wic* will be used below where a shorthand term is found useful.

The evidence of activity in *Lundenwic* in the last half of the seventh-century is significant. Useful review articles summarising the evidence then available, were published by Lyn Blackmore in 1991<sup>914</sup> and by Robert Cowie and Robert Whytehead in 1989.<sup>915</sup> *Lundenwic* was identified as a separate settlement from that contained in the old Roman town walls

---

<sup>912</sup> Tim Pestell, ‘Markets, *emporia*, *wics*, and “productive sites”: pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England’ in Hemrow, Hinton and Crawford, *Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, p. 557.

<sup>913</sup> Ross Samson, ‘Illusory emporia and mad economic theories’, in Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia*, pp. 76-90: although entertaining, I would not wish to agree with all the points made in the article.

<sup>914</sup> Blackmore, ‘The origins and growths of Lundenwick, a mart of many nations’, in Hårdh and Larsson, *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 273- 301.

<sup>915</sup> Robert Cowie and Robert Whytehead, ‘Ludenwic: The Archaeological Evidence for Middle Saxon London’, *Antiquity* 63 (1989), pp. 706-718.

and the waterfront at the strand was embanked with timbers dating 670-690<sup>916</sup> However, it was the excavations at the Royal Opera House site that put the earlier conclusions beyond doubt, although we should be cautious of the excavators' attempt to link archaeological changes with specific historical events.<sup>917</sup> The beginnings of construction activity on the site is dated to sometime after the middle of the seventh-century, as the site overlay a cemetery with early century grave goods and produced a radio carbon date from a human burial of 640-670.<sup>918</sup> The ceramic sequence and its relation to a distinct phase linked to a road alignment, dates the construction activity to before 675. The next phase is dated "by the increase in North French wares and the introduction of Walberberg/Badorf wares defining the start of the period and the introduction of Ipswich wares its end".<sup>919</sup> The picture given by the excavators is one of an open landscape with cemeteries in the first half of the seventh-century, built over in a haphazard way between 650 and 675 A.D., with a more formal layout, with roadways, alleys and aligned buildings from 675 A.D. onwards.

The evidence from York is less clear cut. A summary of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century evidence is available from Dominic Tweddle's review of Anglian York.<sup>920</sup> Much of the evidence comes from stray finds or from furnished burials found in relative isolation in an urban context, often many

---

<sup>916</sup> Cowie and Whythead, *Ludenwic*, p. 710.

<sup>917</sup> Gordon Malcolm, David Bowsher, and Robert Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House* (London, 2003), p. 17.

<sup>918</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>919</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>920</sup> Dominic Tweddle, Joan Moulden and Elizabeth Logan, *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence* (London, 1999), esp. pp. 189-199.

years ago and not through modern scientific excavation, for example the Lamel Hill/ Retreat cemetery.<sup>921</sup> On the one hand, Tweddle puts forward a picture of a more or less continuous occupation of York, with the caveat that the evidence is fragmentary. However, the view that there was significant growth in York in the second half of the seventh-century, rather than the more conventional eighth-century start, has become the orthodox position.<sup>922</sup> The most quoted evidence comes from the excavations at 46-54 Fishergate. Richard Kemp, the excavator does date the beginning of the site to the late seventh-century.<sup>923</sup> However, this is on the strength of material from the period sitting below a level securely dated by six coins dating from c700 to 737.<sup>924</sup> The layer was substantial, and had been deposited over a period of time. It produced evidence of a planned road and ditch and five structures, as well as numerous pits. The site appears to have been abandoned and then levelled out using a spread of the same early material some sixty years later. York Minster provided possible evidence of activity but Martin Carver, in his review of the excavation data stated that one could take either a maximalist view that a lot was happening, or indeed the exact opposite, that there was no activity.<sup>925</sup> It should be concluded that the evidence from York does not rule out the possibility of a large trading centre beginning to function in the later 600s, but neither does it provide positive proof.

---

<sup>921</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>922</sup> Cecily A Spall, and Nicola J Toop, 'Before Eoferwick: New Light on York in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), pp. 1-25.

<sup>923</sup> Richard L. Kemp, *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate, York* (York, 1996), p. 12.

<sup>924</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>925</sup> Derek Phillips, Brenda Heywood and Martin O.H. Carver, (eds.), *Excavations at York Minster, 1: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London, 1995), p. 187.

Southampton is perhaps the best known “trading centre” in middle Saxon England, and was one of the English central places at the core of Richard Hodges’ theory on the development of emporia.<sup>926</sup> Moreland, whilst putting forward a case for demolishing Hodges’ theory, states categorically that *Hamwic* was established at the beginning of the eighth-century.<sup>927</sup> However, more recently, Nick Stoodley has described the excavation in 2000 at the football stadium in Southampton where a late seventh-century elite burial ground was discovered. Stoodley proposes that this was the burial ground for the predecessor of *Hamwic*, which controlled trade in the period before the area developed as a manufacturing and trading centre.<sup>928</sup> Similarly at Ipswich, it is earlier burial evidence that provides the strong suggestion of significant settlement in the seventh-century pre-dating the known trading settlement of the eighth.<sup>929</sup> However, it is only the recent work of Paul Blinkhorn mentioned above, dating Ipswich Ware production to the eighth-century that has changed our picture of Ipswich as a booming late seventh-century trading centre. Perhaps it was.

---

<sup>926</sup> Hodges, *Dark Age Economics*, pp. 47-66.

<sup>927</sup> Moreland, ‘The Significance of Production in Eighth-Century England’, pp. 69-104.

<sup>928</sup> Nick Stoodley, ‘The origins of Hamwic and Its central role in the seventh-century as revealed by recent archaeological discoveries’, in Hårdh and Larsson, *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 317-332. The cemetery could, of course, belong to an earlier royal vill that was redeployed subsequently as ground for the *wic*. I owe this point to Alex Woolf.

<sup>929</sup> Christopher Scull, ‘Ipswich: development and contexts of an urban pre-cursor in the seventh century’, in, Hårdh and Larsson, *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, pp. 303-316.

## Primary Source Evidence

The charter evidence is ambiguous to say the least. Oswine of Kent granted “iron-bearing land” to St Augustine’s Canterbury in 689<sup>930</sup> and Cenwealh of Wessex gave Glastonbury, through its abbot, Beorhtwald, a fishery at Meare in Somerset.<sup>931</sup> However, there is nothing to suggest that these assets were not for local consumption rather than to produce a trading surplus. It is not until the 730s that we have charter evidence that kings are granting away their toll rights on ships, although one of these (S87), may be as early as 716<sup>932</sup> The grant of land in the “Port of London, where the ships come to land” (S1167), is seen as an authentic charter and dated to 672-4<sup>933</sup> Although it suggestive, it is not proof, as we do not know what is meant by a “port”. On the other hand, the laws of Hlothere and Eadric and those of Ine, both mention merchants, albeit but once each.<sup>934</sup> There is no reason to doubt that Hlothere and Eadric’s laws date to the period of their joint rule.<sup>935</sup> Both sets of laws speak in terms of concerns about how merchants, as strangers, should be made to conform to the law and who is responsible for them. However for both sets of laws, the existence of merchants appears to be accepted as the norm.

---

<sup>930</sup> S12.

<sup>931</sup> S227, although not all accept that it is genuine e.g. Sarah Foot, ‘Glastonbury’s Early Abbots’ in James Patrick Carley (ed.), *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 163-189, p. 91. S244 and S1176, dated 702 and 708, are evidence of pre-existing, seventh-century fisheries.

<sup>932</sup> S86; S87; S88.

<sup>933</sup> Translated by Whitelock, Dorothy, *English Historical Documents*, 2nd edition (London, 1996), pp. 483-4.

<sup>934</sup> Laws of Hlothere and Eadric, 10; Laws of Ine 25.

<sup>935</sup> Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (London, 2002), p. 120.

Hlothere and Eadric's law also refers to the purchase of property in London and the existence of a *cyninges wicgerefan*.<sup>936</sup> This is commonly translated as a "king's reeve",<sup>937</sup> but even if we are not clear what a reeve is in the seventh-century, it does demonstrate the existence of both royal control, if not of, then in London and the existence of devolved royal power to some sort of locally based official. We also have direct evidence of trade, albeit of a specialist sort, from Bede who tells of Imma, sold to a Frisian in London after the battle between Ecgrith and Æthelræd at the River Trent in 679.<sup>938</sup> Bede of course famously describes London as *multorum emporium populorum*<sup>939</sup> but this refers to his own time.

The Laws of Ine are a key source of evidence for trade. The first thing to note is so obvious that it hardly merits stating: that fines are expressed in monetary value, alongside punishments such as the removing of a hand or foot for repeated thieving.<sup>940</sup> Slaves can be sold abroad, suggesting a market in this commodity. What Ine's laws object to is the sale of fellow countrymen, presumably, but not necessarily, West Saxons as opposed to *Englisc*.<sup>941</sup> Ine 24 refers to English, rather than West Saxon slaves, which suggests that the previous law may have a similar intention. Laws are passed on the actions of foreigners and "men from

---

<sup>936</sup> Laws of Hlothere and Eadric, 11.

<sup>937</sup> Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, (London 1898 and 1921); <<http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/035515>> [04 January 2014].

<sup>938</sup> *H.E.*iv.22.

<sup>939</sup> *HE.*ii.3.

<sup>940</sup> Ine, 18.

<sup>941</sup> Ine, 11.

afar”<sup>942</sup> and more specifically *Cypmanna* – a trader.<sup>943</sup> Trading is permitted providing it is done before witnesses, i.e. it is not the acquisition or sale of stolen goods. This is confirmed by the codicil whereby, if the trader is found with stolen goods, he is subject to a penalty unless he can prove he came to have them honestly.

This picture of commerce and trading being a relatively normal activity, insofar as its administration requires formal legislation, is backed up by the archaeological evidence. The detailed recording of metal detector finds by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) has changed our understanding of the distribution of material in the late seventh-century.<sup>944</sup> As early as 2004 John Naylor was suggesting that there was an over emphasis on the urban nature of trade in middle Saxon England.<sup>945</sup> The evidence of coin and other finds mapped by the PAS and the recognition of the existence of “productive sites”,<sup>946</sup> led to the realisation that *wics* had a relationship with their hinterland and were not just specialist royal estates allowing the elite access to prestige goods.<sup>947</sup> The state of the evidence at the time allowed Ben Palmer to both argue for the important role of the hinterlands of Ipswich and London,

---

<sup>942</sup> Ine, 20.

<sup>943</sup> Ine 25: the translation is confirmed by Bosworth Toller.

<sup>944</sup> <<http://finds.org.uk/>> [15 March 2014].

<sup>945</sup> John Naylor, ‘Access to international trade in middle Saxon England: a case of urban over-emphasis?’ in Marinella Pasquinucci and Timm Weski (Eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and Riverborne Trade, Ports and Hinterlands, Ship Construction and Navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1283 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 139-148.

<sup>946</sup> Pestell and Ulmschneider, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*.

<sup>947</sup> Stéphane Lebecq, ‘The new wiks or emporia and the development of a maritime economy in the northern seas 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> Centuries’ in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 11-22, esp. pp. 19-21.

yet at the same time put the then accepted position that Southampton was founded around 700 and was a centre with a significant degree of royal control, perhaps greater than the other two.<sup>948</sup> It was the excavations at St Mary's Stadium<sup>949</sup> in Southampton that changed the perception of the origins of Hamwic. They provided evidence for burial dating to the 700s and if Stoodley's interpretation that these burial grounds relate to the settlement of Hamwic then this, plus tantalising evidence from areas of settlement in Southampton have led to a revision of the origin dates to an earlier beginning.<sup>950</sup>

The rural hinterland of the early *emporia* has also been re-examined. Helena Hamerow suggested the existence of a command economy, which resulted in the production and supply of meat, mainly from cattle, for the trading centres.<sup>951</sup> Much of her evidence is from London and the Southampton data she quotes, from work by Jennifer Bourdillon in the 1980s,<sup>952</sup> is later than the seventh-century. However, she makes a strong case for the linkages between trading areas and their surrounding countryside. The view that we should see significant change in the countryside, and its economy, is the conclusion from a review

---

<sup>948</sup> Ben Palmer, 'The hinterlands of three southern English emporia: some common themes' in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 48-61, p. 58.

<sup>949</sup> Nick Stoodley, 'Burial practice in seventh-century Hampshire: St Mary's Stadium in context' in Jo Buckberry and Annya Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 38-53

<sup>950</sup> *Ibid*, p. 44; Vaughan Birbek, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident St Mary's Stadium, 1998-2000* (Dorchester, 2005), pp. 192-6.

<sup>951</sup> Hamerow, 'Agrarian production and the emporia of Mid-Saxon England, c650-850 AD', pp. 219-232.

<sup>952</sup> Jennifer Bourdillon summarises her work in 'Countryside and town: the animal resources of Saxon Southampton' in James Rackham (ed.), *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England*, CBA Research Report 89 (York, 1994), pp. 101-108.



of the zooarchaeological evidence by Pam Crabtree.<sup>953</sup> Crabtree argues that increasing species specialisation suggests a move from self-sufficiency to production for exchange, starting from the 650s on both sides of the Channel.<sup>954</sup> She accounts for this as much for the supply of monasteries and elite sites, as for *emporia*, but the point is the picture of the developing nature of the rural economy. It is worth quoting Gareth Williams at this stage: “[t]he spread of coinage in this phase (675-750) must be seen at least in part as reflecting the everyday use of money within a coin based economy, focused on pre-urban trading centres. At the same time a growing corpus of coin finds of this period from rural areas indicates that coin-use was not limited to trading centres.”<sup>955</sup>

There is one further intriguing possibility of evidence for commerce. Aldhelm’s letter to Wynberht states that the bearer has further information on a “land which Baldred, the venerable atheling, offered for our possession at an agreed price”.<sup>956</sup> Is this evidence of gift exchange and ingrained social and cultural practices, or a straightforward commercial transaction, albeit one that that required royal approval? Unfortunately we do not know who Wynbert is, or his status, or his link to Baldred and the transaction, other than he seems to be in a position to confirm the outcome. As Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren point out, the only surviving version of this letter is included in William of Malmesbury’s

---

<sup>953</sup> Crabtree, ‘Agricultural Innovation and Social Change’.

<sup>954</sup> Crabtree, ‘Agricultural Innovation and Social Change’, p. 126.

<sup>955</sup> Gareth Williams, ‘Coins and Kingship’ in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Brian W. Schneider, (eds.), *Royal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England*, BAR British Series 584, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 37-62, p. 42.

<sup>956</sup> Aldhelm, *Prose Works: Letter xiii To Wynberht*, p. 170.

work, and Rudolf Ewald questioned its authenticity.<sup>957</sup> However, Lapidge and Herren are not sure, and include it in their translation. Recent work on the possibly more developed nature of the economy and society of Wessex might put it more in the genuine category than Ewald allowed. Unfortunately though, using it as an argument for a developing economy, whilst at the same time using a developing economy as an argument for the genuine nature of the letter is a circular argument, and we must await further developments both in the nature of the economy and estate management, or in the source material before this discussion can progress.

In recent years the focus has moved away from the early development of *emporia*, perhaps with the drying up of funding for large scale urban excavation outside London, or perhaps as a result of academic research. The existence of “productive sites” has now more or less been accepted<sup>958</sup>, although some archaeologists have had concerns about both the terminology and the reality.<sup>959</sup> These sites are the result of the better recording of metal detecting finds in England under the Portable Antiquities Scheme.<sup>960</sup> The suggestion is that where significant numbers of coins and small objects are found these are, in all probability, the sites of early markets or fairs, many dateable to the seventh-century.

---

<sup>957</sup> Aldhelm, *Prose Works*, p. 136 and p. 150.

<sup>958</sup> Katharina Ulmschneider, ‘The Study of Early Medieval Markets: Are We Rewriting the Economic History of Middle Anglo-Saxon England?’, *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 15 (2005), pp. 517–31; various articles in Pestell and Ulmschneider, (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*.

<sup>959</sup> Richards, ‘What’s so special about productive sites? Middle Saxon settlements in Northumbria’, pp. 71-80.

<sup>960</sup> < <http://finds.org.uk/> > [19 May 2012].

This has not been an exhaustive trawl of the evidence. Other tantalising sites include a possible wharf or landing stage on the River Hull, in what would have been King Aldfrith's royal estate at Driffield, whose timbers date to the years after 657,<sup>961</sup> and Ian Wood's postulated *Portus Ecgfridi*.<sup>962</sup> Moving up from the individual sites, Kevin Leahy's work on Lincolnshire is beginning to show a picture of a countryside with many settlements and rural market sites, many with finds dating to the seventh-century.

## Conclusions

Clearly archaeology would struggle with the accuracy of dating to "prove" that there is economic activity going on the seventh-century that the orthodox view might place in the eighth. However, the review of the evidence above suggests that putting the archaeological and historical evidence together gives a picture of emerging economic specialism and trade that can be dated to the latter part of the seventh-century. Alongside the evidence for coin production, which I suggest is coinage and not simply bullion, the picture of a significantly developing economy in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the latter part of the seventh-century is discernible.

Just as discernable is Northumbria's participation in it. We have early signs of archaeological evidence for sites exploiting and developing the economy. However, the crucial evidence is

---

<sup>961</sup> John Dent, Chris Loveluck and William Fletcher, 'The early medieval site at Skerne', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Elli, (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Hull Valley - An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2000), pp. 214–242.

