

**MIGRATION AND ACCULTURATION:
The impact of the Norse on Eastern England, c. 865-900.**

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**This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The University of
Western Australia, School of Humanities, Discipline of History, 2011.**

Abstract

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The settlement and settlement of lands in eastern England by Old Norse speakers, c. 865-900, represents an extreme migratory episode. The cultural interaction, both during the campaigning period and following Norse settlement, involved one group forcing themselves upon another, usually from a position of military and political power. Despite this seemingly dominant position, by 900 AD the Norse appear in the main to have adopted the culture of the Anglo-Saxons whom they had recently defeated. This thesis proposes that a major factor in this cultural assimilation was the emigration point of the Norse and the cultural experiences which they brought with them.

Although much has been written on the settlement of Norse groups in England, most scholars have focused on the comparatively abundant evidence available for the tenth century, attributable to the second and later generations of Norse and later migrants. This thesis will instead focus on the first generations of settlers, those initially arriving with the 'great army' in 865 and augmented by Norse from another army in 896, and possibly other undocumented migrants. As the settlements represent the end point of a migratory process, migration theory will be examined. Applying relevant aspects of the theory allows us to consider issues and questions hitherto rarely discussed in analyses of the Norse settlements.

The use of migration theory (chapter 2) suggests that the Norse migration should be seen as part of a longer process and involving migrants who had information about their destination. The theory also directed me to consider the demographics of the migration: analysis of the sample of burials available suggests that most of the migrants were young adults, but there appears to have been a greater number of Norse women and children present than hitherto thought by most scholars, and furthermore they were probably present from the earliest period of migration.

The origin of the migration (chapter 3) is crucial to an understanding of the possible motivations of the Norse, and of the acculturation process. Although some of the Norse may have emigrated directly from the Scandinavian homelands most apparently commenced their journey in either Ireland or northern Francia. Consequently, and contrary to most previous scholarship, it is as much the culture of these regions as Scandinavia that needs to be assessed in searching for the cultural impact of the Norse upon eastern England.

This realisation may help to explain how the Norse appear to have adapted to aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture (chapters 5 and 6), such as the issuing of coinage and at least public displays of christianity, relatively quickly: most of the settlers had emigrated from regions where christianity was established and which had institutions similar to those of the Anglo-Saxons. The origin of the Norse also helps to explain some of the innovations introduced by the migrants, including the use of client kings and the creation of 'buffer' states (chapter 4).

Informed by migration theory, this thesis focuses on the first generation of Norse settlers in England, investigating their geographic origins and what impact that is likely to have had in the innovations they introduced and the apparent ease with which they acculturated after they arrived in 865. The origin of the migrants and their demographic profile suggests that the majority of Norse arrived in England with the intention of remaining, and that they were familiar with the culture which they would settle amongst, including christianity. In conclusion: this thesis demonstrates not only that aspects of modern migration theory can be productively applied to such early medieval migration events as the Norse settlement of parts of ninth-century England, but also that the Norse, like many other migrant groups, were well-informed about their destination and well-prepared for acculturation within it.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisors. Philippa Maddern at the University of Western Australia had a consistently positive attitude, and offered constructive criticisms and an eye for spurious argument. Philippa also provided undergraduate teaching opportunities which benefitted the thesis. A positive attitude and constructive criticism are also attributes of my external supervisor, Alexandra Sanmark at the Centre for Nordic Studies, UHI Kirkwall. Alexandra is also thanked for making me aware of material dealing with the Scandinavian homelands, helping with Swedish translations, and her unfailing ability to quickly respond to emails. Also of note was her hospitality during my time in London and her assistance in helping me access the library at University College London.

There are inevitably some disadvantages for a student based in Australia working on an aspect of European history, and I would like to thank the Graduate Research School and School of Humanities at UWA for funding a research trip to Europe in 2008. During the trip a number of scholars were kind enough to take the time to meet me and offer advice: Stuart Brookes, Andres Dobat, Peder Gammeltoft, James Graham-Campbell, Dawn Hadley, Judith Jesch, Ryan Lavelle, John Quanrud, Julian D. Richards, Else Roesdahl, and Søren Sindbæk. I would also like to thank Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher for allowing me to join her excavation of Le Château Ganne in Normandy, providing much-needed excavation experience. The research trip led to some new lines of enquiry that commenced upon my return, and Martin Allen, Florent Audy, Spencer Bailey, Lesley Collett, James Graham-Campbell, Richard Hoggett, Judith Jesch, David Knight, Ryan Lavelle, Bernard Muir, Julian D. Richards, Søren Sindbæk, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, and Gordon Young all provided beneficial advice via email, and in some instances also sent me articles. Their quick responses helped to greatly reduce the impact of the tyranny of distance.

Writing a thesis can be an isolating experience, and to help Kate Riley, Margaret Dorey, and Joanne McEwan at UWA were always ready to accompany me for lunch or coffee when I needed a break. I would also like to thank Stephanie Tarbin for her advice on numerous occasions, and to Andrew Lynch for his suggestions regarding Anglo-Saxon literature and his help with Old English. This thesis would have been impossible without the help of the staff at the Reid Library, UWA, and their ability to quickly procure me a book or

article no matter how obscure. I had the luxury of being a full-time student with no financial concerns due to an Australian Postgraduate Award and a Jean Rogerson Postgraduate Top-Up Scholarship. Needless to say, this thesis would have taken far longer without this financial assistance.

There are many people outside of academia who need to be thanked. In England, Alex, Fredrik, and Egil allowed me to borrow their London flat, and Joanna, Ivan, and Rosie for indulging me with trips to Sutton Hoo and Alfred's defences at Wallingford. In Australia, Heather for continuing friendship and support, my family for trying to understand my impractical decision to study medieval history, and Antoinette for encouraging me to complete an MA at Uppsala, an experience without which this thesis would not have eventuated. It was at Uppsala that I also met Aurore, who has not only drawn the maps contained herein, but has been with me providing encouragement throughout the thesis.

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Abbreviations

AB – *Annals of St-Bertin*, trans., Janet Nelson.

AF – *Annals of Fulda*, trans., Timothy Reuter.

ASC – *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans., Michael Swanton; & ed. Janet Bately.

AU – *Annals of Ulster*, ed. & trans., Seán Mac Airt & Gearóid Mac Niocaill.

EHD – *English Historical Documents* I, c. 500-1042, ed. & trans., Dorothy Whitelock.

LDE – *Libellus de Exordio et Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie*, ed. & trans., David Rollason.

HR – *Historia Regum*, ed., Thomas Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, pp. 3-283.

HSC – *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. & trans., Ted Johnson South.

Chapter 1: Sources and Problems

‘And then in harvest-time the raiding army went into the land of Mercia, and some of it they divided up and some they granted to Ceolwulf’.¹

As with many accounts, both primary and secondary, of the Norse migration to England in the second half of the ninth century, this entry for the year 877 leaves a number of intriguing questions unanswered. Though it shows that at some point a decision was made by some of the army to settle into their recently won territory,² and that arrangements and interactions were under way with the local Anglo-Saxon population (in this case the client king Ceolwulf II),³ the annal fails to provide much of the detailed information historians want to know. Who made up the raiding army? Where did they originate? Had they come to England intending to settle? Were other Norse, including women and children, present? Few details are provided on the nature of the land taking, or what happened to the existing Anglo-Saxon population, and what the status of Ceolwulf and his land grant was in relation to the newly settled Norse. Nor can we tell, from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC), how and to what extent the processes of cultural integration occurred between the Norse and Anglo-Saxons during the first generation of settlers.

Despite the members of the great army being the first recorded Norse to successfully conquer and then settle in parts of England there has been no substantial work focussing primarily on this particular group. Instead scholars tend to concentrate on the state of the Norse settlements in the early to mid tenth century and beyond, leaving a gap in scholarship that this thesis will begin to redress.

¹ Translation taken from: Michael Swanton, trans & ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (Phoenix Press, London, 2000), annal for 877, p. 74. *Ɔa on hærƆeste gefor se here on Miercna lond 7 hit gedeldon sum 7 sum Ceolwulfe saldon.* Original text available in: Janet Bately, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition. Volume 3 MS A* (D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1986), 877, p. 50. The ‘A’ text will be used unless otherwise indicated.

² Mercia had been conquered in 874, Swanton, ASC, 874, p. 72.

³ Individuals named in the sources will generally have their names given in conventional English form, as they mostly appear in current scholarly usage. For example Old English (OE) Ælfred will be given as Alfred, OE Inwære/Old Norse (ON) Ívarr will be given as Ivar, ON Óðin and Þor as Odin and Thor, and ON Auðr/Unn will be given as Aud.

The thesis concentrates on the period from 865 when the great army arrived in England, to 900, a year after the death of king Alfred of Wessex⁴ and a decade after the death of Guthrum, the first Norse king of East Anglia.⁵ By focussing on these thirty-five years my aim is to encompass the likely lifetime of the members of the great army and other early settlers who may have followed them. In concentrating on the early conquest and settlement phase of the Norse in England, and with reference to comparative material from the Scandinavian homelands and other areas of Norse settlement, I hope that new insights into this period of extreme culture contact and acculturation may be achieved, answering some of these long-standing questions.

One aspect of the ninth-century settlement that has been extensively discussed is the number of Norse involved in the conquests and settlements.⁶ More recently, however, a scholarly consensus has been reached that the debate on numbers is unproductive and that new questions must be addressed. This thesis builds upon that recent scholarship to focus on the processes of settlement and acculturation of the first generation of Norse immigrants. The sources will be approached through a rigorous application of migration theory. This in turn raises more precise questions and suggests new areas of examination. In addition, this method tests the validity of migration theory when applied to the analysis of proto-historic migration episodes.

Before reviewing recent scholarly debate and the evidence which is of most use to this thesis, it is first necessary to define the terms to be used herein.

Terminology

In a work dealing largely with culture contact it is necessary that the participants in that contact and the regions involved are as clearly defined as possible. On the eve of the time period covered by this thesis modern-day England comprised four competing Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex.⁷ ‘Anglo-Saxons’ will be used to

⁴ Swanton, *ASC*, 901, p. 91. For the occasional discrepancy between calendar years and *ASC* entries see fn. 20 below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 890, p. 82.

⁶ The scholarship will be dealt with below.

⁷ The boundaries of these kingdoms were fluid and are impossible to define accurately, leading many scholars to place the names of the kingdoms in their heartland on a map without actually providing outer boundaries; see for example Simon Keynes & Michael Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great. Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' And Other Contemporary Sources* (Penguin Books, London, 1983), Map 1, p. 59; Julian D. Richards, *Viking Age England*, Revised Edition (Tempus, Stroud, 2000), Map 3, p. 36; and Dawn M. Hadley, *The Vikings In*

encompass all of those living within the kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia and Wessex at the times of the Norse invasions regardless of the genetic make-up of individuals within those kingdoms, as they appear to have been predominantly speaking Old English (OE) and using Anglo-Saxon material culture.⁸ ‘England’ will be used to speak of the supra-regional area made up of the four kingdoms, even though it did not then exist as a unified political entity. It is important to note that the Anglo-Saxon population were more likely to have a sense of allegiance to whichever kingdom they were living in, and to even smaller regional identities, than to ‘England’ and the ‘English’.⁹ The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were often at war and competing for dominance. A pertinent example of this is that during the campaign of the great army there is only a single reported incident when the armies of two kingdoms combined to face their common foe, when the army of Wessex joined that of Mercia in the inconclusive siege of the great army at Nottingham in 867-8.¹⁰ In all other years of the campaign there is no record of help being provided to a kingdom from one of its Anglo-Saxon neighbours when facing the great army, including the occasions after 868 when either Wessex or Mercia were invaded.

The main non-English group to be discussed in this thesis are the members of the great army, the most common rendering of the OE *micel here* found in the *ASC* entry for 866.¹¹ The term was no doubt a convenient label used by the chronicler to identify their enemy, presumably signifying that it was larger than the recent Norse armies mentioned in the *ASC*. However the use of ‘great army’ in this thesis does not indicate that I consider the army to have had a consistent membership, and indeed the *ASC* provides examples of

England. Settlement, Society and Culture (University of Manchester Press, 2006), which includes no political maps at all. Likewise my map of England c. 865-880 (Map 1, p. 12) does not include political boundaries.

⁸ An exception to this may have been Cornwall, see Lyn Olson, ‘The absorption of Cornwall into Anglo-Saxon England’, in P. O’Neill, ed., *Between Intrusions: Britain and Ireland between the Romans and the Normans* (Celtic Studies Foundation, Sydney, 2004), pp. 94-102. For an outline of the genetics (based on samples of the modern-day population) see Bryan Sykes, *Blood Of The Isles: Exploring the genetic roots of our tribal history* (Bantam Press, London, 2006), pp. 281-7. Some problems with using this work will be discussed below. For an overview of Anglo-Saxon culture see James Campbell, ed., *The Anglo-Saxons* (Penguin, London, 1991).

⁹ Some evidence of regional differences amongst the Anglo-Saxon population is discussed in Hadley, *The Vikings In England*, pp. 246-50.

¹⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 868, p. 68.

¹¹ Bately, *ASC*, 866, p. 47. The term also appears (*micle here*) in 875, whilst *micel sumorlida* (great summer-fleet) is used in 871, *Ibid*, pp.

groups, including leaders, both leaving and joining the army.¹² The *ASC* actually makes reference to more than one army at times, with a *micel sumorlida* (great summer-fleet) and *sciphere* (ship-army) also being mentioned.¹³ However these armies worked in tandem with the land army and can be seen as part of the same great army. Therefore I consider the great army to have been a co-ordinated composite force made up of a number of smaller groups, each with a leader accompanied by lesser nobles, who also brought their own followers.¹⁴ As Angela Redmond notes, members of the army are likely to have originated from various regions of Norse activity, and therefore the members of the army should not be thought of as a culturally homogenous group.¹⁵ The terms used in the *ASC*, especially ‘Dane’, demonstrate that the chronicler considered the army to have been predominantly made up of people whom I will term ‘Norse’.¹⁶ A second army, also referred to as a ‘great army’ in the *ASC*, which campaigned from 892-6 will be referred to as the ‘890s army’ to avoid confusion with the earlier army.¹⁷

Despite the evidence that the groups that made up the great army worked in tandem during the campaign it should not be assumed that this sense of unity continued after settlement. The Norse either settled into existing political entities or created new ones, and the evidence suggests that at times the priorities of the separate settlement areas were of more importance than any sense of Norse identity and shared beginnings.¹⁸ As a similar situation seems to have existed for the local Anglo-Saxon population the process of culture contact should not be thought of as occurring between two distinct groups over a wide geographical area, but of a series of different groups of Old Norse (ON) and OE speakers in a variety of different localities. The results of this contact varied to a lesser or greater extent

¹²Swanton, *ASC*, 871, p. 72; 875, pp. 72-4; 878, pp. 74-6; 879, p.76.

¹³ Bately, *ASC*, 871, 877, 878, pp. 48 & 50.

¹⁴ Cf. Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Longman, London, 1998), p. 113; Ryan Lavelle, ‘Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking and Peace Agreements in Anglo-Saxon England’, in D. Wolfthal, ed., *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 4 (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 41.

¹⁵ Angela Z. Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England. A Study of Contact, Interaction and Reaction between Scandinavian Migrants with Resident Groups, and the effect of Immigration on Aspects of Cultural Continuity*. BAR British Series 429 (BAR, Oxford, 2007), pp. 62-3.

¹⁶ My reasons for using this term will be given below.

¹⁷ For its campaign see Swanton, *ASC*, 893-7, pp. 84-9.