<sup>962</sup> Ian Wood, 'Bede's Jarrow' at p. 72.

the production of coins with Aldfrith's name on them used, I would argue, as money in the context of trade. Northumbria stands side by side with developments in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and as such stands apart from the economics of the kingdoms to its north and west.

## Chapter 7 - Conclusion

This thesis has looked in detail at change in Northumbria in the late seventh-century, with a focus on Aldfrith, son of Oswiu. Aldfrith was, perhaps, a *nothus*, a son born outside Christian marriage; was, perhaps, raised in Ireland; and was also, perhaps, an ecclesiastical scholar. It is likely that he was not seen as a significant candidate for the kingship of Northumbria. An examination of the political, social and economic position of Northumbria in the late seventh-century has shown that Northumbria was in the mainstream, if not in some respects at the forefront of late seventh-century change in the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. An examination of Northumbria's relationships with its British, Irish and Pictish neighbours has shown little influence from the north and west, and Aldfrith himself did not take opportunities that were available to him for closer linkages. It appears that Aldfrith and Northumbria were looking south for political, economic and social leads. This chapter will summarise the evidence and suggest that this picture, if correct, has a number of implications for our understanding of late seventh-century Northumbria and Aldfrith's rule. It further emphasises the role of the ruling kindred in power and control in Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; it shows that the importance of allegiance to a specific Anglo-Saxon/Germanic identity was increasing as a method of holding and retaining power and not just in Northumbria; it suggests that there was a transition from localism in both identity and power, to regionalism that we (and Bede) see as kingdoms; and lastly that it is unlikely that the Dál Riata or Picts had a significant role in supporting Aldfrith's acquisition of the Kingship of Northumbria. Finally, some more speculative suggestions will be made.

It has been suggested that the late seventh-century saw a change in the control of power. In the mid-seventh-century the area north of the Humber, as indeed was probably the case with the “kingdoms” in the south, had more regional centres of power and a more powerful nobility, than Bede and many subsequent historians have allowed for. Some of this is the result of our reading of Bede through modern eyes, as before Ecgrith’s reign Bede gives us a number of Bernician and Deiran sub-kings, including Oswine and Alchfrith.<sup>963</sup> I have suggested that we may be able to trace, in the descendants of Beornhaeth, a royal kindred and their changing position from *subregulus* to nobility.<sup>964</sup> It would also appear that kings and elites are consolidating their power not simply through military action, but through the Church. Oswiu placed churchmen in tributary kingdoms, and there are hints that Ecgrith acts on behalf of the Church in Rome and with its blessing. We see elites consolidating their local positions and, whatever their land-holding rights at the start of our period, by the end they are able to donate land themselves to the Church and, indeed, establish their own churches. However, it is possible that this local consolidation came at the expense of opportunities to gain the ultimate “prize” of recognised kingship. The strategy of the Æthelfrithings of keeping over-kingship in Northumbria within a very tight family grouping and eliminating sub-kings was successful for the whole of the second half of the seventh-century and the early years of the eighth. Backed by Bishop Cuthbert, the family ensured that it was an obscure Æthelfrithing called Aldfrith, rather than a local unrelated holder of power who took the Northumbrian throne after Ecgrith’s death at Nechtansmere. It is significant that there is no recorded dissent or attempt to break Northumbria into what, only a few years earlier, were its constituent parts. This must have been with the

---

<sup>963</sup> HE.iii.14; HE.iii.25.

<sup>964</sup> See p. 127 above.

acquiescence of the Northumbrian nobility and although we can assume that many fell with Egfrith, there must have been some power base remaining that accepted the position. In short, I suggest that we see, in the upper echelons of Northumbrian society, further stratification where those with control seek to maintain their status and their hold on power using a number of tactics, one of which was “keeping it in the family”.

Northumbria as a series of regions or localities is a theme that is also seen in the evidence for “society”. We see in the writings of the period various attempts to develop a collective name for those living north of the Humber.<sup>965</sup> The earliest evidence we have suggests that Northumbria was a series of distinct cultural zones, with their own histories. There is a further suggestion that we see in burial customs, local communities acting in different ways, with their own traditions and practices. It is likely that these reflect both localism and the reality of layered identities, with the emphasis between genders, family, kin, local community, region and kingdom fluctuating depending on circumstances. However despite the centralizing tendency of kings, these areas provide a framework for the local areas of power referred to earlier.

It may be that it was the Church that accelerated any sense of common identity beyond the local. There is good evidence that the Church in Northumbria saw itself as part of an international and growing body. It had regular contact with the epicentre that was Rome and in John, the Pope’s Archcantor, and through Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, had

---

<sup>965</sup> See pp. 169-170 above.

access to high level learning and theological understanding. Of course, Northumbria also had its own churchmen who visited Rome and participated in theological and political debates. Although there remains debate about the level of participation in church ritual and particularly the sacraments, the trend through time would be for more regular pastoral contact between communities and priests and so, perhaps, a growing sense of participation in a greater whole. I suggest that the effect was to add emphasis to some of the multiple identities open to individuals. The Church may have accelerated the perception of identity within a single unified kingdom with one king through its biblical sense of Old Testament kingship.<sup>966</sup>

One area of significant change is the mid-Saxon economy. Not only was there change process underway for those living at the time, but there is currently significant change in our contemporary understanding. The discovery of a heavy plough in a secure archaeological context at a monastic site in Kent<sup>967</sup> and of evidence for the early use of water mills, suggests a greater degree of the development of exploitation of land resources than previously recognised. Settlement studies suggests increasing reorganisation and development of the countryside, perhaps initially led by great ecclesiastical estates, but soon followed by the secular elite. This is closely linked to a growing understanding of the evidence for trade, with ephemeral markets being recognised in many places, sitting alongside new larger trading settlements. The key evidence for a growth in trade is the production of the first silver coins in Northumbria, clearly a royal initiative as they have the

---

<sup>966</sup> The division of the Kingdom of Israel is presented as the consequence of a successful and prosperous ruler turning away from God, 1 Kings 11: 1-13.

<sup>967</sup> See p. 206 above.



king's name, *Aldfridus*. It is suggested that these have a relatively low value and were produced in large numbers, and were therefore functioning in trade, as opposed to some of the suggestions made for earlier gold coins.<sup>968</sup> Coins of *Aldfridus* have also been securely found in archaeological contexts that suggest a trading environment.<sup>969</sup>

What we see is a Northumbria, in the late seventh-century, participating in the same changes underway in the rest of Anglo-Saxon England. Society is being changed through the impact of the Church; the exploitation of the land resource through agricultural developments is growing, and this is both reflected in and led by changes in estate management; and the economy is developing through the development of coinage and growth in internal and external trade.

This picture is the context in which to look at the reign of Aldfrith of Northumbria and to interrogate the evidence for Northumbria's relationships with its non-Anglo-Saxon neighbours to the north and west. Aldfrith had close relations with the Uí Néill and, the evidence suggests, spent a considerable amount of time in Dál Riata, albeit in the special environment of Iona. He also had links with Aldhelm of the West Saxons and with the West Saxon royal house. One of his key influences must have been Adomnán of Iona. However, once Aldfrith was king of Northumbria, it would seem that Adomnán's attempts to exploit

---

<sup>968</sup> This is *contra* David Rollason who describes Aldfrith's coinage as more for prestige than for practical use: 'Northumbria as a failed European kingdom', in Robert Colls, *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007), pp. 1-12, esp. p. 7.

<sup>969</sup> See p. 212 above.

the relationship led nowhere. There were short term political gains in the return of Irish captives, still in Northumbria following the raid on Brega, and there were diplomatic exchanges. But the evidence is that relations went no further. Northumbria did not develop any further the cult of St Columba, despite Adomnán's attempts to link him with Oswald, Aldfrith's predecessor. Instead, the Northumbrian Church continues down the path of *imitatio Romae*, and we also see influences from Merovingian Gaul. Further, Lindisfarne chooses to develop the cult of Cuthbert, perhaps in direct opposition to Columba. It might be argued that in doing so they were simply doing the obvious, and there is indeed no need to argue that they are acting in opposition to Iona, as opposed to acting positively for themselves. However, they could have chosen to further develop the cult of Aidan, which clearly existed, and could have been built on as a way of emphasising links with Iona, Dál Riata and Ireland. Cuthbert also brought the advantage of not being Irish and I would link this with a developing sense of Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian identity.<sup>970</sup> The other cults developed in Northumbria at the time are also telling, with Edwin being part of the Anglo-Saxon, i.e. not Irish milieu, and Gregory representing links with Rome and the South. I also suggest, although this cannot be proven, that Aldfrith and Northumbria could have chosen to participate in the Iona promoted *Cáin Adomnán* or *lex innocentium*. Clearly, Northumbria did not.

The evidence suggests to me that that Northumbria was looking south rather than west and north during Aldfrith's reign. There are changes underway which are reflected in relationships of power and the perception of the role and uniqueness of kings. Connected to

---

<sup>970</sup> Which is mirrored in other kingdoms, e.g. the cults of Aethelthryth and Guthlac.

this are changes in perceptions of identity, subtle though they might be to the individual, with a growth in both “Anglo-Saxon” and “Northumbrian” amongst other “senses of self”. And lastly there are significant economic changes with greater exploitation of land based resources, both resulting in, and a result of, greater local and long distance trade.

One way of testing these hypotheses is to look at another Anglo-Saxon kingdom at the same time. The West Saxon elite are developing their identity perhaps even more overtly and directly than the Northumbrian. Like the Northumbrians, they have a significant British population and differentiation between Saxon and Briton may have been one reason amongst a number for us being able to detect the more overt manipulation of identity in the southern kingdom. Just as identity is one way of the elite consolidating power, so we see amongst the West Saxons a similar picture of the reduction in references to sub-kings. The trend is towards one king with elite supporters, although ‘might being right’ is still clearly an aspect of which kin group supplies the king in question. Lastly, we see in Wessex an even more developed approach to land exploitation and trade. The evidence for a trading centre at Southampton is stronger, although I would suggest that this is more because of the luck of the available urban sites for excavation in Southampton as opposed to, say, York. There is also growing evidence, and growing understanding of what the evidence tells us, about the relationship of these centres to their rural hinterlands. Here the picture of developing estates, rural communities working collectively to exploit resources and the role of merchants and trade, is a developing and growing one.

It would seem that we can extrapolate from the evidence from the West Saxons a picture that helps place Northumbria in the mainstream of developments in other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. What we have is seemingly reasonable evidence that Northumbria is participating fully, and in some cases such as its coin production, leading the way in trends and processes that link it south to other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and to Europe. We have no evidence of a growth of influence from Ireland or other northern and western sources despite the accession of someone born and raised in an Irish milieu. Further, albeit through negative evidence, I suggest that there is a turning away from opportunities to exploit these northern and western links and a deliberate focus on these southern influences on the part of Aldfrith and his supporters.

If this reading of the evidence is correct then there are a number of implications. The first is for the dynamics of power that got Aldfrith to the throne in the first place: Aldfrith is unlikely to have been put on the throne by the Picts or by any putative Pictish-Dál Riata alliance, in the period immediately following the battle of Nechtansmere and the key players were his Æthelfrithing kin and their supporters. This in turn has implications for our understanding of the role of family and kin in dynastic kingship and political control, including that of women. Secondly it has implications for our understanding of the importance and timing of the development of Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian identity, with Bede being perhaps more of a follower than an innovator in this area than some scholars have allowed. This too shows the importance of a sophisticated and nuanced approach to identity, including expressions of multiple identities, on the part of historians seeking to

understand the period and the place. Thirdly, the evidence allows us to speculate on some of the techniques the elite used to maintain their grip on power.

Amongst historians who have proposed that it was the Picts and the Irish who put Aldfrith on the throne of Northumbria are Hermann Moisl<sup>971</sup> and Jean-Michel Picard.<sup>972</sup> Although the proposal is not followed by all Anglo-Saxonists, David Rollason allowed for the possibility in his assessment of the aftermath of Nechtansmere in his history of Northumbria.<sup>973</sup> My own conclusion is that if that were the case then the evidence of Northumbria turning to the north and west, or at least being influenced less strongly by currents moving through the Anglo-Saxon world would be greater. We need to look within Northumbria for the reasons why the kingdom did not collapse back to its constituent parts and the descendants of Æthelfrith managed to maintain control.

It is interesting that this is wholly consistent with our sources, and we do not have to look far for who they give the credit to. Both the *Anonymous Life of Cuthbert* and Bede's version, give Ælfflead, Aldfrith's half-sister, a key role,<sup>974</sup> as she was also to have in securing the

---

<sup>971</sup> Hermann Moisl, 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century', *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 103-126.

<sup>972</sup> Picard Jean Michel, 'Bede, Adomnán, and the Writing of History', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 50-70.

<sup>973</sup> Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1000*, pp. 191-2.

<sup>974</sup> VCA.iii.6: actually suggests that Aldfrith might be a full brother: *non minus tibi esse fratrem usurpauris, quam alterum*, "you will find him to be a brother no less than the other one. Bede (VCB.24), is a little more circumspect, simply suggesting that Aefflead *habebit enim successorum quem germana ut ipsum Egfridum dilectione complectaris* would "embrace (his successor) with as much sisterly affection as if he were Ecfriht himself".

succession of Aldfrith's son Osred.<sup>975</sup> In each of these occasions, her contribution is portrayed in ways that compliment and confirm the role of the male hero of the story. The point of the Cuthbert story is his prophecy about Ecgrith's death and succession, and Æfflaed's role in Wilfrid's story is to confirm Aldfrith's dying wish for reconciliation and restoration of the bishop. The prophecy about Aldfrith's accession may also claim for Cuthbert something that was to that point believed to be Æfflaed's doing. The anonymous author is saying that Æfflaed would not have known what to do if Cuthbert hadn't told her. However, in the later story where she witnesses at a synod, Æfflaed is described as making a speech in terms of being an equal, rather than simply called as a witness and is seen as "always the comforter and best counsellor of the whole province".<sup>976</sup> It is also clear from the *Life of Wilfrid* that, despite armed opposition, it is the alliance of Æfflaed and the Æthelfrithing kin and Berhtfrith as chief man of the kingdom next to the king, who ensured the succession of Aldfrith's son, Osred.<sup>977</sup> In all probability it was the same power alliance that brought Aldfrith to the throne, assuming a kin relationship between Berht, Berhtred and Berhtfrith.

The manipulation of identity seems to have a significant role in establishing and maintaining dynastic power. The problem with pinning this down is encapsulated in Martin Carver's comments on local variations in archaeological monuments. He has described these as "a

---

<sup>975</sup> VW.60.

<sup>976</sup> VW.60.

<sup>977</sup> VW.59-60

local consensus on the mood of the day”.<sup>978</sup> He goes on to say that this prevailing mood is the result of incoming information and choices. Likewise identity perception is as vague as “mood”, but that does not mean to say that we cannot detect people making choices, even if all we see are the results as opposed to the full menu of options. Part of this “mood” is represented by the choice of words used as descriptions and, as detailed above, the use of the term sub-king falls away during our period<sup>979</sup> and various attempts at finding a unified term for those living north of the River Humber can be found in our sources. There are various factors that may be causes, and it is likely that there is no single driving force, but rather a series of trends and “moods”. These include controlling a local British population; building a sense of bond amongst an elite; following a European trend to identify the non-indigenous population as either Angles or Saxons, and a common inherited understanding of Germanic continental origins that proved more or less useful at different times and in different situations. In terms of speculation, it seems likely that a man who has been described as an “English king (with) a Gaelic persona”,<sup>980</sup> might find it useful to be “more Anglo-Saxon than the Anglo-Saxons”.

We turn finally to discussion about what our evidence tells us about how elites consolidated power. One tactic was to work in partnership for mutual benefit with the Church. The Church’s approach of converting kings, and thereby kingdoms, is well known. We have also seen how the theology of biblical kingship helped early medieval kings consolidate their

---

<sup>978</sup> Martin Carver, ‘Four Windows on Early Britain’, *Haskins Society Journal* 22 (2010), pp. 1-24.

<sup>979</sup> As we have seen it is used once by Bede, (*HE*.iv.12) but several times by Stephen e.g. *VW*.17 and *VW*.19.

<sup>980</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 217.

positions. But we have also seen how the church led the way in rural land exploitation with, for example, the development of water mills. This large scale investment required large scale resources over time, and in the early stages the Church was best placed to provide these. The Church acquired estates and invested in improvements, and whether it is the case that the elite originally had their own estates, or followed the Church's lead in acquiring "bookland", they were to follow. Bede stated that although "the hopes and strength of the English kingdom began to ebb and fall away" after Nechtansmere, Aldfrith "ably restored the shattered state of the kingdom although within narrower bounds".<sup>981</sup> Before Aldfrith's reign Northumbria seems to have grown wealthy in part by conquest and the payment of tribute. This was not an option that seems to have been available in the decades following Nechtansmere. In fact it would seem to be the opposite as Berhtred's death in 698 was at the hands of the Picts.<sup>982</sup>

It would appear that an alternative strategy to conquest for the acquisition of wealth is one of exploitation of resources, and it is exactly this that we increasingly see the elite doing. Obviously the two often go hand in hand, and continue to do so even down to the present day. However, Northumbrian strategy would seem to be exploitation as opposed to the expansionist policy of Aldfrith's predecessors, although it is unlikely that he would have thought about it in these terms. No one man, even a king, had that level of responsibility or the ability to implement strategy in such a way even if it occurred to him. However, purely as speculation, as a church educated man, it may have suited his experience of

---

<sup>981</sup> *HE*.iv.26 (24).