¹⁸ The possible results of this can be seen in the conquest of East Anglia and Norse Mercia by Edward the Elder of Wessex and Æthelred and Æthelflæd of Anglo-Saxon Mercia when little co-ordinated Norse defence appears to have occurred, mirroring the earlier conquest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by the great army. See Swanton, *ASC*, 913-924, pp. 96-104

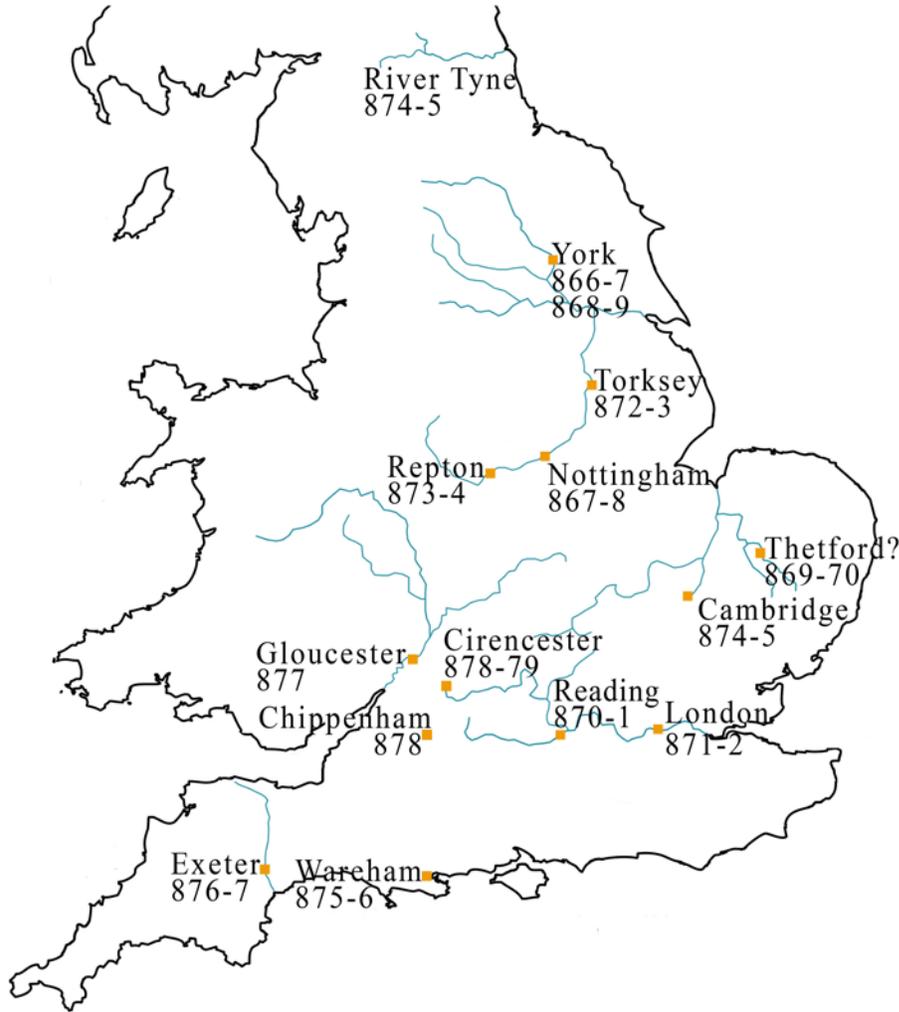
from location to location, as evidenced by for example, by the art motifs used on stone sculpture and coinage.¹⁹

The annual movements of the great army during its years of campaign and conquest are well documented in the *ASC* and therefore they will not be discussed in detail in this work except in instances where they were directly related to the conquest or settlement of a kingdom. Similarly the military aspects of the campaign, for example battle tactics and supply logistics, also fall outside the scope of this work. However a brief overview of the campaign will be provided as background to the conquests and settlements. According to the *ASC* the great army arrived in East Anglia towards the end of 865²⁰ and spent the winter there before moving to Northumbria in late 866, capturing York. In 867 it moved to Nottingham in Mercia where the armies of Wessex and Mercia combined to besiege the Norse but no battle was fought. The great army returned to York in 868. A year later it moved to Thetford in East Anglia and conquered that kingdom. In 870 the army moved to Reading in Wessex where it fought a number of battles against Wessex and was reinforced by another army before moving to London, in Mercia, at the end of 871. The army returned to Northumbria the following year before spending the winter at Torksey in Lindsey, northern Mercia. This was followed by a move to Repton in central Mercia and the conquest of that kingdom. In 874 the army divided in two, some of its members basing themselves on the River Tyne in Northumbria and the rest moving to Cambridge. In 875 the army in the south went to Wareham in Wessex before moving to Exeter, also in Wessex in 876, while the army in the north settled in Northumbria. In 877 the remaining army left Wessex and some of its members settled eastern Mercia. The remainder returned to Wessex in 878 and were initially successful in their conquest before being defeated and retiring to

¹⁹ For overviews see: Michael Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin* (The Trustees of the British Museum, 1965); and Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (Collins, London, 1980). A specific discussion of differences in sculpture from one area of Norse settlements is David Stocker and Paul Everson, 'Five towns funerals: decoding diversity in Danelaw stone sculpture' in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch & D. N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw. Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress* (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2001), pp. 223-43.

²⁰ This is entered under 866 as at this time the *ASC* year begins on September 24. Except for the move to Wessex in 878 the great army moved towards the end of the year, probably after harvest, resulting in the initial part of each entry being given in the wrong year from a modern perspective. For the dates of the *ASC* entries during the Great Armies campaign see: M.L.R. Beaven, 'The Beginning of the Year in the Alfredian Chronicle (866-7)', *English Historical Review* Vol. 33 (1918), pp. 328-42. The *ASC* reference will be given as the year listed in the chronicle, but in my text the actual calendar year will be used. Swanton's translation is useful in this regard as it marks this difference.

Chippenham in Wessex, moving to Gloucester in Mercia in late 878 and finally settling in East Anglia a year later.²¹ This series of campaigns marks the beginning of direct culture contact between members of the great army and Anglo-Saxons, although it is possible that some individual members of the army had had previous experiences in England.



Map 1: Great army winter camps named in the ASC.

Over the years scholarship has seen changes in the term used to describe the raiders and settlers who originated from the Scandinavian homelands. Earlier scholars employed national terms based on the present-day nations of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the term ‘Dane’ continues to be used by some scholars describing the great army, possibly

²¹ Swanton, *ASC*, 866-880, pp. 68-76. For the winter camps see Map 1.

because this is a term sometimes used in the *ASC*.²² There are some problems with such nationalistic labels however, not least of which is the fact that the Scandinavian nations as we know them today did not exist in the time period covered by this thesis. There is also the issue of whether an Anglo-Saxon scribe using the term ‘Dane’ meant people from what today we would call Denmark, and if we have any reliable evidence that supports the notion that the great army was predominantly made up of such people.

The word ‘viking’ (ON *vikingr*) is found in runic inscriptions from the Scandinavian homelands,²³ as well as in Anglo-Saxon primary sources (OE *wicinga*).²⁴ Appearing first in Anglo-Saxon glossaries of the 8th century, works from before the time of Norse raids and settlement in England, the word may be Anglo-Frisian in origin²⁵ and was not originally used to refer specifically to those from the Scandinavian homelands but to sea pirates in general.²⁶ The history of the word makes its modern use somewhat inappropriate. As a scholarly term ‘Vikings’ (usually capitalised) was originally used by researchers in the nineteenth century²⁷ and became increasingly common from the 1960s following the publication of Peter Sawyer’s *The Age of the Vikings*.²⁸ The term avoids the problem of identifying past peoples with modern-day nations, and continues to be used today, both in academic papers and works aimed at a general audience.²⁹ Yet it is also problematic, especially as it is often used to describe all of the peoples of Scandinavia and Iceland from c. 790-1100. Although it occasionally occurs in the primary written sources (almost always with lower-case ‘v’), it usually specified those involved in the dramatic

²² See for example: F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 240-69, 320-52; Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 2nd edition, S.M. Margeson & K. Williams, trans. (Penguin, London, 1998), p. 236; Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 34-8.

²³ For example in runic inscriptions: see inscription DR 216 \$, at Samnordisk runtextdatabas. URL: www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm [accessed May 28, 2010]. For a concise overview of the use of viking/ vikingr in the Scandinavian homelands see Margaret Clunies Ross, ‘Did the Vikings have Enemies?’, in K.L. Burge, ed., *Vikings and their Enemies: Proceedings of a Symposium held in Melbourne, 24 November 2007* (Viking Research Network, Melbourne, 2008), pp. 30-1.

²⁴ See for example Bately, *ASC*, 879, p. 51.

²⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary* XIX, Second Edition (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989), p. 628.

²⁶ Joseph Bosworth & T. Northcote Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 1898), p. 1214. Available online at: <http://beowulf.engl.uky.edu/~kiernan/BT/bosworth.htm>

²⁷ See for example: Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and its results* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1867-79), vol. I, p. 165.

²⁸ Peter H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (Arnold, London, 1962). Janet L. Nelson, *Sir Frank Stenton and the Vikings* (University of Reading, 2005), p. 20.

²⁹ For an example of the former see Anthony Faulkes, ‘The Viking Mind or In Pursuit Of The Viking’, in *Saga-Book XXXI* (2007), and of the latter see Richard Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings* (Thames & Hudson, London, 2007).

activities of piracy and raiding: I therefore consider it inappropriate to use ‘Viking’ as a blanket term which includes those involved in peaceful activities like trading, farming, and child-rearing, as well as to the large proportion of those who never ventured outside of the Scandinavian homelands to raid. There is also the added complication that the ‘Vikings’ have a strong image in the popular consciousness and the attributes of this image may not be intended when the term is used by scholars. ‘Vikings’ then can be seen to be as problematic a term as ‘Danes’, ‘Norwegians’ and ‘Swedes’, and has the added disadvantage of imprecision.

Recently scholars have begun commonly to use the term ‘Scandinavian’, a more appropriate choice than ‘Viking’ as it can easily encompass both those engaging in various activities abroad and those remaining at home, and is a less exclusive term than ‘Danes’, ‘Norwegians’ and ‘Swedes’.³⁰ However this term is also misleading as scholars rarely intend by it all peoples living in Scandinavia during the period, with those described by Ohthere as living in the north of Scandinavia, including the Saami, generally excluded.³¹ An added problem is the frequent misconception that Finland and Iceland are part of Scandinavia.

In this thesis these problems with definitions will be lessened by employing the term ‘Norse’ to refer to all Norse-speaking peoples, rather than attempting to make a geographical definition.³² This term encompasses all ON speaking peoples of the Scandinavian homelands, plus other colonies, but excludes the non-ON speaking peoples living in Scandinavia. It does not necessarily mean that some Norse-speakers were not fluent in other languages, or that all of those speaking ON were biologically Norse. Indeed, it is possible that some of those labelled here as Norse did not learn ON as their primary language. A pertinent example may be isotope analysis of the teeth of four male warriors

³⁰ Nelson, *Sir Frank Stenton and the Vikings*, p. 22.

³¹ For the text see Janet Bately, ed. & trans., ‘Ohthere’s report. Text and close translation’, pp. 44-7, in J. Bately & A. Englert, eds., *Ohthere’s Voyages: A late 9th-century account of voyages along the coasts of Norway and Denmark and its cultural context*. Maritime Culture of the North 1 (Roskilde: The Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde, 2007). For comment on the groups in northern Scandinavia mentioned by Ohthere see Irmeli Valtonen, ‘Who were the Finnas?’ and ‘Who were the Cwenas?’, in Bately & Englert, eds., *Ohthere’s Voyages*, pp. 106-9; and Irmeli Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius: A Geographical Narrative in Context*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki LXXIII (Société Néophilologique, Helsinki, 2008), pp. 356-402.

³² However it should be noted that some linguists employ the term ‘Scandinavian’ rather than ‘Old Norse’ when referring to ON, for example J. Hines, ‘Scandinavian English: a Creole in Context’, in P.S. Ureland & G. Broderick, eds., *Language Contact in the British Isles* (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 403-27.

probably associated with the *longphort* at Dublin in the mid-ninth century. The analysis revealed that two had grown up in the Scandinavian homelands but the other two had probably spent their childhoods somewhere in Scotland's Western Isles or Orkney or Shetland, but possibly earlier than there is evidence for Norse settlement in those islands.³³ This raises the possibility that not all of those who adopted aspects of Norse culture and/or were buried in Norse style³⁴ were necessarily genetically Norse, and that binary definitions of Norse and non-Norse fail to do justice to what was a more complex period of 'ethnic convergence'.³⁵ Consequently the great army and early settlers probably included non-biologically Norse elements.³⁶ As Martin Evison notes, 'biology and culture cannot simply be equated'.³⁷ Although equating ethnicity with material culture is problematic, the arrival in England of artefacts that have parallels in other regions of Norse settlement, as well as the use of ON place and personal names, supports the written reports of Norse settlement.³⁸ Even one of the more cautious scholars on questions of Norse ethnicity has stated that 'there seems little reason to doubt that the burials with elaborate assemblages of grave goods, and certainly cremations, are those of the newcomers'.³⁹ Therefore individuals who demonstrate aspects of Norse culture, for example were buried in a manner different to the local population, or wore items considered to be culturally Norse such as oval brooches or Thor's hammers, will be considered 'Norse'.

³³ Linzi Simpson, 'Viking warrior burials: is this the longphort?', in S. Duffy, ed., *Medieval Dublin VI. Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2004* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2005), pp. 50-3; & Linzi Simpson, 'The first phase of Viking activity in Ireland: archaeological evidence from Dublin', in J. Sheehan & D. Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Viking Congress, Cork, 18-27 August 2005* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), p. 427 for a more cautionary approach to the dating evidence.

³⁴ In the Dublin example three of the four were buried with weapons, *Ibid.*

³⁵ David Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea: Conflict and Assimilation AD 790-1050* (The History Press, Stroud, 2010), p. 37.

³⁶ Julian D. Richards, 'Identifying Anglo-Scandinavian Settlements', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 2 (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 303. The possible non-Norse elements of the great army will be discussed further in chapter 3.

³⁷ Martin Paul Evison, 'All in the Genes? Evaluating the Biological Evidence of Contact and Migration', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 290.

³⁸ For the issue of culture and ethnicity as it pertains to the Norse in England, see Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 60-1.

³⁹ Dawn M. Hadley, 'Ethnicity and Identity in Context: The Material Culture of Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in V. Gazeau, P. Bauduin, & Y. Modéran, eds., *Identité et Ethnicité: Concepts, débats historiographiques, exemples (III-XII siècle)* Tables rondes du CRAHM 3 (CRAHM, Caen, 2008), p. 169.

‘Norse’ has the advantage of complementing the commonly employed term ‘Hiberno-Norse’, used to describe the Norse settlers and their often mixed-race descendants of the Scottish Isles, the Isle of Man, and Ireland, some of whom were also involved in the English settlement. ‘Norse’ is also often used by scholars when discussing the ‘Old Norse religion’, culture and literature.⁴⁰ Although ‘Norse’ has been used in some Anglophone works to mean specifically Norwegians, this is not the way it will be used in this thesis.⁴¹ Despite these problems ‘Norse’ remains the best term available. With regard to members of the great army ‘Norse’ will be used for those engaged in the campaigns in England and to the initial settlers, but ‘Anglo-Norse’, rather than the more common ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’, for subsequent generations and the evolving hybrid material culture.⁴²

The Norse settlement area is often referred to as the ‘Danelaw’ but this term will not be used in this thesis. The ‘Danelaw’ (*Deone/Dena lage*) is first referred to in the laws known as ‘Edward and Guthrum’, dating to the early eleventh century, long after the period with which this thesis is concerned.⁴³ As well as being anachronistic, the term is often used to include all of the Norse-settled areas in England, some of which were settled during the tenth century, rather than the initial settlement area up to 900. So although its southern boundary is usually given as the one established by kings Alfred and Guthrum during the early settlement period, ‘Danelaw’ can be taken to mean all of northern and eastern England, a greater geographical area than that covered by this thesis.⁴⁴ Consequently the more cumbersome but correct term ‘early Norse settlement area’ will be used.

⁴⁰ See for example Rory McTurk, ed., *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* (Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2005); Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert, Catharina Raudvere, eds., *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes, and Interactions* (Nordic Academic Press, Lund, 2006).

⁴¹ As for example the Index of F. Donald Logan, *The Vikings in History*, 3rd ed. (Routledge, New York, 2005), p. 200, where ‘Norse’ is used to mean Norwegian, with the Index also featuring ‘Danes’ (p. 195) and ‘Swedes’ (p. 203).

⁴² A detailed discussion of the Anglo-Norse hybrid culture is to be found in Shannon M. Lewis-Simpson, *Strangers in strange lands: colonisation and multiculturalism in the age of Scandinavian expansion*. Unpublished dissertation thesis (University of York, 2005), pp. 58-180.

⁴³ A parallel text version of the laws can be found in F.L. Attenborough, ed. & trans., *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Russell & Russell Inc., New York, 1963), pp. 102-9. For the dating of the laws see Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan and the so-called laws of Edward and Guthrum’, in *The English Historical Review* 56 (London, 1941), pp. 18-19.

⁴⁴ For an article discussing exactly what the Danelaw was, see Katherine Holman, ‘Defining the Danelaw’, in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch & D. N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2001), pp. 2-11.



Map 2: The Norse World (excluding the North Atlantic and European Russia) with some of the central places mentioned in this thesis.

The two other geographical areas that are important to this study are Ireland and Frisia. As with England, ‘Ireland’ will be used for the geographical entity although it was not politically unified. Similarly ‘Irish’ will be used to refer to all of the non-Norse speaking people living in Ireland during the ninth century, regardless of which individual kingdom or principality they were living in. Frisia was an area along the coastal strip of present day Germany and the Netherlands. Although this area belonged to Francia during the ninth century it also retained its status as a distinct geographical entity,⁴⁵ and ‘Frisians’ will be used to refer to those living in that area and speaking the Frisian language. Parts of Ireland and Frisia belonged to the ‘Norse world’, by which I mean those areas in which the Norse lived during the ninth century. As well as the Scandinavian homelands, parts of Ireland and Frisia, the Norse world also included Scotland’s Western Isles, Orkney,

⁴⁵ For example see the use of ‘Frisia’ in the Frankish annals of this period.

Shetland and parts of the Scottish mainland, Iceland, Greenland, the Faeroes, Baltic Europe, European Russia, and the parts of England settled by the Norse being examined in this thesis.

Recent trends in scholarly debate

When published in 1947 Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* in many respects represented a culmination of the scholarship of the preceding century.⁴⁶ One of the big innovations of Stenton's work was the incorporation of place-names into the primary written sources. The large number of place-names influenced by ON in part resulted in his suggestion, also common to most previous scholars, that the great army was numerically large and that further migration must have also occurred.⁴⁷ This suggestion was initially questioned by R.H.C. Davis in 1955 and then seriously challenged by Peter Sawyer in 1957.⁴⁸ The debate over numbers largely dominated studies of the Scandinavian impact on England for the following half century. The debate involves all the available evidence and as such may have proved more difficult than usual to resolve as no single scholar is able to master all of the relevant disciplines, especially with the recent addition of genetic evidence to the debate. This difficulty results in a tendency for scholars to favour the evidence from their own discipline.⁴⁹ To summarise briefly: the primary written sources say that the great army was indeed numerically great, and occasionally provides figures to this end.⁵⁰ However Sawyer argued that such figures are at best based on estimates, and that the enemies of the Vikings were likely to exaggerate.⁵¹ The primary written sources give no indication of how many Norse settled in the conquered territories, yet the large number of

⁴⁶ The revised 3rd edition (1971) will be used.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 502-25.

⁴⁸ R.H.C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 5 (1955), pp. 29-30; Peter H. Sawyer, 'The Density of the Danish Settlement in England', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* VI (1957-8), pp. 1-17, in which he argued that a Viking army would only number a few hundred men (p. 5). Revised to 'not greater than 1000 men' in Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, p. 125.

⁴⁹ Although this is changing as many scholars are now trained in more than one discipline, especially both archaeology and history, but the problem remains in other areas, particularly the recent use of DNA and isotope evidence.

⁵⁰ 'many thousands of killed' at the battle of Ashdown, Swanton, *ASC*, 871, p. 70; 840 men killed after landing in 23 ships in Devon, *Ibid.*, 878, p. 76.

⁵¹ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, pp. 120-7; P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed. (Edward Arnold, London, 1971), pp. 120-31. For a strong argument against Sawyer based on the military campaign of the great army and the similarity of numbers in other primary sources see N.P. Brooks, 'England in the Ninth Century: The Crucible of Defeat', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979), pp. 1-20.

Norse place-names in northern and eastern England as well as the influence of ON on the English language has led some scholars to argue that this could not have happened without large numbers of settlers, so even if the great army was numerically small then a large number of settlers must have followed in their wake.⁵² Although the number of Norse-influenced place-names in the settlement areas is indeed significant, their importance has been somewhat mitigated by the fact that most of these names are first recorded centuries after the initial settlements.⁵³ Those who doubt that large numbers were involved in the conquest and settlement are also assisted by the archaeological evidence, being able to point to the relative paucity of Norse burials⁵⁴ and the absence of any certain Norse settlements.⁵⁵ More recently there has been a frustration expressed at the emphasis placed on the question of numbers, which can be seen as leading nowhere and curtailing more fruitful avenues of investigation.⁵⁶ To this end many recent works do not try to suggest a number for either the great army or settlers.⁵⁷ Recently the hybrid Anglo-Norse culture that developed in the settlement areas has been seen as evidence of a large number of Norse settlers, perhaps in equal numbers to the Anglo-Saxon population in the settlement areas. As a possible sign of the new ‘correct position’ on the numbers question, this interesting notion, which could be seen as an argument in favour of settlers in similar proportions

⁵² This has been most comprehensively argued by Kenneth Cameron in three studies of the Five Boroughs: *Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence*, Inaugural lecture (University of Nottingham, Nottingham, 1965); ‘Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence, part II, place-names in thorp’, *Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (1970), 35-49; and ‘Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence, part III, the Grimston-hybrids’, in P. Clemoes & K. Hughes, eds., *England Before the Conquest: studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 147-63.

⁵³ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, pp. 154-6.

⁵⁴ Julian D. Richards, ‘The case of the Missing Vikings: Scandinavian Burial in the Danelaw’, in Sam Lucy & Andrew Reynolds, eds., *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (The Society for Medieval Archaeology, London, 2002), pp. 156-70.

⁵⁵ Julian D. Richards, ‘Finding the Vikings: the search for Anglo-Scandinavian rural settlement in the northern Danelaw’, in J. Graham-Campbell, R.A. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw*, pp. 269-278. For an overview of the numbers debate see: Katherine Holman, *The Northern Conquest. Vikings in Britain and Ireland* (Signal Books, Oxford, 2007), pp. 60-9.

⁵⁶ Hadley, *The Vikings In England*, p. 4; Simon Trafford, ‘Ethnicity, migration theory and the historiography of the Scandinavian settlement of England’, in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 19. For a survey of the debate see D.M. Hadley, ‘“And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves”: the Scandinavian settlement of England’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19 (1997), pp. 69-96.

⁵⁷ Hadley, *The Vikings In England*; Richards, *Viking Age England*. Simon Keynes, ‘The Vikings in England, c.790-1016’, in P.H. Sawyer, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 48-82 does not even mention numbers or the debate.

envisaged by Stenton, comes after a reiteration of the new orthodoxy that the numbers debate 'is not a fruitful avenue of research'.⁵⁸

Whilst the possible size of the great army and number of settlers will not be directly tackled in this thesis, it is hardly possible for scholars working in the field not to have an opinion on the matter and I believe that it is simpler to state my own view openly rather than avoid the issue. As the preceding discussion makes clear, the debate over numbers remains unresolved and proponents of both positions are able to muster strong arguments to support their case, so this personal position is based on which argument I find more convincing. I consider Else Roesdahl's estimate of a great army numbering 2-3000 to be reasonable.⁵⁹ In 878 the ASC records that 840 men were killed in Devon after landing in 23 ships.⁶⁰ This gives approximately 36.5 men per ship, a figure compatible with the 32 oarsmen of the Gokstad ship built in the late ninth century.⁶¹ If 840 men (or even half this number if we allow for exaggeration) could land in Devon at the same time as the land arm of the great army had driven Alfred of Wessex into hiding and after other members of the great army had already returned to Northumbria and eastern Mercia to settle, then it suggests a large force prior to 874 when fragmentation began. That the term *micel* (great) is not used by the chronicler to describe the army that landed in Devon adds to this impression. Believing in a (relatively) numerically large great army I obviously also consider it likely that there were a large number of settlers. Although the place-name evidence is not conclusive of early settlement, I do find the strong correspondence of the Norse-influenced place-names to the areas conquered and settled by members of the great army very suggestive.⁶² If the great army was large and the majority of its members settled in England then it does not necessarily follow that a substantial subsequent migration was needed to produce the large number of Norse-influenced place-names. The ASC mentions further settlers in the wake of attacks by a second great army in the 890s,⁶³ and it is more than possible that other migrants arrived that are not recorded in the ASC. But these additional migrations need not have been large.

⁵⁸ Lewis-Simpson, *Strangers in strange lands*, p. 313.

⁵⁹ Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, p. 234.

⁶⁰ Swanton, ASC, 878, p. 76.

⁶¹ Anders Hagen, *The Viking Ship Finds* (Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo, 1969), p. 22.

⁶² For a map of Norse place-names see *Britain Before the Norman Conquest* (Ordnance Survey, Southampton, 1973).

⁶³ Swanton, ASC, 897, p. 89.

With the debate over numbers no longer dominating scholarship, a qualitative rather than quantitative method is often used, as I will employ for the ninth century. Perhaps the most fruitful approach is the examination of the evidence of contact between the local population and the Norse incomers.

There have been several theoretical shifts in the use of the archaeological evidence which has also impacted on the study of the Norse in England. Many early archaeologists, largely focussing on compiling lists of artefacts, followed a normative cultural-historical approach whereby cultural groups, often thought to be the same as racial groups, could be tracked by searching for their material culture, thereby providing material evidence for the invasions mentioned in early written sources.⁶⁴ From the 1960s practitioners of processual or 'New Archaeology' became reluctant to ascribe changes in the cultural record to a large migration of new-comers, instead preferring to account for such changes through cultural diffusion and trade.⁶⁵ Now a post-processual or interpretive approach, which focuses on symbolism and structure, is usually adopted, whereby changes in material culture are seen as the result of changes within society. This method acknowledges that material culture is actively used by people, allowing one group of people to adopt aspects of the culture of another.⁶⁶ For example, Anglo-Saxons could adapt aspects of Norse culture after the Norse settlements, and vice versa, making it impossible to identify an individual by their material remains. Yet such an approach can have the effect of lessening the impact that new settlers

⁶⁴ For a summary of this approach see Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1999), pp. 15-20. It is possible that aspects of this may return if the technology that allows people migrations to be studied through the chemical analysis of human bone proves successful and is widely adopted. For example see: J. Montgomery, P. Budd & J. Evans, 'Reconstructing lifetime movements of ancient people: a Neolithic case study from southern England', *European Journal of Archaeology* 3 (2000), pp. 407-22.

⁶⁵ For an overview of the debate see David W. Anthony, 'Migration in Archaeology: the baby and the bathwater', *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990), pp. 895-914; passim 'The bath refilled: Migration in Archaeology again', *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992), pp. 174-6; & Stefan Burmeister, 'Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration', *Current Anthropology* 41.4 (2000), pp. 539-553.

⁶⁶ See T. Champion, 'Theoretical archaeology in Britain', in I. Hodder, ed. *Archaeological Theory in Europe: The Last Three Decades* (Routledge, London, 1991), pp. 129-60; I. Hodder, *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (Unwin Hyman, London, 1989); Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, pp. 98-115; S. Jones, 'Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past', in P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones & C. Gamble, eds., *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (Routledge, London, 1996), pp. 62-80; Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds, 'Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales: Past, Present and Future', in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds, eds., *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (The Society for Medieval Archaeology, London, 2002), pp. 1-23.

may have had,⁶⁷ and an attempt will be made to redress this situation with the application of migration theory to a discussion of the early settlement period.

Instead of bemoaning the lack of Norse settlement sites there has been an effort to re-examine existing sites for evidence of Norse impact, including settlement re-organisation in the late ninth/early tenth century that may have been due to Norse migration.⁶⁸ It has also been quite clearly demonstrated, initially at excavations at the Winchester Old Minster and now at a number of sites across England, that Anglo-Saxon burials of the later ninth century were not as uniform as previously thought, with the result that some of the burials that were previously thought of as either ‘Norse’ or ‘Anglo-Saxon’ may need to be re-examined.⁶⁹ There is also now often an understandable reluctance to assign an individual ethnicity or religious beliefs based on the characteristics of their burial. However, despite such statements as ‘The use of burial customs as evidence for racial differentiation or religious belief has been firmly rejected’,⁷⁰ other scholars are not nearly so certain. Some continue to use ethnic labels when discussing different Norse invasions and settlements, including ‘Dane’ when discussing the great army and the early settlers.⁷¹ As the historical, archaeological, and linguistic record all point to a migration of culturally Norse groups, I will follow the same approach.⁷² Similarly, while some scholars continue to use burial evidence as an indicator of religious affiliation, they are often more cautious in their approach. The use of burial evidence is hardly surprising as it is often the clearest evidence available for religious change, or at least the adoption of a particular burial practice

⁶⁷ For the earlier Anglo-Saxon migrations the number of immigrants and their impact is largely dismissed in Francis Pryor, *Britain AD: A Quest for Arthur, England and the Anglo-Saxons* (Harper Collins, London, 2005). I am unaware of an example as extreme as this for the Norse migrations, but recent works on sculpture (James Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture vol. III, York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991)), and the Norse settlements (Hadley, *The Vikings in England*) tend to minimise the intrusive aspects of Norse migration in favour of the long-term continuity of culture.

⁶⁸ Richards, ‘Finding the Vikings’, pp. 269-78; Richards, ‘Identifying Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement’, pp. 295-309.

⁶⁹ B. Kjøbye-Biddle, ‘Dispersal or concentration: the disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years’, in S. Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead 100-1600* (Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 222-4; D.M. Hadley, ‘Burial Practices in Northern England in the Later Anglo-Saxon Period’, in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds, eds., *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (The Society for Medieval Archaeology, London, 2002), pp. 209-28.

⁷⁰ Ian Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: The rise of the Greek city-state* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 29.

⁷¹ See for example Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, p. 236; Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 34-8.

⁷² But with the use of the broader term ‘Norse’.

possibly associated with religious observance.⁷³ In England at this time it is almost impossible to be sure of any individual's personal faith, but we can at least identify, to some extent, those individuals who observed some of the public practices of christianity, such as east-west aligned burials in a churchyard.⁷⁴

The problems of determining ethnicity from material culture may in some instances be overcome with improved scientific techniques. Yet though DNA testing may one day prove invaluable, to date the data gained by analysis of archaeological human DNA from this period has been far from conclusive.⁷⁵ Archaeological human DNA from skeletal material has rarely been obtainable from Britain, 'and it is most unlikely that there will ever be a morphological or ancient DNA test to estimate – let alone determine – whether an individual skeleton is likely to have belonged to a Briton, Viking, or Anglo-Saxon'.⁷⁶ The work of Bryan Sykes and his team at Oxford University on the DNA profile of the current inhabitants of the British Isles helps in providing data on the genetic influence of different migrant groups, including the Norse, on the present population of Britain.⁷⁷ In the scope of this work the results of the British population for mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) and Y-chromosome DNA certainly suggest that Norse settlement occurred, but significant problems remain. mtDNA is inherited via the maternal line, and Y-chromosomal DNA via the paternal, so in principle a study of modern types can provide information about female and male migrants respectively.⁷⁸ DNA studies of the modern population have been particularly useful in contributing genetic evidence to the existing place-name, archaeological, and saga evidence for significant Norse involvement in the Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland.⁷⁹ Unfortunately the DNA evidence may not be as helpful for England

⁷³ For example on the Isle of Man, see: M. Cubbon, 'The archaeology of the Vikings in the Isle of Man', in C. Fell, P. Foote, J. Graham-Campbell, & R. Thomson, eds., *The Viking Age In The Isle Of Man: Select papers from The Ninth Viking Congress, Isle of Man, 4-14 July 1981* (Viking Society For Northern Research, London, 1983), pp. 13-26.

⁷⁴ For the sake of equality both 'christian' and 'pagan' will be spelt with an initial lower-case letter.

⁷⁵ Evison, 'All in the Genes?', pp. 277-94.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 288. Hopefully future advances in science will make it easier to retrieve verifiable genetic material from ancient skeletons without the sample suffering from modern contamination.

⁷⁷ An overview of the results and the historical context can be found in Sykes, *Blood Of The Isles*.

⁷⁸ See for example G. Passarino, G.L. Cavalleri, A.A. Lin, L.L. Cavalli-Sforza, A. Børresen-Dale, & P.A. Underhill, 'Different genetic components in the Norwegian population revealed by the analysis of mtDNA and Y chromosome polymorphisms', *European Journal of Human Genetics* 10 (2002), p. 521.

⁷⁹ For example James F. Wilson, Deborah A. Weiss, Martin Richards, Mark G. Thomas, Neil Bradman, & David B. Goldstein, 'Genetic evidence for different male and female roles during cultural transitions in the British Isles', *Proceedings of the National of Sciences of the United States of America* 98:9 (2001), pp. 5078-

as, due to their common place of origin, differentiating Anglo-Saxons, Norse and Normans on the basis of DNA is problematic, making it impossible to gauge accurately the genetic impact of these migrant groups.⁸⁰ There are also obviously problems with taking genetic evidence from a modern population and projecting the results back to assume that they represent events from a particular time in history: the DNA results inform us of the genetic makeup of the British population now, not in the ninth or any other previous century. Inferences about past populations drawn from the results of modern genetic sampling are complicated by such factors as post Viking Age immigration, and genetic drift, whereby changes in frequencies of mtDNA and Y-chromosome types occur due to variations in the number of offspring in the intervening generations.⁸¹ One solution to the problem of using genetic evidence from modern populations is to concentrate on Y-chromosome haplotypes and to select the modern sample based on surnames known to have existed in a region during the medieval period, but this has yet to be attempted in eastern England.⁸²

Another problem with the DNA evidence is that geneticists are rarely trained in disciplines such as history and archaeology where their findings are applied.⁸³ Furthermore, disagreements between geneticists about the interpretation of their data make it difficult for

83; S. Goodacre, A. Helgason, J. Nicholson, L. Southam, L. Ferguson, E. Hickey, E. Vega, K. Stefánsson, R. Ward & B. Sykes, 'Genetic evidence for a family-based Scandinavian settlement of Shetland and Orkney during the Viking periods', *Heredity* 95 (2005), pp. 129-35.