<sup>982</sup> *HE*.v.24.



'ecclesiastical entrepreneurship'. In reality, the military situation pushed for the need to acquire wealth through production and trade, and agricultural developments and the influence of the Church pulled in the same direction. No longer was military conquest to be the elite's only option for maintaining power, although military might and a "heroic" culture remained important facets of the elite way of life. However, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that it was as much by exploiting royal and ecclesiastical estates and by innovations such as coinage, as by conquest and tribute, that the foundations for "Northumbria's golden age" were laid.

There is a great deal of scope for further research. Much will result from the additional evidence being provided through the Portable Antiquities Scheme records. Metal detector finds are likely to continue to change our perceptions of seventh-century Northumbria, although we may have to wait some time for the area to have its Staffordshire hoard moment. Keeping abreast of the ongoing and changing evidence will be important, particularly to see whether the picture of a more vibrant and active economy than hitherto realised continues to develop. One area that may prove profitable for further research was not examined here because the evidence did not prove relevant to the question in hand. After the Battle of Nechtansmere the See of Abercorn is abandoned.<sup>983</sup> The area that Northumbria had controlled north of the Forth would have had priests and monks following a bishop using the Dionysian calculations for the date of Easter. Yet the incoming power used a different calculation. There is a growing sense that one sees the other as heretical.

---

<sup>983</sup> *HE*.iv.26 (24).

What are the implications for the church and society of this change, or like the British clergy fleeing the swords of the Northumbrians, did these “Romanists” desert their posts?<sup>984</sup> In this new thesis lies many unanswered questions, and the evidence is limited. But entering James Fraser’s speculative laboratory might just provide some insights into how ‘Northumbrianised’ southern Pictland was; how the new work on historical computus by the likes of Immo Warntjes, Masako Ohashi and James Palmer impacts on political and social history of the period; and how Adomnán and others in reconciled various parts of the Church in the north to a common Easter reckoning. A third project is to follow through Alex Woolf’s finding that Fortriu is a kingdom with its heartland in the Moray Firth. Having established the sorts of processes and developments being mainstreamed in the most northerly Anglo-Saxon kingdom, there are opportunities for seeking evidence for similar processes in northern Pictland. Any contribution, however minor, to reducing the continuing divide between Anglo-Saxonists and Celticists, or perhaps in this case Pictish scholars, is surely to be welcomed.

We began by asking the question of whether Aldfrith’s reign was a period of innovation. Certainly the Irish born, church trained, scholar king of our sources did not change the direction of development of Northumbria and introduce practices that saw it take a significantly different course and turn markedly to the north and west. Instead, the change we see is Northumbria turning even more to favour influences from the south. Northumbria certainly saw economic innovation and change. I suggest that we also see innovative ways of consolidating power shared by kingdoms to its south, undertaken both by the royal kin

---

<sup>984</sup> VW.17.

and by an elite who were on an accelerated road to becoming a nobility. Some of this is a speeding up of processes already underway and we can question the role of royal agency in change. But of all of our evidence, one thing that we can attribute to Aldfrith himself, at least through his acquiescence, is the production of coins with his name on them, probably in large numbers. There is a certain light hearted and speculative pleasure to be taken in the possibility that Aldfrith was deliberately maintaining his position by using that most familiar modern technique, advertising with a logo.



## List of Abbreviations

- AC *Annales Cambriae* in *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. and trans. John Morris (London 1980), pp. 44-49.
- ASC *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G.N. Garmonsway (London, 1972).
- AVG *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, (Cambridge, 1968).
- Bede, Letter to Egbert* *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 123-161.
- CI *The Chronicle of Ireland*, ed. and trans. Thomas Charles-Edwards (Liverpool, 2006).
- Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* ed. M.A. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, Vol I (Dublin, 2005).
- HA *Bede: Historia Abbatum*: ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 21-76.
- HB *Historia Brittonum* ed. and trans. John Morris (London, 1980); ed. Thomas Mommsen, *Chronica Minora Saec: IV,V,VI,VII*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1898), pp. 147-193
- HE *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, (Oxford, 1969).
- Hist. Dunelmensis Eccl* ed. and trans. David W. Rollason, *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie* (Oxford, 2000).
- Laws of Ine* ed. and trans., F.L. Attenburgh, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (London, 1922), pp. 36-61; ed. Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Vol. 1., (Halle, 1903–1916), pp. 89-123
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- Procopius, Gothic Wars ed. and trans. Henry Bronson Dewing, *Procopius, History of the Wars, Books VII (continued) and VIII* (London, 1928).
- SFB Sunken featured building
- VC *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan O. Anderson and Marjorie O. Anderson (Oxford, 1991).

- VCA *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo*: Life of Cuthbert by an Anonymous Author in *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1940).
- VCB *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda*: Bede's Prose Life of Cuthbert in *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1940).
- VG *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*: ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, (Cambridge, 1956).
- VW *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1927).

## Bibliography

### Printed Sources and Translations

*Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Oxford, 1991).

Agatho, and the bishops of the sixth Ecumenical Council, Letter III: *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 87, col 1237A <<http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/>> [31 August 2014].

*Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*: ed. and trans. Peter Godman (Oxford, 1982).

*Aldhelm, De Virginitate*: ed. Rudolf Ewald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 15, (Berlin, 1919), pp. 209-323 and trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 51-132.

*Aldhelm, Letter III to Geraint*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 154-155.

*Aldhelm, V to Heahfrith*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 160-163.

*Aldhelm, Letter XII to the Abbots of Wilfrid*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 168-170.

*Aldhelm, Letter to Arcicius*: ed. Rudolf Ewald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 15, (Berlin, 1919), pp. 61-204; trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), 'Epistola ad Arcicium' in *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 31-58

*Aldhelm, Epistula ad Wihtfridum*; Rudolf Ewald (ed.), *Aldhelmi opera*, MGH *Scriptores. Auctores antiquissimi* 15 (Berlin, 1919).

*Aldhelm, Letter IV to Geraint*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 155-160.

*Aldhelm, Letter V to Heahfrith*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), pp. 160-163.

*Aldhelm, Letter XIII to Wynberht*; trans. Michael Herren in Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979), p. 170.

*Annals of Tigernach*, <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G100002/>> [26<sup>th</sup> May 2013]; ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 16-18, (1895-8).

*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, (London, 1968); The Electronic Sawyer <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk>> [13 May 2012].

*Audacht Morainn*, ed. and trans. Fergus Kelly (Dublin, 1976).

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G.N. Garmonsway (London, 1984).

*Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969); ed. Charles Plummer *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols, (Oxford 1896).

*Bede: Historia Abbatum*: ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 21-76.

*Bede, Letter to Ecgbert*: ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, 'Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum' in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 123-161

*Bede: Prose Life of Cuthbert*: ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 20-38

*Canons of Hadrian*: ed. Paul Willem Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Wiemar, 1929), pp. 63-68, trans. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, pp.182-215.

*Cethri primchenéla*, ed. and trans. David Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20 (2000), pp. 175-83.

*Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*: ed. Michael O'Brien (Dublin, 1962, reprinted 2005).

*Críth Gablach*, ed. and trans., MacNeill, Eoin, 'Ancient Irish Law: The Law of Status or Franchise' in *Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Ireland*, 36, (1924), pp. 256-316.

*Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*: ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956).

*Laws of Hlothere and Eadric*, ed. and trans., Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (London, 2002), pp. 126-150.

*Laws of Ine*, ed. and trans., F.L. Attenburgh, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (London, 1922), pp. 36-61; ed. Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Vol. 1., (Halle, 1903–1916), pp. 89-123  
<<http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/manuscripts/liebermann/?tp=ob&nb=af>> [03 Jul 2015].

*Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. and trans. John Morris (London 1980); ed. Thomas Mommsen, *Chronica Minora Saec: IV,V,VI,VII*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1898), pp. 147-193.

*The Penitential of Theodore*, ed. and trans. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1990), pp. 179-215.

Agatho, and the bishops of the sixth Ecumenical Council, Letter III: *Patrologia Latina*, 87, col 1237A <<http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxy.st-andrews.ac.uk/>> [31 August 2014].

*Ps.-Cyprianus de xii abusiuis saeculi*, ed. Hellmann, S., *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur* 34 (Leipzig, 1909): a useful translation of the section on kingship can be found in M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, AD500 to 900*, Methuen (London, 1931), pp.. 111-112.

*Procopius, History of the Gothic Wars Books VII (continued) and VIII*, ed. and trans. Henry Bronson Dewing, (London, 1928).

*Senchus Fer n-Alban*, ed. and trans. John Bannerman, *Celtica* 7 (1966), pp. 142-162; *Celtica* 8 (1968), pp. 90-111; and *Celtica* 9 (1971), pp. 217-65 reprinted in John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 27-156.

*Symeon of Durham: Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*: ed. and trans. David W. Rollason (Oxford, 2000).

*The Chronicle of Ireland*, ed. and trans. Thomas Charles-Edwards (Liverpool, 2006).

*The Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. and trans. David and Lynda Rollason (London, 2007).

*The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1968).

*The Irish Penitentials*, ed. and trans. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin, 1963).

*The Letters of Saint Boniface*, ed. and trans. Ephraim Emerton (New York, 1940)

*The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1927).

*The Life of Brigit the Virgin by Cogitosus*, ed. and trans., Oliver Davies and Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Spirituality* (New Jersey, 1999), pp. 122-139.

*The Life of Ceolfrith*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013).

*The Anonymous Life of Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1940).

## Secondary Sources

Abels, Richard Philip, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988).

Abels, Richard Philip, 'What Has Weland To Do With Christ? The Franks Casket and the Acculturation of Christianity in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 84.3 (2009), pp. 549-581.

Aitchison, Nicholas Boyter, 'Kingship, Society, and Sacrality: Rank, Power, and Ideology in Early Medieval Ireland', *Traditio* 49 (1994), pp. 45-75.

Alcock, Leslie, 'A Multi-disciplinary Chronology for Alt Clut, Castle Rock, Dumbarton', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 107 (1976), pp. 103-113.

Alcock, Leslie, 'Quantity or Quality: The Anglian Graves of Bernicia' in Vera I. Evison, (ed.), *Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Essays Presented to J.N.L. Myers* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 168-186.

Alcock, Leslie, Alcock, Elizabeth A. and Foster, Sally, 'Reconnaissance Excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other Royal Sites in Scotland, 1974-84, 1: Excavations near St Abb's Head, Berwickshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 116 (1986), pp. 255-79.

Alexander, Caroline, *Lost Gold of the Dark Ages* (Washington DC, 2012).

Alexander, Louis M., 'The Legal Status of the Native Britons in Late Seventh-Century Wessex as Reflected by the Law Code of Ine', *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1995), pp. 31-38.

Anderson, A.O., *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, AD 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, 1908, reprinted Stamford, 1991).

Anderson, Benedict R., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Rise and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

Anderson, Marjorie O., *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980).

Anderton, Mike, (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999).



- Andrews, Phil., (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic. Vol.2, Excavations at Six Dials*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 109 (London, 1997).
- Andrews, Phil; Biddulph, Edward; Hardy, Alan and Brown, Richard, *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age. Roman, Saxon and Medieval Landscape, Vol 1: The Sites* (Oxford, 2011).
- Angenendt, Arnold, 'Donationes pro anima: Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy' in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp 131-143.
- Arnold, Christopher J., 'Territories and Leadership: Frameworks for the Study of Emergent Polities in early Anglo- Saxon southern England', in Stephen T Driscoll and Margaret Nieke, (eds.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 111-127.
- Arnold, Christopher J. and Wardle, P., 'Early Medieval Settlement patterns in England', *Medieval Archaeology* 25 (1981), pp. 145-49.
- Arnold, Christopher J. *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (London, 2000).
- Astill, Grenville, 'Archaeology, Economics and Early Medieval Europe', *Oxford Archaeological Journal* 4 (1985), pp. 215-31.
- Astill, Grenvill, 'Exchange, Coinage and the Economy of Early Medieval England' in Julio Escalona and Andrews Reynolds (eds.), *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 253-272.
- Aston, T.H., 'The Origins of the Manor in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series 8 (1958), pp. 59-83.
- Attenburgh, F.L. (ed. and trans.), *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (London, 1922).
- Audouy, Michel and Chapman, Andy (eds.), *Raunds: The Origin and Growth of a Midland Village* (Oxford, 2008).
- Banaji, Jairus, 'Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: What Kind of Transition?', *Historical Materialism* 19.1 (2011), pp. 109-144.
- Bannerman, John, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1974).
- Barker, G. (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Archaeology* (London, 1999).
- Barker, Katherine and Brooks, Nicholas (eds.), *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford, 2010).
- Barnwell, P.S. and Roberts, Brian K. (eds.), *Britons, Saxons and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R. Jones* (Turnhout, 2011).

Barrow, G.W.S. 'Northern English Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Northern History* 1 (1969), pp. 1-29

Bassett, Stephen, 'In Search of the Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in Stephen Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), pp. 3-27.

Bassett, Stephen (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989).

Baum, Robert, J., Frese, Michael and Baron, Robert (eds.), *The Psychology of Entrepreneurship* (New Jersey, 2007).

Baxter, Stephen and Nelson, Janet (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (London, 2009).

Bieler, Ludwig, *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin, 1963).

Binchy, Daniel A., 'The Irish Law Tracts Re-Edited: Coibnes Uisci Thairidne', *Eriu* 17 (1955), pp. 52-85.

Binchy, Daniel A., *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship* (Oxford, 1970).

Birbek, Vaughan, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident St Mary's Stadium, 1998-2000* (Dorchester, 2005).

Bischoff, Bernhard, 'Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 1 (1976), pp 74-160.

Bischoff, Bernard and Lapidge, Michael (eds.), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994).

Bitel, Lisa, 'Review of *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450-1150* by Christina Harrington', *The Catholic Historical Review* 89.4 (Oct. 2003), pp. 749-751.

Bitel, Lisa, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genofeva of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe* (Oxford, 2009).

Blackburn, Mark, 'Money and Coinage' in McKitterick, Rosamund (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, II, c700-c900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 538-559.

Blackburn, Mark, 'Coinage in its Archaeological Context' in Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford, (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, (Oxford, 2011), pp. 580-599.

Blackmore, Lyn, 'The Origins and Growth of Lundenwic, a Mart of Many Nations', in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Lund, 1991), pp. 273-301.

Blackwell, Alice, 'Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian: A Brief Reassessment of the Archaeological Evidence and Some Chronological Implications', *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010), pp. 361-371.

Blair, John, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005).

Blair, John and Sharpe, Richard (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992).

Blinkhorn, Paul, 'Of Cabbages and Kings: Production Trade and Consumption in Middle-Saxon England' in Mike Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 4-23.

Boddington, Andy, 'Models of Burial, Settlement and Worship: The Final Phase Reviewed' in Edmund Southworth (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, A Reappraisal* (Stroud, 1990), pp. 177-99.

Bolton, J., 'What is Money? What is a Money Economy? When Did a Money Economy Emerge in Medieval England' in Diana Wood (ed.), *Medieval Money Matters* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1-15.

Bonner, Gerald, *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary*, Jarrow Lecture, 1966 (Jarrow, 1967).

Bonner, Gerald, 'Anglo-Saxon Culture and Spirituality', *Sobornost*, Series 6, 8 (1973), pp. 533-550; reprinted in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition* (Aldershot, 1986).

Bonner, Gerald (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976).

Bonner, Gerald, 'The Christian Life in the Thought of the Venerable Bede' in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition* (Aldershot, 1986), pp 15-55.

Bonner, Gerald (ed.), *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition* (Aldershot, 1986).

Bonner, Gerald, 'Bede: scholar and spiritual teacher' in Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp 365-70.

Bonner, Gerald, Rollason, David and Stancliffe, Clare (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989).

Booth, James, 'Sceattas in Northumbria' in David Hill and Michael Metcalf (eds.), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent: The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 71-113.

Bosworth, Joseph and Toller, T. Northcote, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (London 1898 and 1921).

Bourdillon, Jennifer, 'Countryside and Town: The Animal Resources of Saxon Southampton' in James Rackham (ed.), *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England*, CBA Research Report 89 (York, 1994), pp. 101-108.

Bowersock, G.W., Brown, Peter and Grabar, Oleg, *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Post Classical World* (London, 2001).

Bowman, Alan, 'Post-Roman Imports in Britain and Ireland: a Maritime Perspective' in Kenneth R. Dark (ed.), *External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 97-109.

Brady, Niall, 'Reconstructing a Medieval Irish Plough' in *Primeras Jornadas Internacionales Sobre Tecnologia Agraria Tradicional* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 31-44.

Brather, Sebastian, 'Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology', in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 149-176.

Breatnach, Liam, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005).

Breatnach, Liam, 'Forms of Payment in the Early Irish law Tracts', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 68 (2013), pp. 1-20.

Breeze, Andrew, 'The Kingdom and Name of Elmet', *Northern History*, 39 (2002), pp. 157-171.