⁸⁰ Sykes, *Blood of the Isles*, p. 283. Despite this, Sykes found that most of this group of DNA occurs in the early Norse settlement area, so he suggests that most of it probably arrived in England through the Norse (Ibid). However some scholars have more confidence that this is possible, for example see Stephen Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British* (Constable & Robinson, London, 2006).

⁸¹ For some of the problems of interpreting genetic data see Colin Renfrew, 'From molecular genetics to archaeogenetics', *Proceedings of the National of Sciences of the United States of America* 98:9 (2001), pp. 4830-2. For the issue of later migration see Georgina R. Bowden, Patricia Balaesque, Turi E. King, Ziff Hansen, Andrew C. Lee, Giles Pergl-Wilson, Emma Hurley, Stephen J. Roberts, Patrick Waite, Judith Jesch, Abigail L. Jones, Mark G. Thomas, Stephen E. Harding, & Mark A. Jobling, 'Excavating Past Population Structures by Surname-Based Sampling: The Genetic Legacy of the Vikings in Northwest England', *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 25 (2008), pp. 301, 307. For genetic drift see Alon Keinan, James C. Mullikin, Nick Patterson, & David Reich, 'Measurement of the human allele frequency spectrum demonstrates greater genetic drift in East Asians than in Europeans', *Nature Genetics* 39 (2007), pp. 1251-5.

⁸² For the use of this approach in Northwest England see Bowden et al., 'Excavating Past Population Structures', pp. 301-9.

⁸³ See for example the complaint by Martin Nichols in Stephen Oppenheimer, 'Myths of British Ancestry Revisited', *Prospect*, 30th June 2007, Issue 135, <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2007/06/mythsofbritishancestryrevisited/> [accessed June 30, 2010].

scholars in other fields to utilise the evidence.⁸⁴ Consequently the DNA results are suggestive of Norse migration rather than conclusive.

However another scientific technique appears to offer more useable data from ancient burials. The analysis of stable strontium and oxygen isotopes found in human teeth allows scientists to determine, with varying degrees of precision, the area in which the individual buried had spent their childhood.⁸⁵ Therefore, unlike DNA analysis, it is able to recognise a first-generation migrant.⁸⁶ In the few instances in which testing has occurred it effectively removes the problem of trying to establish ethnicity or origin from burial assemblage or form, by which 'We cannot claim that an individual warrior in a grave came from Scandinavia'.⁸⁷ For example, Redmond noted that a male churchyard inhumation at Repton with a gold finger ring and five pennies of the 870s was more likely to be Anglo-Saxon than a member of the great army; however later isotope analysis found that he had spent his childhood outside of Britain.⁸⁸ Indeed, isotope analysis has already significantly increased the number of Norse burials from the pessimistic view of Guy Halsall in 2000 that from an archaeological perspective only the Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire, barrow cemetery, and perhaps grave 511 at Repton, Derbyshire, should be considered as Norse burials.⁸⁹ Although stable isotope analysis does not prove genetic identity, if an individual buried in England in a 'Norse' manner grew up in the Scandinavian homelands or an area known to have had Norse settlers it greatly increases the likelihood of them having been both genetically and culturally Norse. Like any new technique there are problems associated with isotope analysis, for example a heavy marine diet can affect results, and

⁸⁴ See for example the dismissing of the work done by 'several genetics teams associated with University College London' in Stephen Oppenheimer, 'Myths of British Ancestry', *Prospect*, 21st October 2006, Issue 127, <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2006/10/mythsofbritishancestry/> [accessed July 8, 2010].

⁸⁵ For the science and its application see Paul Budd, Carolyn Chenery, Janet Montgomery, Jane Evans, & Dominic Powlesland, 'Anglo-Saxon Residential Mobility at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire, UK From Combined O- and SR-Isotope Analysis', in G. Holland & S.D. Tanner, eds., *Plasma Source Mass Spectrometry: Applications and Emerging Technologies. The proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Plasma Source Mass Spectrometry held at the University of Durham on 8-13 September 2002* (Royal Society of Chemistry, Cambridge, 2003), pp. 196-9.

⁸⁶ Janet Montgomery, 'Passports from the past: Investigating human dispersals using strontium isotope analysis of tooth enamel', *Annals of Human Biology*, 37:3 (2010), p. 326.

⁸⁷ Richards, 'Identifying Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement', p. 303.

⁸⁸ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p.118; Paul Budd, Andrew Millard, Carolyn Chenery, Sam Lucy, & Charlotte Roberts, 'Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis: a report from Britain', *Antiquity* 78:299 (2004), pp. 137-8. This burial and the isotope results will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁸⁹ Guy Halsall, 'The Viking Presence in England? The Burial Evidence Reconsidered', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), pp. 263-70.

migrants can be difficult to detect if they have sought out a region with similar soil types and terrain as their homeland.⁹⁰ The results of isotope analysis presented in this thesis cannot be considered as absolute, as further scientific advances and a wider and more precise geographic data table throughout Europe may see some of the ‘Norse’ reclassified, but significantly most were also buried with ‘Norse’ grave-goods, so the results do appear sound.⁹¹ Despite the improvement offered by isotope analysis, few burials of interest to this thesis have been examined with this technique and it is hoped that tests may be undertaken on other burials within the areas of Norse settlement. The results of such tests would go a long way to determining if the mode of burial is an adequate indicator of the childhood origin of the deceased.

The focus of this thesis

Norse activity in England has long been a major area of scholarly endeavour and debate, and worthwhile articles and monographs continue to appear each year. Yet there remain a number of gaps in the scholarship, one of which in particular this thesis hopes to fill. Scholarship dealing with the great army appears to be extensive, yet much of it is in the form of overviews found in books dealing with either Anglo-Saxon England or the Viking period as a whole.⁹² Most scholarly attention has been focused on the second and later generations of settlers, those probably born in England and quite likely of mixed parentage, the Anglo-Norse, rather than the initial Norse settlers who arrived in England as foreigners.⁹³ This approach may stem from the contemporary written sources largely remaining silent on events in the Norse settlement areas after the members of the great army settled. There is also an increase of archaeological material from the tenth century due

⁹⁰ For the potential problems see Montgomery, ‘Passports from the past’, pp. 325-46.

⁹¹ The case of Riccall is one indication of how the interpretation of isotope analysis can change. Preliminary isotope analysis of six burials in a cemetery on the banks of river Ouse at Riccall, Yorkshire, originally indicated that all had come from Norway, helping to link the site with Harald Hardraada’s invasion in 1066: R.A. Hall, ‘Blood of the Vikings – the riddle at Riccall’, *Yorkshire Archaeology Today* 2 (2002), p. 5. However it is now thought that the isotopes indicate that all six were of local origin: R.A. Hall, ‘The Case of the Missing Vikings’, *Yorkshire Archaeology Today* 9 (2005), p. 3.

⁹² For example: Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*; Cyril Hart, *The Danelaw* (Hambledon, London, 1992); H.R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (B.T. Batsford, London, 1977); Richards, *Viking Age England*; Julian Richards, *Blood of the Vikings* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 2001); Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*; Hadley & Richards, *Cultures in Contact*.

⁹³ For example: Hadley, *The Vikings In England*; Richards, *Viking Age England*; Holman, *The Northern Conquest*; Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Edward Arnold, London, 1989).

to the growth of urbanisation within the Norse settlement areas. This thesis aims to help to bridge the relative silence that currently exists in most scholarship between the campaigns of conquest and subsequent decision to settle by the Norse up to 879, and the second and third generation of settlers of the early to mid tenth century that are met in a number of excellent works. Consequently it is the initial settlers, those who decided to leave their homes to settle in a new land, who are the focus of this thesis. It is this group who are likely to have had to make the greatest adjustments, in terms of interacting with the local populations, upon settlement. Within the concentrated focus on the period up to c. 900, some aspects of the Norse migrations and conquests which have hitherto received little attention will be investigated. These include the use of client kings during the great army's campaigns, the creation of buffer zones both during the campaigning period and following settlement, the kingdom boundaries established once the Norse settled, and the probable presence of Norse women and children in England from the 860s.

Those works which do consider the great army in any detail tend to do so from the Anglo-Saxon perspective, focussing on how king Alfred of Wessex managed to hold out against the Norse threat and save 'England'.⁹⁴ Today's scholars no longer follow so overtly nationalist approach,⁹⁵ even though the labelling of the great army with the pejorative term 'heathen' still sometimes occurs,⁹⁶ yet the the focus on the defence of England often continues.⁹⁷ This is not surprising considering that all of the early written sources were written from an Anglo-Saxon, primarily West Saxon, perspective.⁹⁸

A particular problem with much of the scholarship dealing with the great army and the initial settlement period is that there have been few comparative studies done between

⁹⁴ See for example the various biographies of Alfred of recent times: David Sturdy, *Alfred the Great* (Constable, London, 1995); Alfred P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford University Press, 1995); Abels, *Alfred the Great* (1998).

⁹⁵ However it is sometimes in evidence in John Peddie, *Alfred, Warrior King* (Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 1999).

⁹⁶ See for example the chapter titled "The 'Great Heathen Army' in England" in Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 82. This label is derived from recension 'E' of the ASC (Swanton, ASC, E, 866, p. 69), written in the early twelfth century (*Ibid.*, p. xxvi), whereas the earliest recension, 'A', simply refers to the 'great army' (*Ibid.*, 866, p. 68).

⁹⁷ A good example of this is the ongoing project at University College London, 'Beyond the Burghal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon civil defence in the Viking Age'. See: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/project/beyond-burghal/index.htm> [accessed May 28, 2010].

⁹⁸ Despite the inclusion of Alfred P. Smyth above, a rare example of a scholar making a determined effort not to write from the Anglo-Saxon perspective are his earlier works: *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850-880*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977); *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Kingdoms*, 2 vols (Templekieran Press, Dublin, 1975-79).

the Norse in England and other Norse settlement areas, with the notable exception of works by Alfred Smyth and Clare Downham on the connection between the Norse in England and Ireland.⁹⁹ A major focus of this thesis will be the likely origin of the members of the great army and other early Norse settlers, and I argue that in order to understand the interaction between two or more groups it is necessary to at least know where each of the groups came from, and hopefully also their cultural background. Therefore an understanding of both the existing Anglo-Saxon cultural practices and those brought to England by the early settlers is of benefit. It will be argued that there is credible evidence that some of the leadership of the great army came to England via the Norse settlements in the Irish Sea region,¹⁰⁰ whilst other members of the army had previously been in northern Francia, making these regions as worthy of comparison as the Scandinavian homelands, if not more so.

Contact between cultures can lead to change in a number of ways. These include diffusion, the movement of material objects or ideas from one culture to another, but with the loss of the original cultural meaning; acculturation, whereby some traits in one culture are replaced by another; transculturation, which is acculturation on an individual rather than group level; assimilation, where one culture is absorbed into a dominant culture; and syncretism or amalgamation, which leads to a cultural synthesis between the cultural groups.¹⁰¹ Sometimes the contact may be made over long distances through gifts and trade, and this leads to change which is often relatively easy to map through the material culture as there is often little direct contact between members of the two groups, so the only obvious change is in certain aspects of the material culture, principally in the goods coming in via trade and gift-giving.¹⁰² But the culture contact in the Norse settlement areas was direct and dramatic due to one group of people migrating and forcefully engaging with the local population, which makes migration theory applicable to this thesis. Some scholars

⁹⁹ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850-880*; Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Kingdoms*; Clare Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2007).

¹⁰⁰ Although most of the evidence relates to Ireland, 'Irish Sea region' includes Norse activity, possibly related to the campaigns and settlement in eastern England, in Wales, north-west England, and south-western Scotland. The term is preferred to 'Irish Sea Province' as there was little 'cultural conformity' across the region, Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 157.

¹⁰¹ Dennis O'Neil, 'Process of Change', 'Acculturation Part I', and 'Glossary', in *Culture Change: An Introduction to the Processes and Consequences of Culture Change* (1997-2006) available at <http://anthro.palomar.edu/change/Default.htm>

¹⁰² For example see Peter S. Wells, *Culture contact and culture change: Early Iron Age central Europe and the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

working on England continue to downplay the impact of people migrations, be they by Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Norse, or Normans, as they prefer to see cultural change being caused by a small number of invading elite,¹⁰³ while others have begun to engage actively with migration theory. The differing opinions on the applicability of migration theory are largely tied to the debate over the number of settlers. Scholars who believe that few settlers arrived are less likely to be concerned with migration theory than scholars who believe that a significant number of settlers arrived.

Migration theory was developed by demographers based on relatively recent migrations and is concerned with how migrations happen and which members of society are most likely to be involved. It is now being used by some archaeologists,¹⁰⁴ and has been applied briefly to the Norse settlements by Simon Trafford, and more fully by Redmond.¹⁰⁵ It will be argued that a number of the theories developed from recent migrations are also applicable to those of the Norse to England, and that the application of migration theory allows us to better understand this earlier instance of people movement.

There have been attempts to apply colonial theory to the ninth-century Norse settlements in England. In 2000 Klaus Randsborg produced a very enterprising article comparing the colonies of Greece to the later ones of the Norse, including in England, positing a similar impetus related to trade to begin the process of colonisation.¹⁰⁶ This is taken a step further by Shannon Lewis-Simpson in a thesis of 2005, wherein colonial theory is applied to some of the Norse settlements in England and Orkney and Shetland to investigate the mentalities of people involved in a multicultural society.¹⁰⁷ Lewis-Simpson makes the point that 'colonisation can exist without colonialism'.¹⁰⁸ There is no evidence that the Norse settlement areas of the ninth century in England were ever controlled from

¹⁰³ For example, N. Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (Seaby, London, 1992).

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion on the theory and its use by scholars see David Anthony, 'Prehistoric Migration As Social Process', in J. Chapman & H. Hamerow, eds., *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, BAR International Series 664 (BAR, Oxford, 1997).

¹⁰⁵ Trafford, 'Ethnicity, migration theory and the historiography of the Scandinavian settlement of England', pp. 17-39; Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, especially pp. 54-68. As the title declares, Redmond concentrates on the Norse in the north of England, and her study continues to the end of the tenth century, so in many ways this thesis complements rather than duplicates Redmond's important work. Furthermore, Redmond's use of migration theory for the ninth-century migrations concentrates on the likelihood of the initial and subsequent settlers coming directly from the Scandinavian homelands (pp. 63-5), whereas I will argue that such people would have been in the minority of ninth-century settlers.

¹⁰⁶ Klaus Randsborg, 'Colonization: Greek & Viking', *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000), pp. 171-82.

¹⁰⁷ Lewis-Simpson, *Strangers in strange lands*.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the Scandinavian homelands, so although parts of England were settled by people who may have originated in the Scandinavian homelands the resultant settlements were not colonies of those homelands. Consequently in this thesis I will speak of Norse settlements rather than colonies.

In part this thesis may go some way to answering the series of questions posed by Dawn Hadley and Julian Richards: 'What type of society did the Scandinavians come from? What type of society did they eventually settle into? What were the implications of setting cultures in contact, and how is this reflected in the surviving material, documentary and linguistic evidence?'¹⁰⁹ The Anglo-Saxon society that the Norse settled into has recently been investigated by Hadley and will not be covered in detail here.¹¹⁰ Yet the societies that the Norse came from have been less well investigated and generalisations continue.¹¹¹ By trying to determine where the Norse settlers came from, rather than providing a general cultural overview of the Scandinavian homelands, it is hoped to provide a better understanding of the cultural knowledge that the Norse settlers brought with them. This in turn may help to explain how the Norse appear to have been able to assimilate to aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, including public aspects of christianity, relatively quickly, and where the inspiration for a number of their innovations, such as the use of client kings, may have originated.

The contemporary written sources of use to this thesis are relatively few, so not only must they be exploited fully, but other near contemporary sources will also be utilised in order to gain as much information about the period as possible. The most important written sources for this study will now be discussed, both for England and other areas from which the Norse may have emigrated. This will be followed by a discussion of the archaeological source material.

¹⁰⁹ Dawn M. Hadley & Julian D. Richards, 'Introduction: Interdisciplinary approaches to the Scandinavian settlement', in D.M Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 3.

¹¹⁰ For example, Hadley, *The Vikings In England*, pp. 246-50; Hadley, 'Burial Practices in Northern England', pp. 209-28. For a more comprehensive survey see Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Routledge, London, 1997).

¹¹¹ Primarily due to the focus on the culture of Scandinavia. Notable exceptions are the works cited in fn. 99, although they do not consider in detail the cultural impact of an Irish Sea origin for some of the Norse settlers.

Contemporary written sources

The most useful primary written sources are the seven surviving recensions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* which provide a basic series of events and are particularly helpful in following the movement of the great army during its military campaigns and initial land settlements. The earliest chronicler of the oldest extant version, the Winchester 'A' manuscript, wrote the entries up to 892.¹¹² Although this chronicler was writing in either the late ninth or early tenth century¹¹³ the work is believed to be based on a still earlier original no longer extant.¹¹⁴ As Asser's *Vita Ælfredi regis Angul Saxonum* was completed in 893 and it largely borrows from the ASC down to the annal for 887,¹¹⁵ it indicates that the original ASC entries dealing with the Norse invasions were written soon after the events described, at least by 893. Yet the ASC has some inherent problems as a source. Scholarly consensus is that the ASC emanated from the court of the Wessex king Alfred (r. 871-99), and therefore any entries dealing with those who were effectively his enemies, the members of the great army and 890s army, are likely to present a biased view.¹¹⁶ It has been argued that the ASC uses invasion and conquest as problems of government that can be rectified by the employment of good lordship by the king, and Alfred's peace deals are favourably compared to the dishonourable ones made by Norse armies.¹¹⁷ We must ask, how detailed was the chronicler's knowledge of any events outside of Wessex, such as the great army's campaigns against, and subsequent settlement of, Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia? What were the chroniclers' sources, and how accurate were they? The southern bias of the ASC has been well documented by demonstrating that many more places are mentioned south of the Thames in the text than north of it.¹¹⁸ In entries dealing with the great army this bias is amply documented by an examination of the number of lines devoted to the

¹¹² Batley, *ASC*, p. xxi.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹¹⁵ Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 55-6. This work is commonly referred to as the *Life of King Alfred*, as I will do hereafter.

¹¹⁶ R.H.C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: propaganda and truth', *History* 56 (1971), pp. 169-82. The ASC is no longer thought to have been commissioned by Alfred, Michelle P. Brown, *Manuscripts From the Anglo-Saxon Age* (British Library, London, 2007), p. 86. For the problem of the notion of Norse warriors having enemies in the modern sense, but of the terms applicability to England for the period of this thesis see Clunies Ross, 'Did the Vikings have Enemies?', pp. 30-6.

¹¹⁷ Alice Sheppard, *Families of the King: Writing Identity in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 24, 44.

¹¹⁸ David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981), map 29, p. 20.

great army's activities in Wessex in comparison to the rest of England during the military campaign. Although the great army campaigned in Wessex for only four of the thirteen seasons, there are 88 lines of text devoted to this campaign in the *ASC*, including 40 just for the events of 870-871,¹¹⁹ compared to 59 for all the other kingdoms, where the great army actually spent more time during the campaign. Once members of the great army settled in the north and east of England the *ASC* was largely silent on events north of the Thames, except on the rare occasions when Wessex was directly involved with the Norse settlers, usually in further military campaigns.

The other primary source that deals extensively with the members of the great army is the *Life of King Alfred* by the Welsh monk Asser. Asser was summoned by Alfred to join his court sometime around 885,¹²⁰ and wrote his work in 893.¹²¹ This places Asser's work even more centrally as a product of Alfred's court than the *ASC*, and as such it needs to be used with even more caution when studying the activities of the great army. Indeed, as a work written about Alfred by a member of his inner circle, it is most likely to glorify its subject. Although lingering doubts have existed over the authenticity of the work for well over a century,¹²² and have most recently been extensively propounded by Smyth,¹²³ the arguments of Dorothy Whitelock and David Pratt in favour of the authenticity of Asser remain compelling, and the general consensus among leading scholars, which will be adopted in this thesis, is that Asser is a primary source for Alfred's reign.¹²⁴ Despite this, although Asser provides many extra details about Alfred's life, for the purposes of this thesis his information concerning the members of the great army and the Norse settlements largely follows the *ASC*, and as such he will only be used when he provides additional information.

The problems of bias against the Norse apparent in the *ASC* are amplified in Asser's work, in which he often describes the Norse in far more colourful and derogatory language

¹¹⁹ The line count is taken from the edition of the original text, Bately, *ASC*, 871, pp. 48-9.

¹²⁰ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, ch. 79, p. 93.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 91, p. 101.

¹²² The earlier arguments are summarised by William H. Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred: together with the annals of Saint Neots* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904), pp. xcvi-cxxv.

¹²³ Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*, pp. 149-367.

¹²⁴ Dorothy Whitelock, *The Genuine Asser*, Stenton Lecture, 1967 (University of Reading, 1968); Abels, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 318-26. See also Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 50-1; David Pratt, 'The illness of King Alfred the Great', *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001), pp. 39-90.

than the ASC chronicler's.¹²⁵ In contrast, there is no sense of hostility in the travel account by the Norseman Ohthere towards either the Scandinavian homelands or Ohthere preserved in another source connected to Alfred's court, the *Old English Orosius*.¹²⁶ This could be due to a faithful recording of Ohthere's words, but the account would have provided ample opportunity for editorial comment by the Anglo-Saxon scribe if they had so wished. Irmeli Valtonen views the *Old English Orosius* as a contradiction to the other sources, but this could be due to the difference in the actions of those being described in the texts. Ohthere was a peaceful visitor to the court of Alfred of Wessex imparting information about the Scandinavian homelands, and consequently there was no reason to describe him or his homeland in a negative way. This is in obvious contrast to the members of Norse armies campaigning in England. It is interesting to note that there is likewise no condemnation in the notice of the death of Guthrum, the Norse king of East Anglia that had previously attempted to conquer Wessex before Alfred defeated his army at the battle of Edington.¹²⁷ It would appear that the scribes of Wessex could describe the Norse in an unbiased manner when they did not feel that Wessex was threatened by their actions.

The other Alfredian work of use to this thesis is the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the Norse king of East Anglia, commonly referred to as 'Alfred and Guthrum'.¹²⁸ As Guthrum settled East Anglia in 879-80 and died in 890¹²⁹ the treaty must date to between those years, and it is thought to have been concluded no earlier than 886.¹³⁰ The treaty survives in a collection of Anglo-Saxon legal texts written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, but its language has led scholars to conclude that it is authentic.¹³¹ Although the treaty comprises only five short clauses, this is a crucial work for understanding the political accommodations reached between Wessex and the newly settled Norse kingdoms. The prologue does not specify who wrote the text down, and the

¹²⁵ For the language employed in Anglo-Saxon sources see R.I. Page, "A most vile people": *Early English Historians on the Vikings*. The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered at University College London, 19 March 1986 (Viking Society for Northern Research, London, 1987), pp. 10-11.

¹²⁶ Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, pp. 253-4.

¹²⁷ Swanton, ASC, 890, p. 82.

¹²⁸ A translation is given in 'The treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 171-2; a parallel text version (the original is in Old English) can be found in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 98-101.

¹²⁹ Swanton, ASC, 880 & 890, pp. 76 & 82.

¹³⁰ Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 171.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 311. See also R.H.C. Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier', *The English Historical Review* 97 (1982), p. 804.

possibility cannot be discounted that scribes from East Anglia accompanied Guthrum to the meeting and helped write the final document.

Another useful work is a charter that exists of the Mercian king Ceolwulf II, which provides some small indication of how the client kings of the Norse ruled.¹³² Unfortunately there are no charters known once the Norse returned to their conquered kingdoms to rule, except the two preserved in the later *Historia De Sancto Cuthberto*.¹³³ There are also no laws known to have been produced in the areas of Norse settlement before the close of the ninth century, other than ‘Alfred and Guthrum’, nor any penitential written to help in the conversion of the new settlers. However one important category of contemporary Norse evidence that is derived from the administration of the settlement areas is Norse-issued coinage. These coins provide useful information on such things as the economy, the moneyer’s names and possible migration, influences operating in the kingdom, public religious affiliation, and the earliest recording of Norse influenced place-names.

There is another possible primary source, place-names with ON elements, which will occasionally be used in this work but will not be discussed in detail.¹³⁴ The significance of place-names, not only of settlements but also of smaller features like roads and fields, has been discussed at length and the debate regarding their usefulness is unlikely to be resolved in the near future, so a brief explanation of my own position will suffice here.¹³⁵ The place-names in the areas that members of the great army settled would be invaluable evidence suggesting where groups of Norse settled or had influence, what some of the settlers names were, and in some instances where they had come from, if it was possible to determine when the names were coined. Unfortunately this is rarely the case.¹³⁶

¹³² S215 printed in D. Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents I*, c. 500-1042 (hereafter *EHD*) (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1955), 95, pp. 491-2. A second charter (S216) of Ceolwulf II is thought to be spurious, see P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (Royal Historical Society, London, 1968), p. 125.

¹³³ This work is discussed below. These charters are also given in C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester University Press, 1975), pp. 138-9.

¹³⁴ Although not technically a written source, place-names are considered here as they are most valuable in the form in which they are first recorded in writing.

¹³⁵ For ON field names and questions of methodology see David N. Parsons, ‘Field-name statistics, Norfolk and the Danelaw’, in P. Gammeltoft & B. Jørgensen, eds., *Names through the Looking-Glass: Festschrift in Honour of Gillian Fellows-Jensen* (C.A. Reitzels Forlag A/S, Copenhagen, 2006), pp. 165-88.

¹³⁶ For example, a noted place-name specialist cautions that ‘many of the [Norse place-] names can have been bestowed upon the settlements that now bear them long after the Viking Age by people who no longer spoke, or even understood, a Scandinavian language’, Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles and Normandy: What the Place-Names Reveal’, in J. Adams, & K. Holman, eds., *Scandinavia*

One of the very few definitive pieces of early Norse place-name evidence comes in the late tenth century *Chronicle of Æthelweard* which states that Anglo-Saxon *Northworthig* was called Derby ‘in the Danish language’.¹³⁷ Although this does not necessarily mean that Derby was named by Norse settlers before 900, it is a strong possibility that the name was changed in the early settlement phase before 920 at which time Derby appears to have become part of the expanding kingdom of Edgar of Wessex.¹³⁸ This probability is strengthened by the numismatic record. Derby is first mentioned on coins of King Athelstan (r. 924-39), so the name was already in use at least half a century before Æthelweard wrote his *Chronicle*.¹³⁹

Unfortunately most of the Norse place-names in the areas that the great army conquered were first recorded in *Domesday Book* from the survey undertaken in 1086-7,¹⁴⁰ and some are first recorded even later than this, so many of the Norse place-names could have arisen long after the late ninth century. As David Griffiths notes, a map showing place-names influenced by ON is the result of ‘several centuries of cultural, territorial and linguistic adjustment and re-adjustment’.¹⁴¹ Indeed Gillian Fellows-Jensen now posits that most of the Norse place-names in the ninth-century Norse settlement areas were not coined until the tenth century.¹⁴² It is also possible that the reigns of Knut and his son Harthacnut (1016-42) may have provided an impetus for using Norse names, and there could have also been a continuing naming tradition in some areas.¹⁴³ Despite this concern, it could be

and Europe 800-1350. Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 4, (Brepols, Turnhout, 2004), p. 147.

¹³⁷ Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, A. Campbell, ed. & trans., (Nelson, London, 1962), p. 37. For the suggestion that ‘Derby’ was initially the old Roman fort at Little Chester and was transferred to the Anglian settlement sometime in the tenth century, see R.A. Hall, ‘The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: a review of present knowledge’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989), pp. 160-1.

¹³⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 924, p. 104. In 920 Edgar occupied Nottingham, by which time all Norse-settled areas south of the Humber had submitted to Edgar. The conquest of the Norse settled areas can be seen in Swanton, *ASC*, 913-923, pp. 96-104.

¹³⁹ Hall, ‘The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw’, p. 161.

¹⁴⁰ Ann Williams & G.H. Martin, eds., *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, Alecto Historical Editions, (Penguin, London, 2002), p. vii.

¹⁴¹ David Griffiths, ‘Settlement and Acculturation in the Irish Sea Region’, in J. Hines, A. Lane, & M. Redknap, eds., *Land, Sea and Home. Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001*. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 20 (Maney, Leeds, 2004), p. 129.

¹⁴² Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian Place Names in the British Isles’, in S. Brink with N. Price, ed., *The Viking World* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2008), p. 391.

¹⁴³ See for example Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘In the steps of the Vikings’ in J. Graham-Campbell, R.A. Hall, J. Jesch & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), p. 286.

argued that in most instances where a Norse place-name was used the location is likely to have had a pre-existing Norse population. There has been a suggestion that place-names in *-by* combined with elements other than personal names may represent the ‘first phase of Danish settlement in England’,¹⁴⁴ but unfortunately this attractive theory is difficult to test.¹⁴⁵ The close correspondence of a map of Norse place-names with the areas settled by members of the great army according to the *ASC*, and indeed their correspondence with the find spots of such things as Arabic dirhems, makes it unlikely that it is mere coincidence.¹⁴⁶ However place-names cannot be used to assess how many Norse speakers settled in the late ninth century, nor with any certainty can they be used to show exactly where the Norse settled. Even such maps are problematic, as for example with Cambridgeshire. It has documentary evidence of Norse settlement, but few Norse place-names.¹⁴⁷

Of course *Domesday Book* itself was compiled two centuries after the settlement of members of the great army, and some of the Norse names recorded before *Domesday* may still have originated long after the end date of my study in c. 900. But if we accept only names recorded before *Domesday* the paucity of our records means that very few place-names can be considered. For example, in Matthew Townend’s ‘Corpus of Scandinavianised Place-Names’ in England, only 6 of the 218 examples were recorded before *Domesday Book*.¹⁴⁸ If post-Conquest copies of pre-Conquest documents were included there would still be fewer than fifty ON-influenced place-names for the period before 1087.¹⁴⁹ Even what is probably the most well known of Norse place names, York

¹⁴⁴ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian settlements in East Anglia: some problems’, *Nomina* 22 (1999), p. 49.

¹⁴⁵ For persuasive argument in favour of most of the *-by* names being coined in the latter ninth century see Lesley Abrams and David N. Parsons, ‘Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England’, in J. Hines, A. Lane, & M. Redknapp, eds., *Land, Sea and Home* (Maney, Leeds, 2004), pp. 396-401.

¹⁴⁶ Dirhems appear to have been brought to England by the Norse and were used as part of the bullion economy. For the find spots see Julian D. Richards & John Naylor, ‘The metal detector and the Viking Age in England’, in J. Sheehan & D. Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), Fig. 32.3, p. 345.

¹⁴⁷ Peter Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire. A History of Lincolnshire Vol. III* (History of Lincolnshire Committee, Lincoln, 1998), p. 111.

¹⁴⁸ The six names are Meðeltun (Middleton), Bobewyth (Bubwith), Breiðetun (Brayton), baddan by (Badby), Fiskertuna (Fiskerton), and Gæiteford (Gateforth). Of these the earliest record is for baddan by in 944. The corpus can be found in Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England. Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*. Studies in the Early Middle Ages 6 (Brepols, Turnhout, 2002), pp. 69-87.

¹⁴⁹ Abrams & Parsons, ‘Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England’, p. 392, fn. 72.

(3ork), was not recorded in English until the twelfth century,¹⁵⁰ although the name (*iorvik*) is known from two earlier Norse poems.¹⁵¹ Furthermore the Norse form *Jórvik*, particularly popular since the establishment of the Jorvik Viking Centre, is not attested in English documents, and the modern form ‘York’ could have developed without the influence of ON.¹⁵² ‘York’ is a salutary reminder of the problems associated with using Norse-influenced place-names, especially in the early settlement period. Consequently the general distribution of Norse place-names will be used only as a very rough guide to likely areas of settlement.

The many Norse street names in the settlement areas, many of which are purely ON,¹⁵³ are also probable evidence for early Norse settlement but are difficult to date. For example, the existence of streets ending in Norse *-gate* in Norwich, which fell to the house of Wessex in 917 and shows little evidence for Norse linguistic evidence after that date, demonstrates that the Norse were probably coining street names soon after settlement.¹⁵⁴ However it is impossible to be certain that this was the case. Therefore I will not pursue the question of acculturation as demonstrated by street naming.