Andrew Breeze: 'The Names of Rheged', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society* 86 (2012), pp.51-62

Bridbury, A.R., 'Seventh Century England in Bede and the Early Laws' in A.R. Bridbury (ed.), *The English Economy from Bede to the Reformation* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 63-85.

Brooke, Daphne, 'The Northumbrian Settlements in Galloway and Carrick: an Historical Assessment', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1991), pp. 295-237.

Brookes, Stuart, *Economics and Social Change in Anglo-Saxon Kent AD 400-900* (Oxford, 2007).

Brookes, Stuart; Harrington, Sue and Reynolds, Andrew (eds.) *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 527 (Oxford, 2011).

Brooks, Nicholas, 'The Formation of the Mercian kingdom' in Stephen Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), pp. 159-70.

Brooks, Nicholas, *Bede and the English*, Jarrow Lecture 1999 (Jarrow, 1999).

Brooks, Nicholas, 'History and Myth, Forgery and Truth, Inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Birmingham 23 January 1986, Birmingham', reprinted in Nicholas Brooks (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Myths, State and Church, 400-1066* (London, 2000), pp. 1-19.

Brooks, Nicholas, 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity' in Julia M.H.Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 221- 47.

Brooks, Nicholas, 'Canterbury and Rome: The Limits and Myth of Romanitas', *Settimane de Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 49 (2002), pp. 789-832.

Brooks, Nicholas 'From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of the Conversion' in Catherine E. Karkov and Nicholas Howe (eds.), *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 2; Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 12 (Tempe, Arizona, 2006), pp. 1-30.

Broun, Dauvit and Clancy, Thomas Owen (eds.), *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1999).

Brown, David; Campbell, James and Chadwick Hawkes, Sonia, (eds.) *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 2*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 92 (Oxford, 1981).

Brown, George Hardin, 'Royal and Ecclesiastical Rivalries in Bede's History', *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature* 52.1 (1999), pp. 19-33.

Brown, George Hardin, 'Royal and Ecclesiastical Rivalries in Bede's History', *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature* 52.1 (1999), pp. 19-33.

Brown, George Hardin, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2009).

Brown, Michelle P., *How Christianity Came to Britain and Ireland* (London, 2006).

Brown, Michelle, P., *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World* (London, 2012).

Brown, Michelle P. and Farr, Carol A. (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2001).

Brown, Michelle P., *In the Beginning was the Word?: Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 2000 (Jarrow, 2000).

Brown, Peter, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80-101.

Brown, Peter, (1995), *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1995).

Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (2nd ed. London, 2003).

Brown, Peter, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, (2nd ed. London, 2015)

Brown, R. Allen, 'Review of *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1100(sic)-1135*', *The Economic History Review* 34.1 (Feb. 1981), pp. 151-152.

Bruce, James, *Prophecies, Miracles, Angels and Heavenly Light?* (Milton Keynes, 2004).

Buckberry, Jo, 'Cemetery Diversity in the Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon Period in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire' in Jo Buckberry and Annia Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 1-25.

Buckberry, Jo and Cherryson, Annia (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 54-72.

Butterworth, C.A. and Lobb, S.J., *Excavations in the Burghfield Area, Berkshire. Developments in the Bronze Age and Saxon Landscapes* (Salisbury, 1992).

Byrne, Francis, J., *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London, 1973).

Cameron, Averil, 'On Defining the Holy Man' in James Howard-Johnstone and Paul Anthony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 27-44, p. 27.

Campbell, Ewan, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400-800*, CBA Research Report 157 (York, 2007).

Campbell, James, *Bede's Reges and Principes*, Jarrow Lecture 1978 (Jarrow, 1979).

Campbell, James (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1982).

Campbell, James, 'Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England, With Special Reference to the Earlier Period', in Donald Matthew et. al. (eds.), *Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England Fifty Years On: Papers Given at a Colloquium Held at Reading 11-12 November 1993* (Reading, 1994), pp. 49-59.

Campbell, James, 'Elements in the Background to the Life of St Cuthbert and his Early Cult' in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp.3-20.

Campbell, James, 'Production and Distribution in Early and Middle Saxon England' in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trade and "Productive" Sites 650- 850* (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 12-19.

Cambell, James, 'Questioning Bede' in Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsey (eds.), *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England 400-1200*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 505 (Oxford, 2010), pp. 119-128.

Carley, James Patrick (ed.), *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1991).

Carr, R., Tester, A. and Murphy, P, 'The Middle Saxon Settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity* 22 (1988), pp. 371-7.

Carver, Martin O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North West Europe* (London, 1992).

Carver, Martin (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300* (York, 2003).

Carver, Martin, *Portmahomack, Monastery of the Picts* (Edinburgh, 2008).

Carver, Martin, 'Four Windows on Early Britain', *Haskins Society Journal* 22 (2010), pp. 1-24.

Carver, Martin, 'Intellectual Communities in Early Northumbria' in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 185-206.

Chadwick, Henry M., *Studies on Anglo- Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905).

Chadwick, Henry M., 'Theodore, the English Church and the Monothelete Controversy' in Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence* (Cambridge, 1995), 88-95.

Chadwick, Henry M., 'Review of Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum. Concilii Actiones I-XI. Edited by Rudolf Riedinger', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), pp. 630-635.

Chadwick, Nora Kershaw, *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1959).

Chaney, William A., *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo- Saxon England* (Manchester, 1970).

Chapelot, Jean, and Fossier, Robert, *The Village and the House in the Middle Ages* (London, 1985).

Chapman, J.C. and Mytum, H.C. (eds.), *Settlement in Northern Britain, 1000BC to 1000 AD*, British Archaeological Reports 118 (Oxford, 1983).

Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'Kinship, Status and the Origin on the Hide', *Past and Present* 56 (1972), pp. 3-33.

Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'Crith Gablach and the Law of Status', *Peritia* 5 (1986), pp. 53-75.

Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'Early Medieval Kingships in the British Isles' in Stephen Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo- Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), pp. 28-39.

- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The Penitential of Theodore and the Iudicia Theodori' in Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies of his Life and Influence* (Cambridge, 1995), 141-71.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'Anglo- Saxon Kinship Revisited' in John Hines (ed), *Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 171-210.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The Continuation of Bede, s.a. 750: High- kings, Kings of Tara and Bretwaldas', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 137-145.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The Uí Néill 695-743: The Rise and fall of Dynasties', *Peritia* 16 (2002), pp. 396-418.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M. (ed.), *After Rome* (Oxford, 2003).
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas, M., 'Celtic Kings: Priestly Vegetables?' in Stephen Baxter and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (London, 2009), pp. 65-80.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'Social Structure', in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2009), pp. 107-125.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas, M., *Wales and the Britons* (Oxford, 2013).
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas, M. and Kelly, Fergus, *Bechbretha: An Old Irish Law Tract on Bee Keeping* (Dublin, 1983).
- Cherryson, Annia Kristina, 'Such a Resting Place as is Necessary for us in God's sight and fitting in the eyes of the world: Saxon Southampton and the Development of Churchyard Burial' in Jo Buckberry and Annia Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxbow Books (Oxford, 2010), pp. 54-72.
- Christie, Neil (ed.), (2004), *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004).
- Clancy, Thomas Owen, 'Columba, Adomnán, and the cult of saints' in Dauvit Broun and Thomas Owen Clancy (eds.), *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 3-34.
- Clancy, Thomas Owen, 'The Real Saint Ninian', *Innes Review* 52 (2001), pp. 1-28.
- Clancy, Thomas Owen and Markus, Gilbert, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1995).



Clarke, Howard B., 'Economy' in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2009), pp. 57-75.

Clarkson, Tim, *The Men of the North* (Edinburgh, 2010).

Clay, John-Henry, 'Adventus, Warfare and the Britons in the Development of West-Saxon Identity', in Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 169-213.

Coates, Richard, 'On Some Controversy Surrounding Gewissae/Gewissei, Cerdic and Ceawlin', *Nomina* 13 (1989-90), pp. 1-11.

Colgrave, Bertram, 'The Earliest English Saints Lives Written in England', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 44 (1958), pp. 35-60.

Colgrave, Bertram, (ed. and trans.), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge, 1963).

Collins, Rob, 'Military Communities and Transformation of the Frontier from the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries' in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities. AD 450-1100* (Tournhout, 2012), pp. 15-34.

Collins, Rob, 'The Frontier Foundations of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', (paper given at the 63 Internationales Sachsensymposion, Life on the edge: Social, Political and Religious Frontiers in Early Medieval Europe, Durham, 1st – 6th September 2012).

Collins, Rob, 'Frontier Foundations' (Paper given at The Royal Archaeological Institute Conference, Newcastle, 28th – 30th September 2012, Legacies of Northumbria: Recent Thinking on the 5th to the 14th Centuries in Northern Britain).

Collins, Rob and Allason-Jones, Lindsay (eds.), *Finds From the Roman frontier: Material Culture in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, CBA Research Report 162 (York, 2010).

Colls, Robert, (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007).

Comber, Michelle, *The Economy of the Ringfort and Contemporary Settlement in Early Medieval Ireland*, British Archaeological Reports International Series No. 1773 (Oxford, 2008).

Connolly, Seán, (trans.), *Bede: On the Temple* (Liverpool, 1995).

Cook, Barrie and Williams, Gareth (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*, The Northern World 19 (Leiden, 2006).

Corning, Caitlin, 'The Baptism of Edwin, King of Northumbria: a New Analysis of the British Tradition', *Northern History* 36 (2000), pp. 5-15.

Corning, Caitlin, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (Basingstoke, 2006).

- Costambeys, Marios, 'Review of Framing the early Middle Ages', *Economic History Review* 59.2 (2006), pp. 417-419.
- Cowan, E.J. and McDonald, R.A. (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (East Linton, East Lothian, 2000).
- Cowie, Robert, 'Mercian London' in Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2001), pp. 273-301.
- Cowie, Robert and Blackmore, Lyn (eds.), *Early and Middle Saxon Rural Settlement in the London Region* (London, 2008).
- Cowie, Robert and Whythead, Robert, 'Ludenwic: The Archaeological Evidence for Middle Saxon London', *Antiquity* 63 no. 241 (1989), pp. 706-18.
- Crabtree, Pam, J., 'Agricultural Innovation and Social Change in Early Medieval Europe: Evidence From Britain and France', *World Archaeology* 42.1 (2010), pp. 122-136.
- Cramp, Rosemary, 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement' in J.C. Chapman and H.C. Mytum (eds.), *Settlement in Northern Britain, 1000BC to 1000 AD*, British Archaeological Reports 118 (Oxford, 1983), pp. 263-9.
- Cramp, Rosemary, *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westward*, Third Whithorn Lectur (Whithorn, 1995).
- Cramp, Rosemary, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites Vol 1 & 2* (London, 2005, 2006).
- Cramp, Rosemary, 'The Northumbrian Identity' in Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp 1-19.
- Crawford, Barbara E., *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, St John's House Papers No 5 (St Andrews, 1994), pp. 103-113.
- Crawford, Sally, 'Votive Deposition, Religion and the Anglo- Saxon Furnished Burial Ritual', *World Archaeology* 36.1 (2004), pp. 83- 102.
- Crawford, Sally and Dodd, Anne, Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire: 1. Introduction: Nature of the Evidence, History of Research and the Role of Material Culture, <<http://oxfordshirelocalhistory.modhist.ox.ac.uk/siteimages/STRF%20Anglo-Saxon%20Oxfordshire.pdf>> [8 April 2012].
- Crone, Anne and Campbell, Ewan, *A Crannog of the First Millenium AD: Excavations by Jack Scott at Loch Glashan, Argyll, 1960* (Edinburgh, 2005).
- Crow, Christopher, 'Early Medieval Parish Formation in Dumfries and Galloway' in Martin Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300* (York, 2003), pp. 195-206.

Cruikshank, G.D.R., 'The Battle of Dunnichen and the Aberlemno Battle Scene' in E.J. Cowan and R.A. McDonald (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (East Linton, East Lothian, 2000), pp. 69-87.

Cubitt, Catherine, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c650-850* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 253-254.

Cubitt, Catherine, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Early Anglo- Saxon Saints', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 29-66.

Cubitt, Catherine, 'Universal and local saints in Anglo-Saxon England' in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 423-454.

Cubitt, Catherine, 'The Clergy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research* 78 (2005), pp. 273-287.

Cuervo, Alvaro, *Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory and Perspectives* (New York, 2007).

Curta, Florin, 'Medieval Archaeology and Ethnicity: Where are We?', *History Compass* 9.7 (2011), pp. 537-548.

Dailey, Erin Thomas A., 'The Vita Gregorii and Ethnogenesis in Anglo-Saxon England', *Northern History* 47 (2010), pp. 195-207.

Damon, John Edward, 'The King's Fragmented Body: A Girardian Reading of the Origins of St Oswald's Cult', *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, 9 (2006) – an internet journal, available at <<http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/9/hare.html>> [31 Jan 2010].

Daniels, Robin and Loveluck, Christopher, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery*, Tees Archaeology Monograph 3 (Hartlepool, 2007).

Dark, Kenneth R. (ed.), *External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post- Roman Britain* (Woodbridge, 1996).

Davies, Luned Mair, 'The Biblical text of the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis' in Ní Chathain, Próinséas and Richter, Michael, (eds.), *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Bildung und Literatur: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 17-41.

Davies, Wendy 'Land and Power in Early Medieval Wales', *Past and Present* 81 (1978), pp. 3-23.

Davies, Wendy, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982).

Davies, Wendy, 'The myth of the Celtic Church' in Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane (eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 12-21.

Davies, Wendy, 'Celtic Kingships in the Early Middle Ages' in Anne J Duggan (ed.), *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, King's College London Medieval Studies 10 (London, 1993), pp. 101-24.

Davies, Wendy, and Vierck, Hayo, 'The Context of the Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), pp. 223-239.

Davis, Jennifer and McCormick, Michael (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008).

Dean, Stephen; Hooke, Della and Jones, Alex, 'The Staffordshire Hoard: The Fieldwork', *Antiquaries Journal* 90 (2010), pp. 139-52.

Deanesly, Margaret, 'Roman Traditionalist Influence Among the Anglo-Saxons', *English Historical Review* 58 (1943), pp. 129-46.

DeGregorio, Scott, 'Introduction: the new Bede' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown WV, 2006), pp. 1-10.

DeGregorio, Scott (ed.), *Innovation and tradition in the writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV, 2006).

DeGregorio, Scott, 'Bede and the Old Testament' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 127-141.

DeGregorio, Scott (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010).

Deliyannis, Deborah Mauskopf, 'Church Burial in Anglo-Saxon England: The Prerogative of Kings', in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), pp. 96-119.

Dempsey, G. T., 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury's Social Theology: The Barbaric Heroic Ideal Christianised', *Peritia* 15 (2001), pp 58-80.

Dempsey G.T. 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury and High Ecclesiasticism in a Barbarian Kingdom', *Traditio* 63 (2008), pp. 47-88

Dent, John, Loveluck Chris. and Fletcher, William, 'The Early Medieval Site at Skerne' in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Hull Valley - An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2000), pp. 214-242.

Dobat, Andres Siegfried, 'The King and His Cult: The Axe Hammer From Sutton-Hoo and Its Implications for the Concept of Sacral Leadership in Early Medieval Europe', *Antiquity* 80 (2006), pp. 880-893.

Doherty, Charles, 'Exchange and Trade in Early Medieval Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110 (1980), pp. 67-89.

Doherty, Charles, 'The Use of Relics in Early Medieval Ireland' in Próinséas Ni Chathain and Michael Richter (eds.), *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frümittelalter: Ireland and Europe – The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 89-101.

Dooley, Ann, 'The Plague and Its Consequences in Ireland' in Lester K. Little (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 215-230.

Driscoll, Stephen T., 'Pictish Archaeology: Persistent problems and Structural Solutions' in Stephen T Driscoll, Jane Geddes and Mark A. Hall (eds.), *Pictish Progress, New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 245-280.

Driscoll, Stephen T., Geddes, Jane, and Hall, Mark A. (eds.), *Pictish Progress, New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leiden, 2011).

Driscoll, Stephen T., 'The Archaeology of State Formation in Scotland' in William S.Hanson and Elizabeth Slater (eds.), *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions* (Aberdeen, 1991), pp. 81-111.

Driscoll, Stephen T., 'Christian Monumental Sculpture and Ethnic Expression in Early Scotland' in William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 233-252.

Duby, Georges, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century* (London, 1974), (trans. H.B. Clarke).

Duignan, Michael, 'Irish Agriculture in Early Historic Times', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 74 (1944), pp. 124-45.

Dumville, David, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), pp. 23-50.

Dumville, David, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists' in Peter Sawyer and Ian Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 72-104.

Dumville, David, 'The Aetheling: A Study in Anglo Saxon Constitutional History', *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979), pp. 1- 33.

Dumville, David, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia* 4 (1985), pp. 21-66.

Dumville, David, 'The Origins of Northumbria: Some Aspects of the British Background' in Stephen Basset (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), pp. 213-22.

Dumville, David, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993)

Dumville, David, 'Two Troublesome Abbots', *Celtica* 21 (1990), pp. 146–52.

Dumville, David, 'The Terminology of Overkingship in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in John Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 345-365.

Dumville, David, 'Cethri prímchenéla', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20 (2000), pp. 175-83.