It is a similar situation with the Norse personal names that begin to appear in primary written sources from the ninth century. Initially they appear in the *ASC* as it names the leaders of the great army and then the kings and earls in charge of those who settled, but later they are found in witness lists of tenth-century documents such as charters relating to the West Saxon kings.¹⁵⁵ Again such names indicate Norse influence and it cannot be coincidental that they predominantly occur in the areas of Norse settlement. However there is no certainty that someone with a Norse name, especially post 900, was genetically Norse.

¹⁵⁰ In Lazamon’s *Brut*, composed in the twelfth century but the earliest manuscripts are from the thirteenth, Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘The Origin and Development of the Name York’, in D.W. Rollason with D. Gore & G. Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*. The Archaeology of York 1 (York Archaeological Trust, York, 1998), p. 234.

¹⁵¹ These poems, *Arinbjarnarkviða* by Egil Skallagrímsson, and *Knútsdrápa* by Sigvatr Þórðarson, are thought to have been composed in c. 962 and 1038 respectively, but neither is recorded until the fourteenth century. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁵³ In that they only include ON elements.

¹⁵⁴ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘The Anglo-Scandinavian Street-Names of York’, in R.A. Hall, D.W. Rollason, M. Blackburn, D.N. Parsons, G. Fellows-Jensen, A.R. Hall, H.K. Kenward, T.P. O’Connor, D. Tweddle, A.J. Mainman, & N.S.H. Rogers, *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York* (Council for British Archaeology, York, 2004), pp. 358-9.

¹⁵⁵ For an example see Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, 104, pp. 505-8. A recent discussion of the personal name evidence can be found in Lewis-Simpson, *Strangers in strange lands*, pp. 68-87.

Instead it could be that some Anglo-Saxons adopted the naming practices of the new Norse elite, as happened following the Norman conquest of England.¹⁵⁶

Later written sources

There are a number of later written sources from the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman eras that are of use to this thesis. As these works were composed or compiled at least two generations after the events they describe I have not referred to them as primary sources, which I regard as works written within living memory of the events described. However all of these later works are thought to be based on earlier works no longer extant, with some of the authors actually listing their sources, except for Abbo of Fleury who bases his account on oral history at least one generation removed from his source.¹⁵⁷ Obviously such sources are not as immediate as those written at or soon after the events described, and present additional complications to that of the bias of contemporary sources. The later sources are useful only if they have additional information not provided by the *ASC* or Asser, yet when such material appears it raises the question of where the author acquired it. If it is based on earlier primary sources no longer extant then it is obviously important. If based on local tradition or long-term memory then it is useful but somewhat suspect. However if the additional information is based on a surmise by the author then it is of no use. The difficulty lies in determining in which of these ways the additional material was obtained, and in many instances such a determination remains impossible. Rather than discount all sources not written within a decade of the events, which would result in the omission of much important information, each later source, and indeed each additional clue it contains, must be judged. The miracles described in a saint's life are no longer used as historical evidence (as opposed to the contemporary belief in such miracles), but other information, for example the nature of the demands made of (St.) Edmund before his martyrdom, may be authentic. In such cases when the information fits with what is known from comparative studies and/or when there appears to be no motive for inventing the material, it should be given serious consideration. Later sources also occasionally provide useful kernels of

¹⁵⁶ Sawyer, *The Age Of The Vikings*, p. 160.

¹⁵⁷ Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, in Michael Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints* (Center for Medieval Studies by Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1972), pp. 5-6. Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, preface, in Lord Francis Hervey, ed & trans., *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi. The Garland of Saint Edmund King and Martyr* (John Murray, London, 1907), pp. 7, 9, 11. All translations of Abbo of Fleury will be taken from this parallel text edition.

information, often in passing, that was not the original focus of the author. One such example includes a report of a church continuing to operate during the Norse conquests and settlements.¹⁵⁸ The most important of these later sources and their provenance will now be discussed.

Four of these sources belong to the Anglo-Saxon period. *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* by ealdorman Æthelweard, whose signatures run from 973-998,¹⁵⁹ was written by a descendant of King Æthelred of Wessex.¹⁶⁰ He used an early version of the *ASC*, close to but not the same as recension 'A', amongst other sources for his *Chronicle*.¹⁶¹ Although Æthelweard's testimony does not add significantly to our knowledge of the broad sequence of events, the additional details he provides are important as his lineage may have allowed Æthelweard access to material no longer extant, and his record of events from 893-9 is independent of the existing *ASC* recensions.¹⁶² For example he provides information about Guthfrith, the Norse king of York, a figure known from later sources from the north of England but not mentioned in any existing recension of the *ASC*.¹⁶³ Æthelweard also displays a good working knowledge of ON, often amending the Anglicised Norse place and personal names found in the *ASC* to more accurately represent their form in Norse.¹⁶⁴

Abbo of Fleury wrote his *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* during a two-year stay in England, 985-7. In a dedicatory letter to Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Abbo explains that he heard the story of St Edmund's martyrdom at the hands of the great army from Dunstan himself, who in turn had heard it as a boy at the court of king Aethelstan from an old man who claimed to have been with Edmund on the day of his death.¹⁶⁵ Regardless of the authenticity of Dunstan's source,¹⁶⁶ we can assume that the events surrounding Edmund's death are largely faithful to the story which Dunstan had told Abbo. In support of Dunstan's source is the structure of Abbo's work. Unlike most of the hagiographical

¹⁵⁸ Janet Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis. A History of the Isle Of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth compiled by a monk of Ely in the twelfth century* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2005), ch. 32, p. 128.

¹⁵⁹ Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. xv.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii; and Batey, *ASC*, pp. lxxix-lxxxviii.

¹⁶² Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. xxix.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁶⁴ Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England*, pp. 112-21.

¹⁶⁵ Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, preface, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁶ As Whitelock notes, the time frame is plausible. Dorothy Whitelock, 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St Edmund', *The Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* XXXI, Ipswich (1969), pp. 218-9.

material available to Dunstan and Abbo, the information contained in the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* relates to the events surrounding Edmund's death and then the later miracles. Indeed, the account of Edmund's life before the arrival of the great army comprises only a single chapter of twenty lines.¹⁶⁷ This is very different from the norm wherein the holiness of saints is usually marked out at either birth or childhood and then various events of their lives and indications of their holiness are related up to their death.¹⁶⁸ The lack of such information in Abbo's work strongly suggests that he had not heard an account of Edmund's early life from Dunstan and that he decided not to invent one. Instead he provides a very general account, quite possibly invented to provide some background information, of how Edmund was a good, wise king who worshipped God and was benevolent to his people.¹⁶⁹ Yet a hagiographical intent from both Abbo and Dunstan is likely, and this is especially evident in the account of events following Edmund's martyrdom. Consequently the work, already removed from the events it describes by a century, must be used with caution, especially the information following Edmund's death. Despite these reservations, for the purposes of this thesis Abbo has some very useful information on what the leaders of the great army demanded from their potential East Anglian client king once they had conquered that kingdom.¹⁷⁰ Importantly the information provided by Abbo is compatible with the arrangements that the great army later made with the Mercian client king Ceolwulf as reported in the *ASC*, so in this instance Abbo appears to provide genuine additional information.¹⁷¹ Unfortunately Abbo provides no information on the settlement of the Norse in East Anglia, nor on what happened to christian institutions following that settlement.

The only other written evidence from the Anglo-Saxon period are two works of the mid-late tenth or possibly eleventh century from the community of Saint Cuthbert based at Durham. The earlier of the two is the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (*HSC*), which is largely a work detailing the community's estates and explaining the historical circumstances in

¹⁶⁷ Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, ch 3, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, pp. 15, 17.

¹⁶⁸ See for example the opening chapters of *The Life of Saint Cuthbert*, in Bertram Colgrave, ed. & trans., *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert. A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Greenwood Press, New York, 1969); Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Wilfred*, in D.H. Farmer, ed., J.F. Webb, trans., *The Age Of Bede* (Penguin, London, 1998), pp. 105-84; and *The Life of St Guthlac* in Michael Swanton, ed. & trans. *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (Dent, London, 1975), pp. 39-62.

¹⁶⁹ Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, ch 3, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, pp. 15, 17.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 7, p. 25.

¹⁷¹ Swanton, *ASC*, 874, p. 72. See the fuller discussion in chapter 4, pp. 197-9.

which they were gained or lost.¹⁷² As such it provides some important information on what was happening in Northumbria prior to its conquest by the great army, as well as information on the reigns of the Norse kings that impacted upon the community. The traditional dating of this work has been the mid to late tenth century, but it has more recently been suggested that its style is better suited to a century later.¹⁷³ If this is correct then the *HSC* evidently drew upon earlier texts, as is shown by the insertion of a dream sequence, in which St Cuthbert appeared to Alfred before his victory at Edington.¹⁷⁴ Luisella Simpson has demonstrated that this story was written in c. 945, probably in time for the visit of King Edmund that year, Alfred's descendant, to the community.¹⁷⁵ Simpson considers the earlier sections (1-28) of the work to have been compiled in time for Edmund's visit, with only the later sections (29-33) added in the mid eleventh century.¹⁷⁶ Some corroboration for this opinion may be that one manuscript of the *HSC* has only the first twenty-eight sections, which may represent the original mid-tenth century compilation.¹⁷⁷

The second work is the *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* which provides additional information on the background and reign of Guthfrith.¹⁷⁸ The work is thought to come from Durham and to date from c. 1072-1083.¹⁷⁹ That the fine for breaking St Cuthbert's peace is given in Norse *orae* is one indication of the text possibly being based on earlier material.¹⁸⁰ The work was composed at a similar time to the *HSC*, and may have been borrowing from it.¹⁸¹ Later Symeon of Durham used the work in the *Libellus De Exordio (LDE)*.¹⁸² The *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* is no longer extant but has been reconstructed from

¹⁷² Ted Johnson South, ed., *Historia De Sancto Cuthberto. A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of His Patrimony*. Anglo-Saxon Texts 3 (D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 2002). This translation will be used throughout.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁴ For the episode see *Ibid.*, ch. 16, pp.54-7.

¹⁷⁵ Luisella Simpson, 'The King Alfred/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: its significance for mid-tenth-century English history', in G. Bonner, C. Stancliffe, & D. Rollason, eds., *St Cuthbert: His Cult and Community to AD 1200* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 397-411.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 398. The manuscript is Cambridge University Library, MS Ff 1.27, pp. 195-202.

¹⁷⁸ This work is discussed and the reconstructed text given in H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', *English Historical Review* 40 (1925), pp. 504-32.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

¹⁸⁰ For the text see *Ibid.*, L. 38, p. 524. For commentary see *Ibid.*, p. 530; Johnson South, *HSC*, p. 88.

¹⁸¹ Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', p. 530; Johnson South, *HSC*, pp. 8-9; Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie. Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, David Rollason, ed. & trans. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2000), p. lxxiv.

¹⁸² In which Symeon translates *orae* to Latin *solidi*. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', p. 530. This text will be discussed below.

various texts, including some from the late medieval period, which drew upon it. The uncertainty surrounding this text is therefore considerable, and it will be sparingly used in this thesis.¹⁸³ Although these compilations are relatively late it is thought that the community of St Cuthbert recorded grants of land in the blank spaces of some of its most treasured books, and these entries were then used as the basis for the two works, as well as incorporating local tradition.¹⁸⁴

As well as these later Anglo-Saxon works, there are additional useful written sources available from the Anglo-Norman period. Despite their late provenance these often provide useful information that should not be discounted purely due to the date of the source, and importantly all of the works discussed below are thought to be based on earlier works no longer extant. Consequently they have all been used in varying degrees by previous scholars.¹⁸⁵

The earliest of these works, which are the subject of some controversy, provide supplementary information on affairs in the north of England and are associated with the community of St Cuthbert at Durham in the early twelfth century. The sources, principally the *LDE* and *Historia Regum (HR)*,¹⁸⁶ contain some unique material relating to the activities of the Norse in Northumbria which make the works important but problematical. If the sources did not contain information unavailable elsewhere they would be of little use, but because the sources are not contemporary the authenticity of their original material cannot be verified. David Dumville has gone so far as to declare that due to its lack of identifiable pedigree the Durham material is ‘not available for use by students of ninth-century Northumbria’.¹⁸⁷ However a number of leading scholars, most notably David Rollason, consider much of the information found in these sources to be genuine and

¹⁸³ For a recent overview of the text see Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ed. & trans., p. lxxiv.

¹⁸⁴ Johnson South, *HSC*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸⁵ A salutary reminder of the importance of later sources is the report in the early thirteenth-century chronicle by Roger of Wendover of the ninth-century Northumbrian king Rædwulf, a king otherwise unknown in documentary sources but for whom numismatic evidence survives. A translation of most of the unique entries in this work is available in Whitelock, *EHD*, no. 4, pp. 255-8. The full text is available in Roger of Wendover, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History: Comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, J.A. Giles, ed. & trans. (H.G. Bohn, London, 1849). For a discussion of the use of the work for northern history see Rollason, with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*. The Archaeology of York, 1. (York Archaeological Trust, York, 1998), p. 32.

¹⁸⁶ To be discussed below.

¹⁸⁷ David N. Dumville, ‘Textual archaeology and Northumbrian history subsequent to Bede’, in D.M. Metcalf, ed., *Coinage in Ninth-century Northumbria. The Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*. BAR British Series 180 (B.A.R., Oxford, 1987), p. 48.

employ it in their work.¹⁸⁸ The likelihood of an authentic early text, possibly a copy of a northern chronicle, being available to writers of the St Cuthbert community is given some support by a reference to a *cronica duo Anglica* in a mid-twelfth-century catalogue at Durham.¹⁸⁹ It has also been noted that the 'D' recension of the *ASC* also incorporated information from the northern annals.¹⁹⁰ In terms of the material most pertinent to this thesis, primarily the use of client kings in Northumbria by the Norse, it is difficult to understand why a writer in Durham in the early twelfth century would invent the reign of three ninth-century kings, especially as these kings are not recorded as having dealings with the community of St Cuthbert. Furthermore, the known use of a client king by the Norse in Mercia, as recorded in the *ASC*, makes it likely that this tactic would have also been used by the Norse elsewhere, lending credence to the information of the northern sources. Consequently the *LDE* and *HR* will be used to some extent in this thesis; however the opinion of Dumville that these and other Durham works may all be borrowing from each other and represent a single witness (Symeon of Durham) is accepted and the two lists of kings will not be used.¹⁹¹

Often referred to as the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, the *LDE* is thought to have been written by Symeon of Durham in the period 1104-1107/1115.¹⁹² As well as using the *HSC* discussed above, Rollason suggests that Symeon had access to earlier texts no longer

¹⁸⁸ The sources are discussed in Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 25-7, in which the usefulness of the works are affirmed. The unique information about the activities of the Norse in the ninth century contained in these sources has been used since Dumville's paper, most often the existence of Northumbrian client kings, eg. Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 117; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 10-11; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 97; Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 100-02; Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070*. The New Edinburgh History of Scotland v. 2 (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 73-9; Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 13-4; Lesley Abrams, 'The Early Danelaw: Conquest, transition, and assimilation', in A. Flambard Hélicher, ed., *La progression des Vikings, des raids à la colonisation* (Publications de l'Université de Rouen, Rouen, 2003), pp. 59, 63.

¹⁸⁹ Although such sources are better preserved in the *HR*, Susan Irvine, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, v. 7, MS. E (D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 2004), pp. xxxvii-xxxviii. For the likelihood of a chronicle being kept in Northumbria at this time see also Alan Binns, 'The York Viking Kingdom; Relations Between Old English and Old Norse Culture', in A. Small, ed., *The Fourth Viking Congress* (Oliver & Boyd, London, 1965), pp. 184-7.

¹⁹⁰ G.P. Cubbin, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, v. 6, MS. D (D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1996), p. xxxviii.

¹⁹¹ Dumville, 'Textual archaeology', pp. 47 & 53. The two lists are known as 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu', and 'Series Regum Northymbrensiū', in T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia II* (Kraus Reprint, Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 365-84 & 389-93. They are discussed in Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 26-7.

¹⁹² Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, pp. xlii-xliv. The translation from this parallel text will be used throughout this thesis.

extant.¹⁹³ *HR*¹⁹⁴ was previously attributed to Symeon of Durham but it is now thought that he wrote only the latter part of the work, but he may have helped to assemble and edit the earlier sections.¹⁹⁵ The work is thought to have been originally completed in or soon after 1129, but the only existing manuscript can probably be dated to 1164.¹⁹⁶ *HR* is a compilation of materials, made up of nine sections, rather than a continuous narrative history.¹⁹⁷ Its provenance is particularly apparent as there are two parallel accounts for the events of 848-957,¹⁹⁸ clearly demonstrating that the text was drawn from a number of sources.¹⁹⁹ The earlier of these accounts is thought to include information from the no longer extant northern chronicle for the years 732 to 802, followed by a chronicle for the years 849 to 887 based primarily on Asser's *Life of King Alfred* but including some additional information. These are part of the first five sections of the *HR* thought to have been re-written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey in c. 1000.²⁰⁰ The sixth section of the text, annals from 888 to 957, deal with the activities of Norse leaders and may have been 'originally composed in the 10th century and it is therefore likely to be very reliable'.²⁰¹ The second of the accounts in the *HR* was largely based on an early version of the *Chronicle* of John of

¹⁹³ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 25-6. See also Johnson-South, *HSC*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁴ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, in T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II (Kraus Reprint, Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 3-283. Most of the entries from the *HR* which are not merely duplicating earlier texts like Asser are provided in translation in Whitelock, ed., *EHD*.

¹⁹⁵ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 25-6. Symeon's involvement with the *HR* is also discussed in Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, pp. xlvi-xlix; and Peter Hunter Blair, 'Symeon's History of the Kings', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser. XVI (Newcastle, 1939), p. 87.

¹⁹⁶ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 27.

¹⁹⁷ Cyril Hart, ed. & trans., *Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle: an edition of the Old English and Latin annals*. The Early Chronicles of England, v. II (Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 2006). p. xx; Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, p. xlix.

¹⁹⁸ Hunter Blair, 'Symeon's History of the Kings', p. 88.

¹⁹⁹ Peter Hunter Blair, 'Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', in N.K. Chadwick, ed., *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 99-110.

²⁰⁰ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 27; Dumville, 'Textual archaeology', pp. 46-7; Hunter Blair, 'Symeon's History Of The Kings', p. 98; Hart, *Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle*, pp. xx-xxii. For more on the northern chronicle see also: Peter Hunter Blair, 'Olaf the White and the Three Fragments of Irish Annals', *Viking* III (Oslo, 1939), pp 1-27, 34-35; and Cyril Hart, 'Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle', *English Historical Review* 97 (1982) 558-82.

²⁰¹ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 27. Antonia Gransden also argues that this section was copied from lost annals and that the information is valuable, *Historical Writing in England*, Vol. 1, c. 550-c.1307 (Routledge, London, 1974), p. 150. The first set of *HR* annals for 888-957 can be found in Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, pp. 91-5.

Worcester²⁰² to which additional northern information was added.²⁰³ A good example of this is the end of the annal for 867. Following an account of the Norse conquest of York and the death of the Northumbrian kings Ælle and Osberht, John records that ‘The kings of Northumbria came to an end’.²⁰⁴ This sentence is omitted in the *HR* and an account of Ecgbert being established as a client king is given instead,²⁰⁵ presumably because there was a tradition at Durham of there being further kings after the deaths of Ælle and Osberht, although not necessarily kings independent of the Norse or ruling all of Northumbria.²⁰⁶ A final work attributed to Symeon of Durham of some use to this thesis is a letter about the archbishops of York written between 1130 and 1132.²⁰⁷

The *Liber Eliensis*, a history of the Isle of Ely, was compiled by a monk at the island’s abbey during the mid twelfth century.²⁰⁸ The text was made from a number of earlier works, and incorporates large sections of an important work originally written in Old English and translated into Latin sometime between 1109 and 1132, the *Libellus quorundam insignium operum beati Æthelwoldi episcopi*.²⁰⁹ The latter records the transactions by which the abbey acquired many of its estates and covers the period up to 970. It contains some brief but useful information on the aftermath of the settlement of Guthrum, members of the great army in greater East Anglia, and the fate of rural churches and priests in the area.

Comparative written sources

Although there are few contemporary written sources for the activities of the Norse in England, in contrast to such sources for Norse activities elsewhere the English material often appears plentiful. A good example is the foundation of perhaps the most successful

²⁰² John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, 1118-1140*, Oxford Medieval Texts, R.R. Darlington & P. McGurk, ed., J. Bray & P. McGurk, trans. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995).

²⁰³ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 27; and Dumville, ‘Textual archaeology’, p. 46. This section is found in Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, pp. 98-258.

²⁰⁴ *Defecerunt reges Nordanhymbrorum*, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, Darlington & McGurk, ed., Bray & McGurk, trans., pp. 282-3.

²⁰⁵ Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 106.

²⁰⁶ The later kings of Northumbria will be discussed in chapter 4.

²⁰⁷ The text is available as ‘Incipit Epistola Simeonis monachi ecclesie Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi ad Hugonem decanum Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboraci’, in T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* I (Kraus Reprint, Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 222-8. The letter is discussed in Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 26.

²⁰⁸ E.O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis* (Offices of the Royal Historical Society, London, 1962), pp. xlvi-xlix.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

Norse settlement in western Europe, Normandy. This event is mentioned in no primary written sources, and it was not until the early eleventh-century work by Dudo of St Quentin that a history of the foundation of the duchy by Rollo was written.²¹⁰ Indeed, even the traditional 911 date for the foundation of Normandy by the Treaty of St Clair sur Epte is uncertain as this date, as well as the subsequent baptism of Rollo in 912, is based entirely on the work of Dudo.²¹¹ The earliest primary source reference to the area being settled by Normans comes in a charter of March 918.²¹² It is salutary to remember how fortunate scholars of Anglo-Saxon England are in being able to criticise the use of late sources in their field of study. Scholars working on other areas of Norse activity often have little choice but to use late sources, and such sources are often more readily accepted as legitimate than English sources of a similar date.

Despite the silence of contemporary sources on the foundation of Normandy, primary sources for Francia in the second half of the ninth century relating to Norse activity are available, particularly in the *Annals of St Bertin (AB)* and the *Annals of Fulda (AF)*.²¹³ Both of these annals include reports on Norse activities in Frisia which are of use to this thesis. Also of use are the occasional glimpses of the degree to which some Norse had become acculturated to the christian, west European culture of Francia.

As with the Frankish sources, Irish annals are also often very informative, often going into significant detail over various battles and providing the names of the leaders and the origins (within Ireland) of the competing Norse groups. Unfortunately, as with the post-Alfredian chronicles attributed to Symeon of Durham discussed above, these annals were based on earlier works no longer extant, and were often compiled many centuries after the events. Despite this, Irish annals are crucial to this study, especially the late fifteenth-century *Annals of Ulster (AU)*, which provides the fullest coverage geographically.²¹⁴ Although this work is very late, it is widely regarded to be based on earlier texts, with its

²¹⁰ Dudo of St Quentin, *History of the Normans*, E. Christiansen ed & trans. (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1988).

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50. The site of the treaty itself, and the size of the grant are also questionable.

²¹² *Ibid.*, n. 210, p. 196.

²¹³ Janet Nelson, trans. & annotated, *The Annals of St-Bertin*. Ninth-Century Histories, Volume I (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1991); Timothy Reuter, trans. & annotated, *The Annals of Fulda*. Ninth-Century Histories, Volume II (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992).

²¹⁴ Kathryn Grabowski & David N. Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales: the Clonmacnoise-group texts* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1984), p. 5; Seán Mac Airt & Gearóid Mac Niocaill, eds., *The Annals Of Ulster (to A.D. 1131) Part 1: Text and Translation* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983), pp. vii-xii.

early origin highlighted by it preserving older forms of the Irish language than other extant texts.²¹⁵ Indeed it is usually preferred by scholars to the earliest of the Irish chronicles, the late eleventh-century *Annals of Inisfallen*.²¹⁶ *AU* is not only useful for comparative purposes but it also occasionally makes independent comment on events concerning the great army and early Norse settlers in the north of England.

The Scandinavian homelands are also of importance to this work. There are no known contemporary Norse sources specifically about the conquests and settlement by members of the great army and other Norse up to c. 900. Although there are a number of Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Scandinavian homelands about the later activities of Knut in England, there are none about this earlier success, and indeed no Scandinavian runic inscriptions at all from the settlement area dated to this period.²¹⁷ The poem *Knutsdrapa*, attributed to Sighvart the Scald, is dated to about 1030, during Knut's reign in England, and includes a verse describing how one of the leaders of the great army, Ivar, killed the Northumbrian king Ælle by carving a 'blood eagle' on his back.²¹⁸ There are two later Icelandic sagas about the conquest but their information is often widely inaccurate, making their usefulness as sources for the conquest questionable. The fourteenth-century *Saga of Ragnar Lothbrok and his sons* (*Ragnars saga loðbrókar ok sona hans*) is a semi-mythical tale about the motivation for the great army's decision to go to England. The saga claims that a large army came to England to avenge the death of Ragnar at the hands of the Northumbrian king Ella (Ælle)²¹⁹ and that Ivar, one of Ragnar's sons, was successful in founding London, conquering England,²²⁰ and ruling it until he died of old age.²²¹ The saga uses a number of themes from the *Völsunga saga*, resulting in it being dismissed by most

²¹⁵ Emer Purcell, 'Ninth-century Viking entries in the Irish annals: 'no 'forty years' rest'', in Sheehan & Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), pp. 322-3.

²¹⁶ Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales*, p. 3; Seán Mac Airt, trans. & ed., *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Ms. Rawlinson B.503), (The Dublin Institute For Advanced Studies, 1951).

²¹⁷ The Scandinavian runic corpus of England can be found in Michael P. Barnes and R.I. Page, *The Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of Britain*. Runrön 19, (Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet, 2006), pp. 278-337. See also the Samnordisk runtextdatabas.

²¹⁸ Whitelock, *EHD*, 16, p. 310.

²¹⁹ Margaret Schlauch, trans., *The Saga Of The Volsungs, The Saga Of Ragnar Lodbrok, together with The Lay Of Kraka* (AMS Print, New York, 1978), ch. XV, pp. 237-9.

²²⁰ *Ibid*, ch. XVII, pp. 246-250.

²²¹ *Ibid*, ch. XVIII, pp. 250-2.

scholars as having no independent value as a historical source.²²² The *Tale of Ragnar's sons* (*Pátr af Ragnars sonum*), which expands on some of the themes in the *Saga of Ragnar Lothbrok*, changes the city founded by Ivar from London to York and also includes the death of King Edmund at the hands of Ivar, but otherwise retains the outline of the other saga.²²³ Although these works contain some historically verifiable facts, for example the deaths of kings Ælle and Edmund at the hands of the great army, probably under the leadership of Ivar, and the subsequent conquest of their kingdoms, apart from providing a possible motivation for campaigning in England they add no new information. While Alfred Smyth has used these and other pieces of information drawn from Icelandic sagas in his work on the great army, the late and romanticised nature of the works continues to see them disregarded by most scholars, as they will be in this thesis.²²⁴

Unfortunately contemporary written sources about ninth-century Scandinavia are also very limited. For the early christian missions to Scandinavia, which are important in relation to the culture the Norse may have been exposed to prior to emigrating, we are largely reliant on Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* (*Life of Anskar*), written shortly after Anskar's death in 865.²²⁵ Rimbert was Anskar's successor as bishop of Hamburg-Bremen and also personally knew Anskar, making his work an important source despite his bias in promoting the interests of his bishopric. As with the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* by Abbo of Fleury, Rimbert's work recounts few miraculous events during Anskar's lifetime, increasing confidence in the veracity of the account.²²⁶

Archaeological source material

The Norse conquests and settlements in England has until recently been dominated by the research of historians. However the lack of new primary sources coming to light, along

²²² Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 245; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St. Edmund', p. 226; Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, pp. 37-9. An English translation can be found in Schlauch, *The Saga Of The Volsungs, The Saga Of Ragnar Lodbrok, together with The Lay Of Kraka*.

²²³ An English translation of the tale can be found in Peter Tunstall, trans., *The Tale of Ragnar's Sons* (2005), available at www.northvegr.org [accessed May 5, 2010].

²²⁴ For Smyth's use of the saga material see *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850-880*.

²²⁵ A translation of Rimbert's work is available in Charles H. Robinson, trans., '*Vita Anskarii*', *Anskar the Apostle of the North 801-865* (The Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel In Foreign Parts, Croydon, 1921).

²²⁶ For example see Ian Wood, 'Christians and pagans in ninth-century Scandinavia', in B. Sawyer, P. Sawyer, & I. Wood, eds., *The Christianization of Scandinavia* (Viktoria Bokförlag, Alingsås, 1987), pp. 36-41. For an overview of the written sources see Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, pp. 11-17.

with the increased recovery of archaeological material, both in controlled excavations and more recently by metal-detectorists, has seen archaeologists take the dominant role within the field over recent years.²²⁷ In addition, the establishment of the Portable Antiquities Scheme online database in 1999 has created an important catalogue of archaeological finds.²²⁸ Archaeological evidence is crucial to this thesis as it contributes substantial information on the everyday life of both the Norse settlers and local populations, and such evidence provides clues to the interaction between the two groups. It also often adds substance to the written sources. As we have seen, the written sources records the campaigns of the great army and when its members decided to settle in the three conquered territories, but after this they are largely silent on what happened upon settlement. The archaeological record is crucial in rectifying this sense of silence. Moreover, along with the help provided by place-names, archaeological evidence is essential in understanding urbanisation, Norse patronage of the church, and the acculturation evident in artistic styles. The most important archaeological evidence to this thesis will now be discussed.

Despite the difficulty of finding archaeological evidence of a medieval army on campaign, we are particularly fortunate with regards to the great army. The army moved to a different location every year, often building itself a temporary camp in which to spend the winter and conduct military activities from. The construction of a camp at Reading is described in some detail by Asser,²²⁹ but it is the excavation of the great army's winter camp at Repton that allows us a real understanding of the kind of defences that the great army used.²³⁰ The other archaeological evidence from the campaigning period is the numerous coin hoards that are seen to be associated with the activity of the great army, and some weapon burials that are likewise associated with the campaigning period.²³¹ Once

²²⁷ For example the most recent books on the Norse in England have all been written by people working in archaeology: Richards, *Viking Age England* (revised edition: 2000); Hadley, *The Vikings In England* (2006), although the latter was trained in history and uses written sources extensively.

²²⁸ For their website see www.finds.org.uk/ [accessed June 10, 2010].

²²⁹ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 35, in Keynes & Lapidge, p. 78.

²³⁰ See Martin Biddle & Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', in J. Graham-Campbell, R.A. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), pp. 45-96.

²³¹ See M. Biddle & J. Blair, 'The Hook Norton hoard of 1848: a Viking burial from Oxfordshire?', *Oxoniensia* 57 (1987), pp. 186-95. An overview of all of the archaeological material that may be associated with the great army is provided in James Graham-Campbell, 'The Archaeology of the 'Great Army' (865-79)', in E. Roesdahl & J.P. Schjødt, eds., *Treogtyvende tværfaglige Vikingsymposium* (Forlaget Hikuin og Afdeling for Middelalderarkæologi, Aarhus Universitet, 2004), pp. 30-46.

members of the army started to settle, the amount of archaeological material naturally increases. There are a number of late ninth-century burials which are likely to be from the early settlement period.²³² There is also important information about the early settlement period in urban centres like York and Lincoln, and the ever-increasing number of jewellery items with Norse characteristics being discovered provides possible indications of cultural affiliations and the origin of the Norse immigrants. Some stone sculpture is also important in this regard. There is a similar array of archaeological evidence of use to this work available from other areas of Norse activity which will be used for comparative purposes.

Interpretation of personal items associated with the Norse found in England is beset with difficulties. It cannot be certain that any individual artefact arrived in England with a member of a Norse army or early Norse settler. Instead some items may have arrived through trade or as gifts.²³³ It is also possible that an artefact considered to be 'Norse' did not come directly with someone from the Scandinavian homelands, but instead arrived with a person who had spent a considerable amount of time elsewhere in the Norse world, or indeed was manufactured in Eastern England or another area with Norse settlers. There is a similar problem with artefacts that may be thought to have arrived with Norse settlers from other Norse areas, for example ring headed pins that probably came from Ireland. It has been noted that most of the 'Norse' items found in England are actually in a hybrid Anglo-Norse style and are part of both communities creating a new identity.²³⁴ Consequently such items are as likely to have appealed to Anglo-Saxons in the settlement areas as to Norse settlers themselves. Many artefacts are also difficult to date specifically to the narrow time period of 865-900. Most of the 'Norse' artefacts discussed in this thesis were included in burials, often dateable within at least a decade, or coin hoards which can also be quite accurately dated.²³⁵ However many stray finds may be reasonably associated with a known historic event involving the Norse, but such suggestions are not susceptible to proof. These difficulties will be borne in mind throughout this thesis.

²³² For an overview of the burials see Hadley, *The Vikings In England*, pp. 239-46.

²³³ For a suggestion that this could have been the case with much of the Norse-style jewellery, see Penelope Walton Rogers, 'The Significance of a Viking Woman's Burial in the Danelaw', in Greg Speed and Penelope Walton Rogers, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 48 (2004), pp. 86-7.