Dumville, David N., 'Ireland and North Britain in the Earlier Middle Ages: Contexts for Míniugud Senchasa fher n-Alban', in David N. Dumville, *Celtic Essays II* (Aberdeen, 2007), pp. 35-71.

Dumville, David N., *Celtic Essays II* (Aberdeen, 2007)

Dunn, Marilyn, 'Gregory the Great, the Vision of Fursey, and the Origins of Purgatory', *Peritia* 14 (2000), pp. 238-54.

Dunn, Marilyn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons c597-c700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife* (London, 2009).

Eckenstein, Linda, *Women Under Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1892).

Edwards, Heather, *Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 198 (Oxford, 1988).

Edwards, Nancy, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London, 1990).

Enright, Michael J., 'Royal succession and Abbatial Prerogative in Adomnán's Vita Columbae', *Peritia* 4 (1985), pp. 83-103.

Enright, Michael J., *Iona, Tara and Soissons: the Origins of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985).

Enright, Michael J., 'Further Reflections on Royal Ordinations in the Vita Columbae' in Michael Richter and J.M. Picard (eds.), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próincéas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 20-35.

Etchingham, Colmán, 'Early Medieval Irish History' in Kim McCone and Katherine Simms (eds.), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996), pp. 123-154.

Etchingham, Colmán, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650-1000* (Maynooth, 1999).

Evans, G.R. (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000).

Evans, Nicholas, 'Royal Succession and Kingship Among the Picts', *Innes Review* 59.1 (2008), pp. 1-46.

Evans, Richard, 'Review: From Historicism to Postmodernism, Historiography in the Twentieth Century', *History and Theory* 41.1 (Feb. 2002), pp. 79-87.

- Evison, Vera I. (ed.), *Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Essays presented to J.N.L. Myres* (Oxford, 1981).
- Faith, Rosamond, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester, 1999).
- Fanning, Stephen, 'Bede, Imperium and the Bretwaldas', *Speculum* 66 (1991), pp. 1-26.
- Farrell, R. T. (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England: papers in honour of the 1300th anniversary of the birth of Bede, given at Cornell University in 1973 and 1974*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 46 (Oxford, 1978).
- Faull, Margaret L., 'The Semantic Development of Old English Wealh', *Leeds Studies in English* 8 (1975), pp. 20-44.
- Fell, Christine, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of 1066* (London, 1984).
- Ferguson, Christopher, 'Navigation, Movement and Place: Northumbrian Riverine and Coastal Sites c450-800' (Paper given at The Royal Archaeological Institute Conference, Newcastle, 28th – 30th September 2012, Legacies of Northumbria: Recent Thinking on the 5th to the 14th Centuries in Northern Britain).
- Findberg, H.P.R., 'Sherborne, Glastonbury and the Expansion of Wessex', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series 3 (1953), pp. 101-124.
- Finberg, H.P.R., 'Sherbourne, Glastonbury and the Expansion of Wessex', in H.P.R. Finberg, *Lucerna: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London, 1964), pp. 95-115.
- Finberg, H.P.R., 'The Princes of the Hwicce' in H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1972), pp. 167-180.
- Fleming, Robin, *Britain After Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070* (London, 2010).
- Fletcher, John, 'Dendro-dates: Roman and Saxon', *Current Archaeology* 76 (1981), pp. 150-152.
- Fletcher, Richard, *The Conversion of Europe from Paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* (London, 1997).
- Foley, Trent, 'Suffering and Sanctity in Bede's Prose Life of Cuthbert', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 50:1 (1999), pp 102-16.
- Foot, Sarah, (1991), 'Glastonbury's Early Abbots' in James Patrick Carley (ed.), *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 163-189.
- Foot, Sarah, 'By Water in the Spirit: The Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in John Blair and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 171-192.

Foot, Sarah, *Veiled Women*, Vol 1 (Aldershot, 2000).

Foot, Sarah, 'Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical Households' in Benjamin T. Hudson (ed.), *Familia and Household in the Medieval Atlantic World* (Tempe, AR, 2011), pp. 51-72.

Fouracre, Paul, 'The Origins of the Carolingian Attempts to Regulate the Cult of Saints' in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 143-166.

Fouracre, Paul, 'Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II: the English Connection' in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 70-89.

Fouracre, Paul (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol 1 (Cambridge, 2005).

Foster, Sally, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (Edinburgh, 1996), and new updated edition (Edinburgh, 2014).

Fox, Sir Cyril, and Dickens, Bruce, *The Early Cultures of North West Europe* (Cambridge, 1950).

Foxhall Forbes, Helen, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon Society: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, 2013).

Frankovich, Riccardo, 'The Beginnings of Hilltop Villages in Early medieval Tuscany' in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 55-82.

Frantzen, Allen J., *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1983).

Frantzen, Allen J. and Hines, John (eds.), *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the World of Bede*, *Medieval European Studies* 10 (Morgantown, West Virginia, 2008).

Fraser, James Earl, *The Battle of Dunnichen* (Stroud, 2002).

Fraser, James Earl, 'The Iona Chronicle: The Descendants of Áedán mac Gabráin and the "Principle Kindreds of Dál Riada"', *Northern Studies* 28 (2004), pp. 77-96.

Fraser, James Earl, *The Pictish Conquest: The Battle of Dunnichen, 685, and the Birth of Scotland* (Stroud, 2006).

Fraser, James Earl, 'Dux Reuda and the Corcu Reti' in W. McLeod, et al., *Cànan & Cultar/ Language and Culture: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 3 (2006), pp. 1-10.

Fraser, James Earl, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*, *New Edinburgh History of Scotland* Vol 1 (Edinburgh, 2009).



- Frazer, William O. and Tyrrell, Andrew (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000).
- Frend, W.H.C., 'Review of *Christ in Celtic Christianity. Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, by Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, (Studies in Celtic History, 20), Boydell Press', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55.1 (2004), pp. 139-40.
- Frodsham, Paul and O'Brien, Colm (eds.), *Yeaving: People, Power and Place* (Stroud, 2005).
- Fulford, M.G., 'Byzantium and Britain: A Mediterranean Perspective on Post-Roman Mediterranean Imports in Western Britain and Ireland', *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), pp. 1-6.
- Gameson, Richard (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999).
- Gannon, Anna, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* (Oxford, 2003).
- Gannon, Anna, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins 1, Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles*, (British Museum, London, 2013).
- Gantner, Clemens; McKitterick Rosamund and Meeder, Sven, (eds.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015)
- Gardiner, Mark, et. al., 'Continental Trade and Non-Urban Ports in Mid Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at Sandtun, West Hythe, Kent', *Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), pp. 161-290.
- Garner, M.F., 'Middle Saxon Evidence at Cook Street, Southampton (SOU 254)', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 49 (2003), pp. 77-127.
- Gates, T. and O'Brien, C. 'Crop marks at Millfield and New Bewick and the Recognition of Grubenhauser in Northumberland', *Archaeologica Aeliana* 5<sup>th</sup> Series 16 (1988), pp. 1-9.
- Geake, Helen, 'Burial Practice in Seventh and Eighth Century England' in Martin O.H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North West Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 83-94.
- Geake, Helen, *The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion Period England, c600-800*, British Archaeological Reports no. 261 (Oxford, 1997).
- Geake, Helen, 'Persistent problems in the Study of Conversion-Period Burials in England', in Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 17 (London, 2002).
- Geake, Helen and Kenny, Jonathan (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000).

Geary, Paul, 'Ethnic Identity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15-26.

Geary, Patrick, 'Barbarians and Ethnicity' in G.W.Bowersock, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar (eds.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Post Classical World* (London, 2001), pp. 107-129.

Gelichi, Sauro and Hodges, Richard (eds.), *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012).

Gerchow, Jan, 'The Origins of the Durham *Liber Vitae*' in David Rollason, A.J. Piper, Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason (eds.), *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 45-62.

Gerriets, Marylin, 'Economy and Society: Clientship According to Early Irish Laws', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 6.2 (1983), pp. 43-62.

Gillett, Andrew, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, History and Methodology', in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 1-20.

Gillett, Andrew (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002).

Gillett, Andrew, 'Ethnogenesis, A Contested Model of Early Medieval Europe', *History Compass* 4.2 (2006), pp. 241-60.

Glover, P.W.J., 'The Discovery of an Anglo-Saxon Grubenhaus at New Bewick, Northern UK, Using Electrical Surveying and Predictive Deconvolution', *Archaeometry* 52.2 (2010), pp. 320- 342.

Godfrey, John, 'The Place of the Double Monastery in the Anglo-Saxon Minster System', Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 344-350.

Goetz, Hans-Werner, Jarnut, Jörg and Pohl, Walter (eds.), *Regna and Gentes: the Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, Volume 13 of *The Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2003).

Goffart, Walter, 'Does the Distant Past Impinge on the Invasion Age Germans?' in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 21-38.

Goffart, Walter, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, 1988).

Goffart, Walter, 'Bede's history in a harsher climate' in DeGregorio, Scott, (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, (Morgantown WV., 2006), pp.203-226

Gorman, M.M., (1997), 'A Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis: A Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997), pp 178-233.

Grant, Alexander and Stringer, Keith J. (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown and Community, Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993).

Green, Thomas, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD400-650* (Lincoln, 2012).

Gregson, Nicky, 'The Multiple Estate Model: Some Critical Questions', *Journal of Historical Geography* 11.4 (1985), pp. 339-351.

Grierson, Philip, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959), pp. 123-140.

Juliana Grigg, *The Philosopher King and the Pictish Nation* (Dublin, 2015).

Grimmer, Martin, (2006), 'The Exogamous Marriages of Oswiu of Northumbria', *The Heroic Age*, 9, (2006), <<http://www.heroicage.org/issues/9/grimmer.html>> [28 September 2013].

Groves, Sarah E, Roberts C.A., Lucy S., Pearson G., Gröcke D.R., Nowell G., Macpherson C.G., & Young G., 'Mobility Histories of 7th-9th Century AD People Buried at Early Medieval Bamburgh, Northumberland, England', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 151 (2013), pp. 462-476.

Gruffydd, R. Gereint, 'In Search of Elmet', *Studia Celtica* 28 (1994), pp. 63-79.

Gunn, Vicky, *Bede's Historiae: Genre, Rhetoric and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History* (Woodbridge, 2009).

Hakenbeck, Susanne, E., 'Situational Ethnicity and Nested Identities: New Approaches' in Sarah Semple and Howard Williams (eds.), *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 14 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 19-27.

Haldenby, D., 'An Anglian Site on the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990), pp. 51- 63.

Haldenby, D., 'An Anglian Site on the Yorkshire Wolds - Continued', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 64 (1992), pp. 25- 39.

Haldenby, D., 'Further Saxon finds from the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 66 (1994), pp. 51- 56.

Halfond, Gregory, I., 'Transport, Communication and the Movement of Peoples in the Frankish Kingdom c500- 900 CE', *History Compass* 5.6 (2009), pp. 1554–1569.

Halsall, Guy, 'Review of *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Andrew Gillett, (Turnout: Brepols, 2002; pp xxiv + 265. Eur 60)', *English Historical Review* 68 (Nov 2003), pp. 479-80.

Halsall, Guy, (2010), 'Ethnicity and Early Medieval Cemeteries' paper delivered to the University of the Basque Country, Vitoria, 29 Nov, 2010, <[http://york.academia.edu/GuyHalsall/Papers/1285369/Ethnicity\\_and\\_Early\\_Medieval\\_Cemeteries](http://york.academia.edu/GuyHalsall/Papers/1285369/Ethnicity_and_Early_Medieval_Cemeteries)> [17 Sep 2012].

Halsall, Guy, *The Woad Less Travelled paper delivered to the First Millennia Studies Group at the University of Edinburgh*, 5 October, 2010 <<http://600transformer.blogspot.com/2010/10/woad-less-travelled-archaeology-of.html>> [25 Feb 2011].

Halsall, Guy, *Worlds of Arthur: Fact and Fictions of the Dark Ages* (Oxford, 2013).

Hamerow, Helena, *Excavations at Mucking, Volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (London, 1993).

Hamerow, Helena, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-Western Europe 400-900* (Oxford, 2002).

Hamerow, Helena, 'The Archaeology of Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements: Past, Present and Future' in Christie, Neil (ed.), *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 301-316.

Hamerow, Helena, 'The Earliest Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in Fouracre, Paul (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol 1 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 263-288.

Hamerow, Helena, 'Agrarian Production and the Emporia of Mid-Saxon England, c650-850 AD' in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol 1, The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 219- 232.

Hamerow, Helena, 'The Development of Anglo-Saxon Settlement Structure', *Landscape History* 31.1 (2010), pp. 1-23.

Hamerow, Helena; Hinton David A. and Crawford, Sally, *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011).

Hamerow, Helena, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012).

Hansen, Inge Lyse and Wickham, Chris (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century*,(Leiden, 2000).

Hanson, William S. and Slater Elizabeth A. (eds.), *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions* (Aberdeen, 1991).

Hårdh, B. and Larsson, L. (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Lund, 2002).

Hardy, Alan; Charles, Bethan, Mair; and Williams, Robert J., *Death and Taxes: The Archaeology of a Middle Saxon Estate at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire* (Oxford, 2007).

Hare, Kent G., 'Heroes, Saints, and Martyrs: Holy Kingship from Bede to Aelfric', *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, 9 (2006) – an internet journal, available at <<http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/9/hare.html>> [31 Jan 1010].

Härke, Heinrich, 'Ethnicity, Race and Migration in Mortuary Archaeology: An Attempt at a Short Answer' in Semple, Sarah and Williams, Howard (eds.), *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 14 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 12-18.

Härke, Heinrich, 'Anglo-Saxon Immigration and Ethnogenesis', *Medieval Archaeology* 55 (2011), pp. 1-28.

Harrington, Christina, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450-1150* (Oxford, 2002).

Harrington, Susan, 'Beyond Exogamy: Marriage Strategies in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds (eds.) *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 527 (Oxford, 2011), pp. 88-97.

Houghton, Christine and Powlesland, Dominic, *West Heslerton: The Anglian Cemetery*, 2 Vols (Yedingham, 1999).

Hawkes, Jane and Mills, Susan (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999).

Hayward, Paul Anthony, 'Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom' in James Howard-Johnstone and Paul Anthony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 115-142.

Heather, Peter J., 'Disappearing and Reappearing Tribes' in Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 95-111.

Hen, Yitzhak, 'The Uses of the Bible and the Perception of Kingship in Merovingian Gaul', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), pp. 277- 290.

Hen, Yitzhak and Meens, Rob, *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge, 2004).

Henderson, Isabel, *The Picts* (London, 1967).

Henning, Joachim, 'Early European Towns: The Way of the Economy in the Frankish Area Between Dynamism and Deceleration 500-1000 AD' in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol 1, The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 3-40.

Henning, Joachim (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol 1, The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007).

Henning, Joachim, 'Strong Rulers – Weak Economy? Rome, the Carolingians and the Archaeology of Slavery in the First Millennium AD' in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 33- 54.

Henry, David (ed.), *The Worm, The Germ and the Thorn: Pictish and related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson* (Balgavies, Angus, 1997).

Herren, Michael W. and Brown, Shirley Ann, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2002).

Higgit, John, 'The Dedication Inscription at Jarrow and Its Context', *Antiquaries Journal* 59 (1979), pp. 343-74.

Higham, Nicholas J., *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350-1100* (Stroud, 1993).

Higham, Nicholas J., *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (London, 1995).

Higham, Nicholas J., *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997).

Higham, Nicholas J., 'Imperium in Early Britain: Rhetoric and Reality in the Writings of Gildas and Bede', in Tania Dickinson and David Griffiths (eds.), *The Making of Kingdoms: Papers from the 47<sup>th</sup> Sachsensymposium, York, September 1996*, Anglo Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10 (Oxford, 1999), pp 31-36.

Higham, Nicholas J., 'Dynasty and Cult: The Utility of Christian Mission to Northumbrian Kings Between 642 and 654' in Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (eds.), (1999), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 95-104.

Higham, Nicholas J., 'Northumbria's southern frontier: a review', *Early Medieval Europe* 14.4 (2006), pp. 391-418.

Higham, N.J., *(Re-) Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London, 2006).

Higham, Nicholas J., *The Britons in Anglo- Saxon England* (London, 2007).

Higham, Nicholas J., 'Bede and the Early English Church', in Alexander R. Rumble (ed.), *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church from Bede to Stigand*, (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 41-60.

Higham, Nicholas J. (ed.), *Wilfrid, Abbot, Bishop, Saint: Papers from the 1300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013).

Higham, Nicholas J. and Hill, David (eds.), *Edward the Elder* (London, 2001).

Higham, Nicholas J. and Martin, Ryan J. (eds.), *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010).

Higham, Robert, *Making Anglo-Saxon Devon* (Exeter, 2008).

- Nicholas Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013)
- Hill, Joyce and Swan, Mary (eds.), *The Community, The Family and The Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1988).
- Hill, Peter, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town* (Stroud, 1997).
- Hines, John, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period*, British Archaeological Reports (Oxford 1984).
- Hines, John, 'The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and language in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 7 (1994), 49-59.
- Hines, John, (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997).
- Hines, John, 'Society, Community, and Identity' in Thomas M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *After Rome* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 91- 101.
- Hines, John, 'Changes and Exchanges in Bede's and Caedmon's World' in Allen J. Frantzen and John Hines (eds.), *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the World of Bede* (West Virginia, 2008), pp. 191- 220.
- Hines, John and Bayliss, Alex (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013).
- Hodges, Richard, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade AD 600-1000* (London, 1982).
- Hodges, Richard, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement: Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society* (London, 1989).
- Hodges, Richard, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit* (London, 2012).
- Hoggett, Richard, *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion* (Woodbridge, 2010).
- Holder, Arthur G., 'Christ as incarnate wisdom in Bede's commentary on the Song of songs', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV, 2006), pp. 169-88.
- Hollis, Stephanie, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, 1992).
- Hooke, Della, 'Pre-Conquest Estates in the West Midlands: Preliminary Thoughts', *Journal of Historical Geography* 8 (1982), pp. 327-44.
- Hooke, Della, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: The Charter Evidence*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 95 (Oxford, 1981).

Hope-Taylor, Brian, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977).

Hoskins, W.G., *The Westward Expansion of Wessex*, Department of English Local History Occasional papers, No 13 (Leicester, 1960).

Hough, Carole, 'A Reconsideration of Ine Chp 23', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 98 (1997), pp. 43-51.

Houwen, L.A.J.R. and MacDonald, A.A., *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk and Northumbrian* (Groningen, 1996).

Howard-Johnstone, James and Hayward, Paul Anthony (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999).

Howe, Nicholas, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1989).

David R. 'Aldhelmi Carmen Rythmicum', *Bulletin du Cange* 53 (1995), pp. 119-140.

Hudson, Benjamin T. (ed.), *Familia and Household in the Medieval Atlantic World* (Tempe, AR, 2011).

Hughes, Kathleen, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, 1966).

Hughes, Kathleen, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972).

Hughes, Kathleen, 'The Church in Irish Society 400-800' in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, 1, Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 301-330.

Hunter Blair, Peter, 'The Northumbrians and their Southern Frontier', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th Series 26 (1948), pp. 98-126, reprinted in Michael Lapidge, and Pauline Hunter-Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria* (London, 1984).

Hunter Blair, Peter, 'The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian History', in Fox, Sir Cyril, and Dickens, Bruce (eds.), *The Early Cultures of North West Europe* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 245-257, p. 255; reprinted in Michael Lapidge, and Pauline Hunter-Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*, Variorum Collected Series (London, 1984).

Hunter Blair, Peter, 'The Bernicians and their Northern Frontier' in Chadwick, Nora K., *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1959), 137-172, reprinted in Michael Lapidge, and Pauline Hunter-Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria* (London, 1984).

Hunter Blair, Peter, 'The Origins of Northumbria' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series 25 (1947), pp. 1-51, reprinted in Michael Lapidge, and Pauline Hunter-Blair (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*, (Farnham, 1984).

Hunter Blair, Peter, *Northumbria in the Days of Bede* (London, 1976).



Hunter Blair, Peter, (1985), 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century' in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3-32.

Igges, Georg C., *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge, With a New Epilogue* (Hanover, New England, 2005).

Innes, Matthew, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000).

Ireland, Colin A, 'Aldfrith of Northumbria and the Learning of a *Sapiens*' in Kathryn A. Klar Eve E Sweetster and Charles Thomas (eds.), *A Celtic Florigelum* (Lawrence MA., 1996), pp. 63-77.

Ireland, Colin A., *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: An Edition of Bríatha Flainn Fhína Maic Ossu* (Tempe, Arizona, 1999).

Jackson, Kenneth H., *The Oldest Scottish Poem: The Gododdin* (Edinburgh, 1969).

James, Edward 'The Origins of the Barbarian Kingdoms: The Continental Evidence' in Stephen Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo- Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), pp. 40-52.

Janes, C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation* (Oxford, 1994).

Jaski, Bart, 'Early Medieval Irish Kingship and the Old Testament', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), pp. 329-344.

Jaski, Bart, 'Kings over Overkings: Propaganda for Pre-eminence in Early Medieval Ireland' in Martin Gosman, Arie Johan Vanderjagt and Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference, Groningen 20-23 November 1996*, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 23 (Groningen, 1997), pp. 163-76..

Jaski, Bart, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin, 2000).

John, Eric, *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester 1960).

John, Eric, 'Orbis Britanniae and the Anglo-Saxon Kings' in Eric John, *Orbis Britanniae and other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 1-63.

John, Eric, *Orbis Britanniae and other Studies* (Leicester, 1966)

Johnston, Elva, 'Review Article: Early Irish History: the State of the Art', *Irish Historical Studies* 33 (2003), pp. 342-348.

Jolliffe, J.E.A., 'Northumbrian Institutions', *English Historical Review* 41 (Jan 1926), pp. 1-42.

Jolly, Karen Louise (ed.), *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honour of George Hardin Brown* (Morgantown, 2008).

Jones, Glanville R. J., 'Early Territorial Organisation in England and Wales', *Geographiska Annaler* 43 (1961), pp. 221-232.

Jones, Glanville, R.J., 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement' in Peter, H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement, Continuity and Change* (London, 1966), pp. 15-40, reprinted in Peter H. Sawyer, *English Medieval Settlement* (London, 1979), pp. 9-34.

Jones, Glanville, R. J., 'Early Territorial Organisation in Gwynedd and Elmet' *Northern History* 10 (1975), pp. 3-27.

Jones, Richard, 'Review of Landscapes Decoded: The Origins and Development of Cambridgeshire's Medieval Fields by Susan Oosthuizen', *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007), p. 384.

Jong, Mayke De, 'Rethinking Early Medieval Christianity: A View From the Netherlands', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7.3 (1998), pp 261-275.

Jong, Mayke De, 'The Transformation of Penance' in Frans Theuws and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 185-224.

Joy, Jodi, 'Re-invigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives', *World Archaeology* 41 (2009), pp. 540-566.

Kapelle, William E., *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), pp. 50-85.

Kelly, J. Fergus, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988).

Kelly, J. Fergus, 'The Devil in Hiberno-Latin Exegesis of the Early Middle Ages' in Thomas O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures in Early Medieval Ireland: Proceedings of the 1993 Conference of the Society for Hiberno-Latin Studies on Early Irish Exegesis and Homiletics* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 133-144.

Kelly, Fergus, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-Texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD* (Dublin, 2000).

Kemble, John Mitchell, *The Saxons in England: A History of the English Commonwealth Till the Period of the Norman Conquest*, Vol II (London, 1849).

Kemp, Richard L., *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate, York* (York, 1990).

Keynes, Simon D., 'Readwald the Bretwalda' in Calvin B. Kendall and Peter S. Wells (eds.), *Voyage to the Other World: the Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, Medieval Studies at Minnesota (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 103-124.

- Kirby, D.P., 'Problems of Early West Saxon History', *English Historical Review* 80 (1965), pp. 10-29.
- Kirby, D.P., 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: A Survey of Historical Development to 1092', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 62 (1962), pp. 77-94.
- Kirby, D. P., 'The kingdom of Northumbria and the destruction of the Votadini', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists' Society* 14 (1974), pp. 1-13.
- Kirby D.P, 'Northumbria in the time of Wilfrid', in D.P. Kirby (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1974), pp. 1-34.
- Kirby, D.P. (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1974).
- Kirby, D. P., '... per universas Pictorum provincias', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 287-324.
- Kirby, D.P., 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid" in *English Historical Review* 386 (1983), pp. 101-110.
- Kirby, D. P., *Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum': Its Contemporary Setting*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1992).
- Kirby, D. P., 'The Genesis of a Cult: Cuthbert of Farne and Ecclesiastical Politics in Northumbria in the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), pp. 383-97.
- Kirby, D.P., (2000), *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 2000).
- Kirby, D. P., (2002), 'Cuthbert, Boisil of Melrose and the Northumbrian priest Egberht: Some Historical and Hagiographical Connections', in Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (eds.), *Ogma : Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 48-53.
- Kirby, Magnus, *Lockerbie Academy: Neolithic and Early Historic Timber Halls, a Bronze Age Cemetery, an Undated Enclosure and a Post-Medieval Corn-Drying Kiln in South-West Scotland*, Scottish Archaeological Internet Report 46 (2011), <<http://www.sair.org.uk/sair46/>> [21 April 2012].
- Kleinschmidt, Harald, 'The Gewissae and Bede: On the Innovation of Bede's Concept of the Gens', in Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (eds.), *The Community, The Family and The Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 77-102
- Lacey, Brian, *Cenél Conaill and the Donegal Kingdoms, AD 500-800* (Dublin, 2006).
- Laing, Lloyd and Longley, David, *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South West Scotland* (Oxford, 2006).

Laiou, Angeliki E., 'The Early Medieval Economy: Data, Production, Exchange and Demand' in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 99-104.

Laistner, M.L.W., *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, AD500 to 900* (London, 1931).

Lane, Alan, 'Trade, Gifts and Cultural Exchange in Dark- Age Western Scotland' in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, St John's House Papers No 5 (St Andrews, 1994), pp. 103-113.

Lane, Alan, and Campbell, Ewan, *Dunnadd: An Early Dalriadic Capital* (Oxford, 2000).

Lapidge, Michael (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence* (Cambridge, 1995).

Lapidge, Michael, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London, 1996).

Lapidge, Michael, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 45-72.

Lapidge, Michael, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), pp. 15-69.

Lapidge, Michael and Dumville, David (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984).

Lapidge, Michael and Herren, Michael (eds.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979).

Lapidge, Michael, and Hunter Blair, Pauline (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria* (London, 1984).

Lapidge, Michael and Gneuss, Helmut (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985).

Law, Vivien, *Wisdom, Authority and Grammar in the Seventh Century: Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Cambridge, 1995).

Lebecq, Stéphane, 'England and the Continent in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Question of Logistics' in Richard Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 50-67.

Lebecq, Stéphane, 'The New Wiks or Emporia and the Development of a Maritime Economy in the Northern Seas 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> Centuries' in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2012), pp. 11-22.

Lees, Clare A. and Overing, Gillian R. (eds.), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (Pennsylvania, 2006).

Levison, Wilhelm, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946)

Leyser, Karl, 'Review of *Iona, Tara and Soissons: the Origins of the Royal Anointing Ritual*, by Michael J. Enright', *Speculum* 65.1 (Jan 1990), pp. 149-150.

Lewis, Carena, 'Exploring Black Holes: Recent Investigations in Currently Occupied Rural Settlements in Eastern England' in Nicholas J. Higham and Ryan J. Martin (eds.), *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 83-106.

Little, Lester K. (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 215-230.

Losco-Bradley, Stuart and Kinsley, Bradley (eds.), *Catholme: an Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire*, Nottinghamshire Archaeological Monographs 3 (Nottingham, 2002).

Loveluck, Christopher, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context*, Excavations at Flixborough 4 (Oxford, 2007).

Loveluck, Christopher, (2008), 'Caedmon's World: Secular and Monastic Lifestyles and Estate Organisation in Northern England, A.D. 650-900' in Allen J. Frantzen and John Hines (eds.), *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the World of Bede*, Medieval European Studies 10 (Morgantown, West Virginia, 2008), pp. 150-190.

Loveluck, Christopher and Tys, Dries, 'Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity Along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores of Europe, AD 600-1000', *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1.2 (2006), pp. 140-169.

Loveluck, Christopher and Anderson, David, *The Early Medieval Settlement Remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The Occupation Sequence, c A.D. 600-1000*, Excavations at Flixborough 1 (Oxford, 2007).

Low, Murray, B. and MacMillan, Ian C. 'Entrepreneurship: Past Research and Future Challenges' in Alvaro Cuervo (ed.), *Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory and Perspectives* (New York, 2007), pp. 131-154.

Lowe, Christopher, *Excavations at Hoddum, Dumfriesshire* (Edinburgh, 2006).

Lowe, Christopher, *Inchmarnock: An Early Historic Island Monastery and its Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh, 2008).

Lucy, Sam J., 'Changing Burial Rites in Northumbria AD500-750' in Julia Hawkes and Susan Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 12-44.

Lucy, Sam J., 'Early Medieval burials in East Yorkshire: Reconsidering the Evidence' in Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11-18.

Lucy, Sam, 'Burial practice in Early Medieval Eastern England: Constructing Local Identities, Deconstructing Ethnicities', in Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 17 (London, 2002), pp. 72-86.

Lucy, Sam and Reynolds, Andrew (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 17 (London, 2002).

Lucy, Sam, 'Early Medieval Burial at Yeavinger' in Paul Frodsham and Colm O'Brien (eds.), *Yeavinger: People, Power and Place* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 127-144.

Lucy, Sam; Tipper, Jess and Dickens, Alison, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeology 121 (Cambridge, 2009).

MacDonald, Aidan. 'Two major early monasteries of Scottish Dalriata: Lismore and Eigg'. *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5 (1974 for 1973), pp. 47-70.

MacDonald, Aidan, *Curadan, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie*, Groam House Lecture (Rosemarkie, 1992).

MacLean, Douglas, 'Maelrubai, Applecross and the Late Pictish Contribution West of Druimalban' in David Henry (ed.), *The Worm, The Germ and the Thorn: Pictish and related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson* (Balgavies, Angus, 1997), pp. 173-87.

MacQuarrie, Alan, 'The Kings of Strathclyde, c400-1018' in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown and Community, Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 1-19.

MacQuarrie, Alan (ed.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints: Readings Hymns and prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary* (Dublin, 2012).

MacSamhráin, Ailbhe, 'Nebulae Discutiuntur? The Emergence of Clann Cholmáin, Sixth-Eighth Centuries' in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 83-98.

Maddicott, J. R., 'Two Frontier States: Northumbria and Wessex, c.650- 750' in J.R. Maddicott, and David Michael Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 25-45.

Maddicott John R. and Palliser, David Michael (eds.), *The Medieval State, Essays presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000).

Maddicott, J. R., 'London and Droitwich c650-750: Trade, Industry and the Rise of Mercia', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), pp. 7-58 .

Maddicott, J. R., 'Plague in Seventh Century England' in Lester K. Little (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750* (Cambridge, 2007), 171-214.

Maitland, Frederick William, 'Northumbrian Tenures', *English Historical Review* 5 (1896), pp. 625-632.

Malcolm, Gordon, Bowsher, David and Cowie, Robert, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House* (London, 2003).

Markus, Gilbert, 'Pelagianism and the Common Celtic church', *The Innes Review* 56.2 (2005), pp. 165-213.

Marshall, Anne and Marshall, Garry, 'Differentiation, Change and Continuity in Anglo-Saxon Buildings', *Archaeological Journal* 150 (1993), pp. 366-402.

Marshall, Jenny White and Rourke, J. D., *High Island: An Irish Monastery in the Atlantic* (Dublin, 2000).

Matthew, Donald et. al. (eds.), *Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England Fifty Years On: Papers Given at a Colloquium Held at Reading 11-12 November 1993* (Reading, 1994). Maddern, Christine, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2014).

Mayr-Harting, Henry, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972).

Mayr-Harting, Henry, 'Bede's Patristic Thinking as an Historian' in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Veröffentlichungen 32* (Vienna, 1994), pp. 367-74.

McCarthy, Daniel and Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, 'The "lost" Irish 84-year Easter table rediscovered', *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-8), pp. 227-42, reprinted in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Irish history and Chronology*, (Dublin, 2003), pp. 58-75.

McCarthy, Mike, 'Rheged: An Early Historic Kingdom Near the Solway', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 132 (2002), pp. 357-81.

McClure, Judith, 'Bede's Old Testament Kings' in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and R. Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrille* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 76-98.

McCone, Kim and Simms, Katherine (ed.), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996).

McCormick, Michael, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001).

McErlean, Thomas and Crothers, Norman, *Harnessing the Tides: The Early Medieval Tide Mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Lough* (Norwich, 2007).

McKitterick, Rosamund, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, II, c700-c900* (Cambridge, 1995).

- McMeekin, James, 'Early Historic Settlement Beneath the Grassmarket in Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 140 (2010), pp. 105-128.
- McNeill, John T., *The Celtic Churches: A History A.D. 200 to 1200* (London, 1974).
- McNeill, John T., and Gamer, Helen M., (eds. and trans.), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1990).
- McSparron, Cormac and Williams, Brian, '...and they won land among the Picts by friendly treaty or the sword', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 141 (2011), pp. 145-158.
- Meehan, Dennis, *Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vol iii, (Dublin, 1958, reprinted 1983).
- Meek, Donald E., *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Meens, Rob, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-being of the Realm', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), pp. 345-57.
- Metcalf, D. Michael 'The Coins' in P. Andrews (ed.), *Southampton Finds Volume One: The Coins and Pottery from Hamwic* (Southampton, 1988), pp. 17-59.
- Metcalf, D. Michael, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum*, Three Vols. (Oxford, 1994).
- Metcalf, D. Michael, 'The First Sceattas Minted in Southern Wessex: Series W', *British Numismatic Journal* 75 (2005), 1-17.
- Metcalf, David Michael, 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-704) and Some Contemporary Imitations', *British Numismatic Journal* 76 (2006), pp. 147-58.
- Meyvaert, Paul, 'Bede the Scholar' in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 40-69.
- Miller, Molly, 'Eanfrith's Pictish Son', *Northern History* 14 (1978), pp. 47-66.
- Miller, Molly, 'Hiberni Reversuri', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 110 (1978-80), pp. 305-27.
- Miller, Molly, 'Matriliney by Treaty: the Pictish Foundation Legend' in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (eds.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 133-61.
- Millet, Martin and James, Simon, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978- 81', *Archaeological Journal* 140 (1983), pp. 151- 279.



Mitchell, Frank G., 'Tillage Tools in Ireland During the Past 5,000 Years', *Irish Journal of Earth Sciences* 2.1 (1979), pp. 27-40.

Moisl, Hermann, (1983), 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century', *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 103-126.

Moody, T. M. (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence* (Belfast, 1978).

Moreland, John, 'Production and Exchange in Historical Archaeology' in G.Barker (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Archaeology* (London, 1999), pp. 637-671.

Moreland, John, 'Ethnicity, Power and the English' in William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 23-52; reprinted and updated in Moreland, John, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages* (London, 2010), pp. 159-192.

Moreland, John, 'Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy' in Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 1-34.

Moreland, John, 'The Significance of Production in Eighth-Century England' in Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 68-104.

Morton, Alan (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic. Vol.1, Excavations 1946-83, Excluding Six Dials and Melbourne Street*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 84 (London, 1992).

Morton, Alan, 'Hamwic in its Context', in Mike Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 49-62.

Murphy, Peter, 'The Landscape and Economy of the Anglo-Saxon Coast: New Archaeological Evidence' in Nicholas J. Higham and Ryan J. Martin (eds.), *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 211-222.

Murray, Alexander Callander, 'Reinhard Wenskus on "Ethnogenesis", Ethnicity, and the Origin of the Franks' in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 39-68.

Myres, J.N.L., *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (Oxford, 1969).

Naismith, Rory, *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern Kingdoms, 757-865* (Oxford, 2011).

Naylor, John, *An Archaeology of Trade in Middle Saxon England*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 376, (Oxford, 2004).

Naylor, John, 'Access to International Trade in Middle Saxon England: A Case of Urban Over-emphasis?' in Marinella Pasquinucci, and Timm Weski (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and Riverborne Trade, Ports and Hinterlands, Ship Construction and Navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1283 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 139-148.

- Nees, Lawrence, 'Reading Aldred's Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Speculum* 78 (2003), pp. 333-377.
- Newman, J., 'The Late-Roman and Anglo-Saxon Settlement Patterns in the Sandlings of Suffolk', in Martin O.H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North West Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 32-34.
- Newman, John, 'Wics, Trade, and the Hinterlands – the Ipswich Region', in Mike Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 32-47.
- Newton, Francis L., Newton Francis L. Jr. and Scheirer, Christopher R., 'Domiciling the Evangelists: A Fresh Reading of Aldred's Colophon in the 'Lindisfarne Gospels'', *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2013), pp. 101-144.
- Ní Chathain, Próinséas and Richter, Michael (eds.), *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frümittelalter: Ireland and Europe – The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 89-101.
- Ní Chathain, Próinséas, and Richter, Michael (eds.), (1987), *Irland und die Christenheit: Biblestudien und Mission, Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions* (Stuttgart, 1987).
- Ní Chathain, Próinséas and Richter, Michael, (eds.), *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Bildung und Literatur: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart, 1996)
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin', *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 178-215.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, 'The Law of Adomnán: A Translation' in Thomas O'Loughlin (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 679. Essays in Commemoration of the Law of the Innocents* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 53-68.
- Nieke, Margaret R., 'Penannular and related brooches: secular ornament or symbol of action?' in R. Michael Spearman, and John Higgitt (eds.), *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain* (Edinburgh and Stroud, 1993), pp. 128- 134.
- O'Brien, Colm, 'The Emergence of Northumbria: Artefacts, Archaeology and Models' in Rob Collins and Lindsay Allason-Jones (eds.), *Finds From the Roman frontier: Material Culture in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, CBA Research Report 162 (York, 2010), pp. 110-120.
- O'Brien, Colm and Miket, Roger, 'The Early Medieval Settlement of Thirlings, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeological Journal* 7 (1991), pp. 57–91.
- Ó Carragáin, Éamonn, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood tradition* (London, 2005).
- O'Carragáin, Éamonn, 'The necessary distance: *Imitateo Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross' in Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 191-203.

- Ó Carragáin, Éamonn and Thacker, Alan, 'Wilfrid in Rome', in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint, Papers from the 1300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 212-230.
- O'Connell, D.J., 'Easter Cycles in the Early Irish Church', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 66 (1936), pp. 67-106.
- Ó Corrain, Donnchadh, 'Irish Regnal Succession: a reappraisal', *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971), pp. 7-39.
- Ó Corrain, Donnchadh, 'Nationalism and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland' in T. M. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence* (Belfast, 1978), pp. 1-34.
- Ó Corrain, Donnchadh, 'Ireland c800: Aspects of Society' in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, 1, Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 549-608, pgs. 557-558.
- Ó Corrain, Donnchadh; Breatnach, Liam, and Breen, Aidan, 'The Laws of the Irish', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 382-438.
- Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí 'A seventh century Irish computus from the circle of Cumianus', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 82 C 11 (1982), 405-430
- Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, 'The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computatus', *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 229-47 reprinted in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Irish history and Chronology* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 173-190.
- Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, 'Ireland, 400-800' in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, 1 Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 182-234.
- Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, 1 Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005).
- Ohashi, Masako, 'The Easter Table of Victorius of Aquitaine in Early Medieval England', in Warntjes, Immo, and Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 137-149.
- Oliver, Lisi, 'Cyninges fedesl: the King's Feeding in Æthelberht ch. 12', *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1988), pp. 37-40.
- Oliver, Lisi, *The Beginnings of English Law* (London, 2002).
- Oliver, Lisi, 'Aethelberht's Fedesl Revisited', *Notes and Queries* 55.2 (2008), pp. 125-126.
- O'Loughlin, Thomas, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London, 2000), pp. 1-24.
- O'Loughlin, Thomas, 'Penitentials and Pastoral Care' in G.R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), pp. 93-111.

O'Loughlin, Thomas (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 679. Essays in Commemoration of the Law of the Innocents* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 53-68.

O'Loughlin, Thomas, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Location of the Biblical Drama* (London, 2007).

O'Neill, Pamela, 'Irish Cultural Influence on Northumbria: The First Thirty Years' in Benjamin T. Hudson, and Vickie Ziegler (eds.), *Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages* (Lanham, 1991), pp. 11-24.

Oosthuizen, Susan, 'The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia and the Origins and Distribution of Common Fields', *Agricultural History Review* 55.2 (2007), pp. 153-180.

Oosthuizen, Susan, 'Medieval Field Systems and Settlement Nucleation: Common or Separate Origins' in Nicholas J. Higham and Ryan J. Martin (eds.), *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 107-132.

Oosthuizen, Susan, 'Anglo-Saxon Fields', in Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 377-404.

Oppenheimer, Stephen, *The Origins of the British: A Genetic Detective Story* (London, 2006).

Ó Riain, Pádraig, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, (Dublin, 2011).

Orchard, Andy, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 8 (Cambridge, 1994).

Orchard, Andy, 'Aldhelm's Library' in Richard Gameson, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* Vol 1 (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 591-605.

Orton, Fred, and Wood, Ian, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester, 2007).

Sinéad O'Sullivan, 'The Image of Adornment in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*: Cyprian and His Influence', *Peritia* 15 (2001), pp. 48-57.

Owen-Crocker, Gale R., and Schneider, Brian W. (eds.), *Royal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 584 (Oxford, 2013).

Owen-Crocker, Gale R., and Stephens, Win, 'The Cross in the Grave: Design or Divine?' in Karen Louise Jolly (ed.), *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honour of George Hardin Brown* (Morgantown, 2008), pp. 118-152.

Palmer, Ben, 'The Hinterlands of Tree Southern English Emporia: Some Common Themes' in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trade and "Productive" Sites 650-850*, (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 48-61.

Parry, Stephen, *Raunds Area Survey: An Archaeological Study of the Landscape of Raunds, Northamptonshire, 1985-94* (Oxford, 2006).

Pasquinucci, Marinella, and Weski, Timm (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and Riverborne Trade, Ports and Hinterlands, Ship Construction and Navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1283 (Oxford, 2004).

Pearce, Susan, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia* (Padstow, 1978).

Peers, Charles R., and Raleigh-Radford, C.A., 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia* 89 (1943), pp. 27-99.

Périn, Patrick, 'The Origin of the Village in Early Medieval Gaul', in Neil Christie (ed.), *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 255-278.

Perron, Anthony M., 'Review of The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation' *The Journal of Religion* 78.4 (1998), pp. 619-621.

Perry, D.R., *Castle Park, Dunbar: Two Thousand years on a Fortified Headland*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series 16 (Edinburgh, 2000).

Pestell, Tim, 'Markets, *emporia*, *wics* and "productive sites": pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England', in Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 556-579.

Pestell, Tim, and Ulmschneider, Katharina (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trade and "Productive" Sites 650-850* (Macclesfield, 2003).

Petts, David and Turner, Sam (eds.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities. AD 450-1100* (Tournhout, 2012).

Pfaff, Richard W., 'Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence; Michael Lapidge', *Speculum* 72.3 (July 1997), pp. 852-854.

Phillips, Derek, Heywood, Brenda and Carver, Martin O.H. (eds.), *Excavations at York Minster, 1: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London, 1995).

Picard, Jean-Michel, 'Church and Politics in the Seventh century: The Irish Exile of King Dagobert II' in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), (1991), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600-850*, (Dublin, 1991), pp. 27-52.

Picard, Jean Michel, 'Bede, Adomnán, and the Writing of History', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 50-70.

Pickles, Thomas, 'Church Organization and Pastoral Care', in Stafford Pauline (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c500-c1100* (London, 2009), pp. 160-176.

Pickles, Thomas, 'Review of Aldhelm and Sherbourne. Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric, Edited by Katherine Barker with Nicholas Brooks', *The Antiquaries Journal* 92 (2012).

Pirie, Elizabeth Jane Elphinstone, 'The Seventh Century Gold Coinage of Northumbria', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), pp. 1-15.

Pirie, Elizabeth Jane Elphinstone, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria c. 700-867* (Llanfyllin, 1996).

Pitts, Mike, 'Kent Plough Find Challenges Farming History', *British Archaeology* 118 (May/June 2011), p. 5.

Pohl, Walter, 'Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: A Comparative Perspective' in John Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 7-31.

Pohl, Walter, 'Ethnicity, Theory and Tradition: A Response' in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 221-240.

Pohl, Walter, 'Introduction – Strategies of Identification: A Methodological Profile' in Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (eds.), *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 1-64.

Pohl, Walter, 'Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West: Introduction' in Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 1-46.

Pohl, Walter and Heydemann, Gerda (eds.), *Strategies of Identification* (Turnhout, 2013).

Pohl, Walter and Heydemann, Gerda (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2013).

Pohl, Walter and Reimitz, Helmut (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-600* (Leiden, 1988).

Powlesland, Dominic, 'Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Structures, Form and Layout' in John Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 101-116.

Powlesland, Dominic, 'West Heslerton Settlement Mobility: A Case of Static Development' in Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD* (Oxford and Oakville (CT), 2000), pp. 19-26.

Powlesland, Dominic, *Archaeological Investigations at Sherburn, Vale of Pickering, North Yorkshire, September 2011*, (The Landscape Research Centre, Heslerton, 2011), Internet publication

<<http://www.landscaperesearchcentre.org/Archaeological%20Excavations%20in%20Sherburn%202011.pdf>> [21 April 2012].

Dominic Powlesland, Christine Haughton, and John H. Hanson, 1986 'Excavations at Heslerton, North Yorkshire 1978-82', *Archaeological Journal* 143 (1986), pp. 53-173

Powlesland, Dominic et. al. 'The West Heslerton Assessment', *Internet Archaeology* 5 (1998) <[http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue5/westhes\\_index.html](http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue5/westhes_index.html)> [05 Jul 2015]

Rackham, James (ed.), *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England*, CBA Research Report 89 (York, 1994).

Ratz, Philip, 'Anglo-Saxon and later Whitby' in Lawrence R. Hoey (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Leeds, 1995), pp. 1-11.

Rauch, Andreas and Frese, Michael, 'Born to be an Entrepreneur: Revisiting the Personality Approach to Entrepreneurship' in Robert, J. Baum, Michael Frese and Robert Baron, (eds.), *The Psychology of Entrepreneurship* (New Jersey, 2007), pp. 41-67.

Roger Ray, 'Who did Bede think he was?' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown WV, 2006), pp. 11-35

Reynolds, Andrew, 'Review Article: On Farmers, Traders, and Kings: Archaeological Reflections of Social Complexity in Early Medieval North-West Europe', *Early Medieval Europe* 13.1 (January 2005), pp. 97-118.

Reynolds, Susan, 'Bookland, Folkland and Fiefs' in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1991* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 211-228.

Richards, Julian, D., 'What's So Special About Productive Sites? Middle Saxon Settlements in Northumbria' in Tania Dickinson and David Griffiths (eds.), *The Making of Kingdoms: Papers from the 47<sup>th</sup> Sachsensymposium, York, September 1996*, Anglo Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10 (Oxford, 1999), pp. 71-80.

Richter, Michael, 'Bede's Angli: Angles or English', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 99- 114.

Richter, Michael, 'Practical aspects of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons' in Próinséas Ní Chathain and Michael Richter (eds.), (1987), *Irland und die Christenheit: Biblestudien und Mission, Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 362-376.

Richter, Michael, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999).

Richter, Michael and Picard, J.M. (eds.), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002).

Roberts, Brian K., 'Between the Brine and the High Ground: The Roots of Northumbria' in Robert Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007), pp. 12-32.

Roberts, Brian K., 'Northumbrian origins and Post-Roman Continuity: An Exploration' in Rob Collins and Lindsay Allason-Jones (eds.), *Finds From the Roman frontier: Material Culture in the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, CBA Research Report 162 (York, 2010), pp. 121-132.

Rollason, David, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003).

Rollason, David W., 'Why was St Cuthbert so Popular' in David W. Rollason (ed.), *Cuthbert: Saint and Patron* (Durham, 1987), pp. 9-22.

Rollason, David W. (ed.), *Cuthbert: Saint and Patron* (Durham, 1987).

Rollason, David W., *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989).

Rollason, David, 'Hagiography and politics in early Northumbria' in P.Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints Lives and Their Contexts* (Albany, 1996), pp. 95-114.

Rollason, David, 'Northumbria as a Failed European Kingdom', in Robert Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007), pp. 1-12.

Rollason, David, Piper, A.J., Harvey, M., and Rollason, L. (eds.), *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2004).

Rowland, Jenny, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge, 1990)

Rowley, Sharon M., *The Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica* (London, 2011).

Russell, James C., *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation* (Oxford, 1994).

Rynne, Colin, 'The Introduction of the Vertical Watermill into Ireland: Some Recent Archaeological Evidence', *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), pp. 21-31.

Rynne, Colin, Rourke, Grelland and White-Marshall, Jenny, 'An Early Medieval Monastic Watermill on High Island', *Archaeology Ireland* 10.3 (1996), pp. 24-27.

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (Michigan, 1978).

Samson, Ross, 'Illusory Emporia and Mad Economic Theories', in Mike Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 76-90.

Sarris, Peter, 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy: New Insights from Late Antiquity', *The English Historical Review* 119 (2004), pp 279-381.



- Sarris, Peter, 'Aristocrats, Peasants and the Transformation of Rural Society, c400-800', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9.1 (2009), pp. 3-22.
- Saunders, Tom, 'Trade, Towns and States: A Reconsideration of Early Medieval Economics' *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 28.1 (1995), pp. 31-53.
- Sawyer, Peter, H., 'Kings and Merchants' in Peter H. Sawyer and Ian Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 139-158.
- Sawyer, Peter, H., *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968).
- Sawyer, Peter, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2015).
- Sawyer, Peter H., *English Medieval Settlement* (London, 1979).
- Sawyer, Peter and Wood, Ian (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977).
- Sayles, G.O., *The Medieval Foundations of England* (Philadelphia, 1950).
- Scull, Christopher, 'Scales and Weights in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Archaeological Journal* 147 (1990), pp. 183-215.
- Scull, Christopher, 'Urban Centres in Pre-Viking England' in John Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 269-298.
- Scull, Christopher, 'Ipswich: Development and Contexts of an Urban Pre-cursor in the Seventh Century', in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Lund, 2002), pp. 303-316.
- Scull, Christopher, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 27 (Oxford, 2009).
- Sarah Semple, Sarah, 'Burials and Political Boundaries in the Avebury Region, North Wiltshire', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12 (2003), pp. 72-91.
- Semple, Sarah, 'Polities and Princes AD 400- 800: New Perspectives on the Funerary Landscape of the South Saxon Kingdom', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27.4 (2008), pp. 407-427.
- Semple, Sarah and Williams, Howard (eds.), *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 14 (Oxford, 2007).
- Sharpe, Richard, 'Some Problems Concerning the Organisation of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 230-270.

Sharpe, Richard, 'Gildas as a Father of the Church' in Michael Lapidge and David Dumville (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 191-206.

Sharpe, Richard, 'Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model' in John Blair and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 81-109.

Sharpe, Richard, *Medieval Irish Saints Lives: An Introduction to the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (Oxford, 1991).

Shaw, Ronald Cunliffe, *Post-Roman Carlisle and the Kingdoms of the North-West*, 2nd edition (Preston, 1964).

Sherlock, Stephen J., *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North-East Yorkshire* (Hartlepool, 2012).

Sherlock, Steve J. and Simmons, Mark, 'A Seventh Century Royal Cemetery at Street House, North-East Yorkshire', *Antiquity* 82 (2008).

Sims-Williams, Patrick, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 3 (Cambridge, 1990).

Sisam, Kenneth, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953), pp. 287-348.

Skene, W.F. *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1886)

Small, Alan (ed.), *The Picts: A New Look at Old Problems* (Dundee, 1987).

Smith, Anthony, D., 'The Politics of Culture: Ethnicity and Nationalism' in Tim Ingold (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Anthropology* (London, 1994), pp. 706-733.

Smith, Ian M., (1991), 'Sprouston, Roxburgh: an Early Anglo-Saxon Centre of the Eastern Tweed Basin', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1991), pp. 261-294.

Smith, Julia M.H. (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000)

Smith, Julie Ann, *Ordering Women's Lives: Penitentials and Nunnery Rules in the Early Medieval West* (Aldershot, 2001).

Smyth, Alfred P., *Celtic Leinster* (Dublin, 1982).

Smyth, Alfred P., *Warlords and Holy Men* (London, 1984).

Snyder, Christopher, *The Britons* (Oxford, 2003).

Society for Medieval Archaeology, *Medieval Britain and Ireland Searchable Database*, available at <<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/library/mbi/query.cfm>> [9 April 2010].

- Spall, Cecily A., and Toop, Nicola J., 'Before Eoferwick: New Light on York in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), pp. 1- 25.
- Spearman, R. Michael and Higget, John (eds.), *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain* (Edinburgh and Stroud, 1993).
- Stafford, Pauline, (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2009).
- Stancliffe, Clare, 'Kings and Conversion: Some Comparisons Between the Roman Mission to England and Patrick's to Ireland', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14 (1980), pp. 59-94.
- Stancliffe, Clare, 'Kings Who Opted Out' in Wormald, Patrick, (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo- Saxon Society* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154-176.
- Stancliffe, Clare, 'Cuthbert and the polarity between pastor and solitary' in Bonner, Gerald; Stancliffe, Clare and Rollason, David, (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 21-44.
- Stancliffe, Clare, *Bede, Wilfrid and the Irish*, Jarrow Lecture 2002 (Jarrow, 2003).
- Stancliffe, Clare, *Bede and the Britons*, Whithorn Lecture, (Whithorn, 2007).
- Stancliffe, Claire and Cambridge, Eric (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (Stamford, 1975).
- Stenton, Sir Frank Merry, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943).
- Stenton, Frank Merry, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955).
- Steuer, Heiko, 'Archaeology and History: Proposals on the Social Structure of the Merovingian Kingdom' in Klaus Randsborg (ed.) *The Birth of Europe* (Rome, 1989), pp. 100-122.
- Stevens, Wesley M., (ed.), *Charles W. Jones: Bede, The Schools and Computus* (Aldershot, 1994).
- Stevenson, Jane, *The "Laterculus Malalianus" and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge, 1995).
- St Joseph, J.K., 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: An Anglo- Saxon Settlement Discovered by Air Reconnaissance', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982), pp. 191-199.
- Stoodley, Nick, 'The Origins of Hamwic and Its Central Role in the Seventh century as Revealed by Recent Archaeological Discoveries' in B.Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Lund, 2002), pp. 317-332.
- Stoodley, Nick, 'Burial Practice in Seventh-Century Hampshire: St Mary's Stadium in Context' in Jo Buckberry and Annia Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 38-53.

Sullivan, Donald, 'Review of The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation', *Church History* 66.1 (1997), pp. 90-91.

Swift, Catherine, 'Tírechán's Motives in Compiling the 'Collectanae': An Alternative Interpretation', *Ériu* 45 (1994), pp. 53-82.

Swift, Cathy, 'Forts and Fields: A Study of "Monastic Towns" in Seventh and Eighth Century Ireland', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 9 (1998), pp. 105-25.

Szarmach, Paul E. (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Studies in Medieval Culture XX (Kalamazoo, 1986).

Szarmach, Paul E. (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints Lives and Their Contexts* (Albany, 1996), pp. 95-114.

Tanaka, M., 'Iona and the Kingship of Dal Riata in Adomnán's Vita Columbae' in *Peritia* 17-18 (2003-4), pp. 199-214.

Taylor, C.M., 'Elmet: Boundaries and Celtic Survival in the Post-Roman Period', *Medieval History* 2 (1992), pp. 111-129.

Thacker, Alan, 'Some Terms for Noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, 650-900' in David Brown, James Campbell and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes (eds.) *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 2, British Archaeological Reports British Series 92 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 201-36.

Thacker, Alan, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: The Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.1 (1988), pp. 59-84.

Thacker, Alan T., 'Peculiaris Patronus Noster: The Saint as patron in the Early Middle Ages', in John R. Maddicott and David Michael Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State, Essays presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 1-23.

Thacker, Alan T., 'The making of a local saint', in Alan T. Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds.), (2002), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 45-73.

Thacker, Alan and Sharpe, Richard (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002).

Thacker, Alan, 'England in the Seventh Century' in Paul Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol 1 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 462-495.

Thacker, Alan, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel' in Baxter, Stephen and Nelson, Janet (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (London, 2009), pp. 129-148.

Thacker, Alan, 'Bede and history' in Degregorio, Scott (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 170-189.

- Thirsk, Joan, 'The Common Fields', *Past and Present* 29 (1964), pp. 3-25.
- Thirsk, Joan, 'The Origins of the Common Fields', *Past and Present* 33 (1966), pp. 142-147.
- Thomas, Gabor, 'Review of Tradition and Transformation in Anglo-Saxon England by Susan Oosthuizen', *The Antiquaries Journal* 94 (2014), pp. 379-380.
- Thompson, Hamilton, A. (ed), *Bede: His Life, Times and Writing* (Oxford, 1935).
- Treadgold, Warren, 'Review: Travel and Trade in the Dark Ages', *The International History Review* 1 (March 2004), pp. 80-88.
- Tugène, Georges, 'Reflections on 'Ethnic' Kingship in Bede's Ecclesiastical History', *Romanobarbarica* 17 (2002), pp. 309-331.
- Tweddle, Dominic, Moulden, Joan, and Logan, Elizabeth, *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence* (London, 1999).
- Tyler, Damian, 'Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Early West Saxon Kingship', *Southern History* 19 (1997), pp. 1-23
- Tyler, Damian, 'An Early Mercian Hegemony: Penda and Overkingship in the Seventh century', *Midland History* 30 (2005), pp. 1-19.
- Ulmschneider, Katharina, 'Archaeology, History and the Isle of Wight in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period', *Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999), pp. 19-44.
- Ulmschneider, Katharina, 'Settlement, Economy and the "Productive" Site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire AD 650-780', *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000), pp. 53-79.
- Ulmschneider, Katharina, 'Central Places and Metal-Detector Finds: What are the English "Productive Sites"', in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Lund, 2002), pp. 333-341.
- Ulmschneider, Katharina, 'The Study of Early Medieval Markets: Are We Rewriting the Economic History of Middle Anglo-Saxon England?', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 15 (2005), pp. 517-531.
- Ulmschneider, Katharina, and Pestell, Tim, 'Introduction: Early Medieval Markets and "Productive" Sites' in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trade and "Productive" Sites 650- 850* (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 1-11.
- Valante, Mary, (1998), 'Reassessing the Irish "monastic town"', *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1998), pp. 1-18.
- Van de Noort, Robert, and Ellis, Stephen (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Hull Valley - An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2000).

- Vince, Alan, 'The Growth of Market Centres and Towns in the Mercian Hegemony' in Michelle P. Brown, and Carol A. Farr (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2001), pp. 183-193.
- Vinogradoff, Paul, 'Folkland', *English Historical Review* 8.1 (January 1893), pp. 1-17.
- Wainwright, F.T. (ed.), *The Problem of the Picts* (Perth, 1955).
- Walker, H.E., 'Bede and the Gewissae: The Political Evolution of the Heptarchy and Its Nomenclature', *Cambridge Historical Review* 12 (1956), pp. 174-86.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J.M., *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971).
- Wallis, Faith (ed. and trans.), *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 2004).
- Walsh, Maura and Ó Cróinín Dáibhí, *Cummian's Letter De Controversa Paschali and the De Ratio Computandi*, (Toronto, 1988).
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan, 'Why did the Anglo-Saxons not Become More British?', *English Historical Review* 115 (2000), pp. 513-533.
- Warntjes, Immo and Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí (eds.), *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011).
- Watts, Martin, *The Archaeology of Mills and Milling* (Tempus, 2002).
- West, Stanley E., *West Stowe: The Anglo-Saxon Village*, 2 Vols, *East Anglian Archaeology* 24 (Ipswich, 1984).
- White, H.J., *Codex Amiatinus of the Latin Vulgate Bible and It's Birthplace* (New Jersey, 2006).
- Whitelock, Dorothy, *English Historical Documents*, 2nd edition (London, 1996).
- Whitelock, Dorothy, McKitterick, Rosamond and Dumville, David (eds.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982).
- Wickham, Chris., 'Problems of Comparing Rural Societies in Early Medieval Western Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Ser 6 No 2 (1992), pp. 221-246.
- Wickham, Chris, *Framing The Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800* (Oxford, 2005).
- Wickham, Chris, 'Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy' in Davis, Jennifer and McCormick, Michael (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* (London, 2008), pp. 19-32.

Williams, Gareth, 'Coins and Kingship' in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Brian W Schneider (eds.), *Royal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 584 (Oxford, 2013), pp. 37-62.

Williams, Laurence Frederick Rushbrook, 'The Status of the Welsh in the Laws of Ine', *English Historical Review* 30 (1915), pp. 271-277.

Williams, Robert J., *Pennylands and Hartigans: Two Iron Age and Saxon Sites in Milton Keynes*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph Series 4 (Aylesbury, 1993).

Wilson, P.R., et al., 'Early Anglian Catterick and Catraeth', *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (1996), pp. 1-61.

Michael Winterbottom, e.g. 'Aldhelm's prose style', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977), pp. 39-76.

Winterbottom, Michael, (ed. and trans.), *Gildas, The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents* (London, 1978).

Wolfram, Herwig, *History of the Goths* (London, 1988).

Wood, Diana (ed.), *Medieval Money Matters* (Oxford, 2004).

Wood, Ian N., 'Northumbria and the Franks in the Age of Wilfrid' in *Northern History* 31 (1995), pp. 10-21.

Wood, Ian N., *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrith*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow 1995).

Wood, Ian, N., 'Review of The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociological Approach to Religious Transformation', *Speculum* 71.2 (1996), pp. 486-487.

Wood, Ian, 'An Historical Context for Hope-Taylor's Yeavinger', in Paul Frodsham and Colm O'Brien (eds.), *Yeavinger: People, Power and Place* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 185-188.

Wood, Ian N., *The Origins of Jarrow: The Monastery, The Slake and Ecgrith's Minster*, Bede's World Studies 1 (Jarrow, 2006).

Wood, Ian N., 'Bede's Jarrow', in Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (eds.), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (Pennsylvania, 2006), pp. 67-84.

Wood, Ian, N., 'Fragments of Northumbria' in Fred Orton and Ian Wood (eds.), *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 105-130.

Wood, Ian N., 'Bede's Jarrow' in C. Lees and G. Overing (eds.), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (Pennsylvania, 2006), pp. 67-84.

Wood, Ian N., 'Monasteries and the Geography of Power in the Age of Bede', *Northern History* 45.1 (2008), pp. 11-25.

Wood, Ian N., 'The Foundation of Bede's Wearmouth-Jarrow' in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 84-96.

Wood, Ian N., 'The Continental Journeys of Wilfrid and Biscop', in Nicholas, J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint: Papers from the 1300 Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 200-211.

Wood, Ian N., *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2013).

Wood, Ian N. 'Who are the Philistines: Bede's readings of Old Testament peoples' in Gantner, Clemens; McKitterick Rosamund and Meeder, Sven, (eds.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), pp.172-187.

Wood, Mark, 'Bernician Transitions: Place-Names and Archaeology' in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities. AD 450-1100* (Tournhout, 2012), pp. 35-70.

Wood, Susan, *The Proprietary Church in The Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).

Wooding, Jonathan M., *Communication and Commerce Along the Western Sealandes AD 400-800* (London, 1996).

Wooding, Jonathan M. (ed.), *Adomnán of Iona : Theologian-Lawmaker-Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010).

Woods, David, 'Adomnán, Plague and the Easter Controversy', *Anglo-Saxon England* 40 (2011), pp. 1-13.

Woolf, Alex, 'Pictish Matriliney Reconsidered', *Innes Review* 49 (1988), pp. 147-67.

Woolf, Alex, 'The Russes, The Byzantines, and Middle Saxon Emporia', in Mike Anderton, (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 63-75.

Woolf, Alex, 'Community, Identity and Kingship in Early England', in William O. Frazer, and Andrew Tyrrell (ed.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000), pp 91-109.

Woolf, Alex 'The Britons: from Romans to barbarians' in Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Regna and Gentes: the Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, Volume 13 of *The Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 345-380.

Woolf, Alex, 'AU 729.2 and the Last Years of Nechtan mac der Ilae', *Scottish Historical Review* 85.1 (2006), pp. 131-137.

Woolf, Alex, 'Apartheid and Economics in Anglo- Saxon England' in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *The Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2007), pp. 115-129.

Woolf, Alex, *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070* (Edinburgh, 2007).



Woolf, Alex, 'A Dialogue of the Deaf and Dumb: Archaeology, History and Philology' in Zoë L. Devlin and Caroline N. J. Holas-Clar, (eds.), *Approaching Interdisciplinarity: Archaeology, History and the Study of Early Medieval Britain*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 486, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 3-9.

Woolf, Alex, 'Dun Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts', *The Scottish Historical Review* 85.2 (2006), pp. 182-201.

Woolf, Alex, *A Short History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, forthcoming).

Wormald, Patrick, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop' in Bonner, Gerald, (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 141-169.

Wormald, Patrick, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship' in Peter Sawyer and Ian N. Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 105-38, p. 129.

Wormald, Patrick, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origin of the Gens Anglorum' in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and R. Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrille* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99-129; reprinted in Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 119-122.

Wormald, Patrick, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1985), reprinted in Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 135-168.

Wormald, Patrick, 'Inter Cetera Bona Genti Suae: Law-making and Peace-keeping in the Earliest English Kingdoms', *Settimana di Studio del centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, (1985), pp. 963-96, reprinted in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 179-200.

Wormald, Patrick, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts', in P. Szarmach (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Studies in Medieval Culture XX (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 151-184.

Wormald, Patrick, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 179-200.

Wormald, Patrick, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 103-107

Wormald, Patrick, 'On þa wæpnedhaellfe: Kingship and Royal Property from Aethelwulf to Edward the Elder' in Nicholas J. Higham and David Hill (eds.), *Edward the Elder*, (London, 2001), pp. 264-279, 264-266.

Wormald, Patrick, Bullough, Donald and Collins, Roger (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrille* (Oxford, 1983).

Yorke, Barbara, 'The Vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon Overlordship', in David Brown; James Campbell and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 2*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 92 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 171-200.

Yorke, Barbara, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990).

Yorke, Barbara, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1995).

Yorke, Barbara, 'The Reception of Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999).

Yorke, Barbara, 'Political and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Anglo-Saxon Practice' in William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (eds.) *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 69-89.

Yorke, Barbara, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003).

Yorke, Barbara, *The Conversion of Britain, 600-800* (London, 2006).

Yorke, Barbara, 'The Bretwaldas and the Origins of Overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England' in Stephen Baxter and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (London, 2009), pp. 81-96.

Yorke, Barbara, 'Kings and Kingship' in Pauline Stafford (ed), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2009), pp. 74- 90.

Yorke, Barbara, *Rex Doctissimus: Bede and King Aldfrith of Northumbria*, Jarrow Lecture 2008 (Jarrow, 2009).

Yorke, Barbara, 'Aldhelm's Irish and British Connections' in Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (eds.), *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 164-180.

Yorke, Barbara, 'Adomnán at the Court of King Aldfrith' in Jonathan M. Wooding (ed.), *Adomnán of Iona : Theologian-Lawmaker-Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 36-51.

Zeigler, Michelle, 'Artur mac Aedan of Dalriada' in *The Heroic Age*, (1, 1999), available at <<http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/1/haaad.htm>> [24 April 2010].

Zeigler, Michelle, 'The Politics of Exile in Early Northumbria' in *The Heroic Age*, 2, (1999), <[www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/2/ha2pen.html](http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/2/ha2pen.html)> [3 May 2010].

Zeigler, Michelle, 'Oswald and the Irish' in *The Heroic Age*, 4, (2001), <<http://www.heroicage.org/issues/4/ziegler.html>> [3 May 2010].

### **Unpublished Theses**

Dobson, Lemont, 'Landscape, Monuments and the Construction of Social Power in Early Medieval Deira', (Unpublished Phd dissertation University of York 2006).

McKinney, Windy, A., 'Creating a Gens Anglorum, Social and Ethnic Identity Through the Lens of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*' (Unpublished Phd dissertation, University of York, 2011).

Wood, Mark, 'Bernician Narratives: Place-Names, Archaeology and History' (Unpublished Phd dissertation, University of Newcastle 2007).