²³⁴ Richards, 'Identifying Anglo-Scandinavian Settlements', p. 302.

²³⁵ Many of the burials of use to this thesis are datable by associated coins, or with the known movements of the great army. Others, which cannot be as closely dated, are those dated by art-historical analysis of accompanying items.

The amount of archaeological evidence being recovered from the period of Norse settlement in England has increased greatly in the last decade and continues to do so primarily due to the increased use of metal-detectors by amateur enthusiasts, and their willingness to inform experts of their finds.²³⁶ The increase in finds is of immense benefit to scholars, expanding the quantity of certain objects, especially those of everyday use. Metal detector users also discover objects over a far greater geographical area than would occur in excavations, which predominantly find objects from burial or urban settlement contexts. However this increase in finds is not without its problems. The objects are rarely recovered during controlled excavations, which can make it impossible to ascertain the context and stratigraphy of the finds, and sometimes even the find location is not accurately recorded. Such finds may lead to a significant increase in the dots on a map of objects from the settlement period but no increased understanding of the overall landscape and cultural interaction of the period.²³⁷ Another difficulty is that the use of metal detectors is leading to a large increase in the finds of metal objects which can easily present an unbalanced picture of the frequency of use of objects at the times. Even if an object of bone, wood, ivory, glass, stone or ceramic is nearby it is likely to be missed by the metal-detectorist digging for a metal object. One of the challenges of the discipline is to incorporate this ever-growing amount of material into a synthesis of evidence in a balanced fashion.

Archaeological material from other parts of the Norse world is also of use to this thesis. Material recovered from ninth century contexts in the Scandinavian homelands, especially at some of the Scandinavian trading centres, provides a possible indication of the cultural background of the early Norse settlers in England. Archaeological evidence from Norse colonies in the Irish Sea region are also of use for this purpose, especially material recovered from Dublin, whose Norse population, it will be argued, had links with the early Norse settlers in England. Unfortunately archaeological evidence for Norse activity in Francia, especially Frisia, is not as abundant despite the reports of Norse involvement in the primary written sources. However the appearance of Frankish objects and styles, especially

²³⁶ This is in part due to the Portable Antiquities Scheme. For an overview of the impact of metal detectorists see Richards & Naylor, 'The metal detector and the Viking Age in England', pp. 338-9.

²³⁷ A project has been underway to tackle this problem and make sense of the new data – see: <http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/vasle/index.html>. For an overview of the project see Richards & Naylor, 'The metal detector and the Viking Age in England', pp. 341-51.

in the production of coinage and pottery, roughly coinciding with the recorded Norse settlements in England is of crucial importance to this thesis.

By concentrating on the early settlers, re-examining the available evidence, and using relevant aspects of migration theory, this thesis will attempt to answer some of the many questions raised by the entry from the *ASC* about the Norse settlement of Mercia and the agreement with Ceolwulf with which this chapter began, questions that relate equally to the Norse settlements in East Anglia and Northumbria. This will be achieved by providing an understanding of where the early Norse settlers to England came from and what cultural experiences they are likely to have had, which in turn may help to explain why the process of culture contact occurred as it did upon settlement. Chapter 2 will examine the tenets of migration theory and demonstrate that although not all are applicable to the migration in question, perhaps in part due to an absence of available evidence, some are of use to this study. In chapter 3 the likely origins of the members of the great army and other early settlers will be explored in order to determine what cultural attributes they are likely to have brought with them. The textual arguments of previous scholars for a connection between the Norse in Dublin and the great army leadership will be reviewed, and additional archaeological connections will be suggested. I will also posit a connection between the early Norse settlers and northern Francia, and suggest a possible motivation for the migration. Chapter 4 will consider the use of Anglo-Saxon client kings by the great army in the period between the conquest of a kingdom and Norse settlement, and will suggest reasons and an inspiration for this arrangement. The final two chapters will examine aspects of Norse cultural and political innovation and assimilation, including the establishment of boundaries upon settlement, the creation of buffer zones, and the possible reasons for the different economic decisions of Norse Northumbria and East Anglia. Chapter 6, concentrating on perhaps the most obvious example of Norse acculturation, their adoption of at least the outward cultural forms of christianity, offers a possible explanation of how they were able to make this decision so quickly. The Conclusion will include consideration of a minor theme that runs through the thesis without being directly addressed in a chapter: the possibility that the Norse intended to settle in England from the time of the great army's arrival in 865.

To this end, in the next chapter I will examine migration theory, breaking it down to nine commonly occurring tenets, and determine which of those apply to the migration under examination. The applicable tenets will then inform the remainder of the thesis, encouraging a fresh look at the evidence.

Chapter 2: Migration theory and the Norse migration to eastern England

One of the overall aims of this work is to examine the settlement of members of the great army and other early Norse settlers, so it is appropriate to begin by considering their migration, as the aims and processes of the migration may have affected the nature of the settlement. The purpose of this chapter is not to tackle such logistical issues as how many boats may have been required and exactly which routes the migrants took, but to examine the ways in which migration theory provides insights to assist our understanding of the ninth-century Norse immigration to England. Previous studies of human migrations have shown that migrations usually have similar characteristics, so in a proto-historical situation where evidence is scanty migration theory can be particularly useful in suggesting why immigration may have occurred and how the immigrants may have acted at various stages of the migration process. Although applying modern migration theory can never establish truths about proto-historical migrations, it can suggest productive questions and approaches to the problem. By using this theoretical approach this chapter aims to assess the historically documented Norse invasion and settlement of eastern England.

An important acknowledgement by those involved in designing policies and guidelines for future migrations is that ‘Migration has been a constant and influential feature of human history’.¹ As a well documented and ongoing phenomenon,² human migration has been studied for well over a century and is the subject of a number of academic journals.³ Despite this recognition by policy makers and scholars from various disciplines of the historical importance of human migrations it has not always been

¹ Significantly, this acknowledgement of the importance of migration in the past is the first sentence of the *GCIM Report. Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for action* (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005), p. 5. The full report is available at www.gcim.org/en/finalreport.html [accessed January 26, 2009].

² For example in 1997 there were an estimated 80 million ‘economic’ migrants per year, John Chapman & Helena Hamerow, ‘On the Move Again: Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation’, in J. Chapman & H. Hamerow, eds., *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation* (Archaeopress, Oxford, 1997), p. 5; and UN statistics indicate that there were nearly 175 million migrants in 2000, *GCIM Report*, p. 12.

³ For example: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*; *International Migration*; *International Migration Review*; *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*; *European Journal of Migration and Law*; and *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal*. For the academic disciplines involved see for example the papers in C.B. Brettell & J.F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (Routledge, New York, 2000); and B. Agozino, ed., *Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Migration Research: Interdisciplinary, intergenerational and international perspectives* (Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2000).

acknowledged by scholars working on Anglo-Saxon England. From the 1960s to the 1990s the significance of migrations as a primary explanation for some apparent changes in material culture in England in the pre- and proto-historic era was downplayed in most works in the Anglophone world, in part due to the influence of processual archaeology.⁴ More recently some archaeologists have again started to accept migration as a major contributing factor in cultural changes, and migration theory has been used to examine the Anglo-Saxon migrations to Britain.⁵ Although the identification of specific migrants may not be always possible, DNA studies also suggest that post-Palaeolithic migration to Britain did occur.⁶ Despite this, migration theory has rarely been used in discussions of the Norse settlements in ninth-century England, with a short article by Trafford and a section of a book by Redmond being exceptions.⁷ As noted by Trafford and Redmond, regardless of which discipline scholars work in they speak of Norse settlers and settlement but less often discuss the migration that obviously had to precede settlement. Even those that do, primarily by mentioning the campaigns of the great army and its subsequent settlements, rarely engage with the theories of migration. Instead the focus is on the migrants once they settled. The structure and characteristics of the migration that resulted in the settlement is rarely considered.⁸

⁴ Due to its emphasis on cultural evolution rather than outside influence as the main explanatory factor of cultural changes. See Chapman & Hamerow, 'On the Move Again: Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation', p. 1. The move away from migration as an explanation was not as apparent in continental Europe, Burmeister, 'Archaeology and Migration', p. 539.

⁵ For a brief overview of the re-emergence of migration theory possibly due to contemporary geo-political events and the use of DNA evidence, see Heinrich Härke, 'The debate on migration and identity in Europe', *Antiquity* 78:300, (2004), pp. 453 & 456. For the use of migration theory in the Anglo-Saxon migration to Britain see Anthony, 'Migration in Archaeology', pp. 895-914; Burmeister, 'Archaeology and Migration', pp. 539-553; the six papers that make up J. Chapman & H. Hamerow, eds., *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*; and C.J. Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. New Edition (Routledge, London, 1997), pp. 19-32.

⁶ Evison, 'All in the Genes?', pp. 288-9.

⁷ Trafford, 'Ethnicity, migration theory and the historiography of the Scandinavian settlement of England', pp. 17-39. Trafford also wrote a PhD on the Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Norman migrations, but this focused more on the historiography of each of these migrations rather than applying migration theory to them: Simon Justin Patrick Trafford, *Theoretical Approaches to Early Medieval Migration*. Unpublished PhD thesis (University of York, 1997). Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 54-68. Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, is often informed by migration theory without directly interacting with it, although she does discuss a single aspect of migration theory, tenet 7 below, at pp. 82-3. Eric Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age The Peoples of Europe* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2002), is aware of migration theory, citing both Burmeister and Trafford in his chapter 'Emigration' (pp. 214-35), but its theories are not utilised.

⁸ Trafford, 'Ethnicity, migration theory and the historiography of the Scandinavian settlement of England', p. 20; Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 54. Examples of this are the recent monographs on

As mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, this absence of migration theory may in part be linked to the debate over numbers which for a long time was central to studies of the Norse in England. Those scholars who argued in favour of a small army and number of settlers may have seen little advantage in applying a theory which has often been used to explain the movements of large numbers of people. For example Niels Lund states that ‘migration’ is not a suitable description for the Norse in England as the settlement ‘does not supply us with numerous Danish peasant colonists in England’, implying that only a large number of economically disadvantaged people should be considered as migrants.⁹ This position was augmented by the growing importance of archaeology to the study of the Norse, with practitioners of processual archaeology reluctant to ascribe changes in the cultural record to migration.¹⁰ This was a natural reaction to previous scholars who had over-emphasised large movements of people, using them to explain away all changes in culture.¹¹ Yet those who did not accept this position also did not engage in migration theory. This includes scholars who spoke in terms of large migrations, in particular language specialists, who argue that the influence of ON in England can be accounted for only by a large number of ON speakers.¹² The failure to use migration theory may in part be due to it being unfamiliar to the academic disciplines that are primarily involved with examining the Norse. But although migrations of a large number of people are easier to track, a single person or kin group moving from, for example, France to Australia is still undertaking a migration, and some aspects of migration theory could be applied to them.

the Norse in England: Hadley, *The Vikings in England*; Richards, *Viking Age England*; Holman, *The Northern Conquest*.

⁹ Niels Lund, ‘The settlers: where do we get them from – and do we need them?’, in H. Bekker-Nielsen, P. Foote, & O. Olsen, eds., *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress* (Odense University Press, Odense, 1981), p. 155. This position was reiterated in Niels Lund, ‘Allies of God or Man? The Viking Expansion in a European Context’, *Viator* XIX (1989), p. 58.

¹⁰ For an overview of the debate see Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, pp. 895-914; passim ‘The bath refilled’, pp. 174-6; & Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, pp. 539-40.

¹¹ Perhaps the best known example in the context of Norse settlement in England was Frank Stenton’s opinion that all of the free peasants living in the areas of earlier Norse settlement recorded in *Domesday Book* were the descendants of the Norse armies that settled in the 870s, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 515-19. For criticism of this approach see William Y. Adams, Dennis P. Van Gerven, & Richard S. Levy, ‘The Retreat From Migrationism’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1978), pp. 483-532.

¹² For a succinct overview from a language scholar in favour of a large migration see Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England*, pp. 47-8.

At its most simple, migration is ‘the action taken by migrants as they move from one geographic point to another geographic point’.¹³ Consequently, regardless of a scholar’s personal opinion of the number of Norse settlers in England up to 900 AD, or indeed the type of people who moved, migration theory is still applicable. The available written sources inform us of the leaders of the great army and an indeterminate number of followers who took part in three settlements, augmented by a later settlement in the 890s.¹⁴ That there was some level of Norse migration has never seriously been in doubt, and it has now been confirmed in recent years by stable isotope analysis of the teeth of Norse burials.¹⁵ Less certain is whether the members of the great army arrived as a group of would-be migrants intent on conquering themselves a homeland, or if their intent changed at some point during the campaign. Yet the notices in the *ASC* of members of both the great army and 890s army settling ultimately makes them immigrants, regardless of when the decision to settle was made. Indeed, even some of those who may have left after initially settling in England could still be considered temporary migrants.

Incidents of diffusion and trade no doubt do account for some of the ninth-century Norse material found in England. The contemporary account of the Norse visitor Ohthere bringing walrus ivory to England during the settlement period is one known example.¹⁶ There is also a likely example of cultural diffusion in the letter of Alcuin to King Æthelred of Northumbria about the attack on Lindisfarne, which indicates that some people in Northumbria were imitating the hairstyle of the Norse.¹⁷ It does not require a migration of Norse people to Northumbria for their hairstyle to become popular, and in this instance their hairstyle may have become fashionable by the Norse visiting as traders or to the court of Æthelred.¹⁸ Yet the written historical record does indicate that a migration occurred in

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁴ Swanton, *ASC*, 876, 877, 880, 897, pp. 74, 76, 89.

¹⁵ These results will be discussed in detail below.

¹⁶ Batley, ‘Ohthere’s report’, p. 45.

¹⁷ Bjørn Myhre, ‘The beginning of the Viking Age – some current archaeological problems’, in A. Faulkes & R. Perkins, eds., *Viking Revaluations* (Viking Society for Northern Research, London, 1993), p. 188. For a translation of the letter see Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, 193, pp. 775-7.

¹⁸ It is difficult to prove that there were not Norse living in Northumbria at the time and the possibility should not be discounted, as will be discussed below. The example here is merely to indicate an example of a cultural change that could have happened without a migration.

the latter ninth century and this event is likely to account for at least some, and quite probably most, of the cultural changes that are identified by scholars.¹⁹

As it has been established that some Norse immigration (on whatever scale) to eastern England during the latter ninth century did occur, and therefore migration theory could be applicable, it remains to examine this theory and its usefulness before attempting to apply it. Beginning with its earliest practitioner Ernest Ravenstein, the theory has developed a number of tenets that are thought to account for, in varying degrees, the actions of migrants.²⁰ Ravenstein developed his theory using the results of the 1881 British Census, which he later augmented with data from over twenty other countries.²¹ Such use of statistical evidence lends some credibility to the theory, but none of its tenets can be considered as absolute. Indeed, migration theory has been characterised as ‘a set of loosely related general empirical statements describing migrational relationships between sources and destinations’.²² David Anthony explains that ‘migration can be understood as a behaviour that is *typically* performed by defined subgroups (often kin-recruited) with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and *likely* to use familiar routes’ and ‘migration can be viewed as a process that *tends* to develop in a broadly predictable manner once it begins’ [my emphasis].²³ This is an indication that not all migrations will necessarily follow the same patterns, and Anthony explains that trade relationships, transport technology and social organisation are some of the factors that may ‘constrain some of these processes’.²⁴ Furthermore, Everett Lee, one of the most influential migration theorists since Ravenstein, described his theories on migration as ‘hypotheses’.²⁵ As such, each tenet of migration theory needs to be justified through the use of documented migrations, and

¹⁹ The most significant of these is the influence of ON on the English language and place-names. See Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England*. Other changes include the artefacts produced in Scandinavia discussed below, and the influence of Norse art styles on items produced in England.

²⁰ Ernest G. Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, *Journal of the Statistical Society* 48 (1885), pp. 167-235; and passim. ‘The Laws of Migration: second paper’, *Journal of the Statistical Society* 52 (1889), pp. 241-305. Although Ravenstein and some subsequent scholars discuss the ‘laws’ of migration the term will not be used in this thesis. Instead what I consider to be more appropriate terms, ‘tenets’ and ‘principles’, will be used.

²¹ Everett Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, *Demography* 3 (1966), p. 47.

²² Wilbur Zelinsky, ‘The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition’, *Geographical Review* 61 (1971), p. 220.

²³ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology: the baby and the bathwater’, pp. 895-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 896.

²⁵ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 52.

they then need to be tested for their applicability to the Norse migrations.²⁶ This creates certain obstacle. Unlike modern migrations which can be, and are, tested by such things as census statistics and interviews, no such specific data exists for ninth-century England.²⁷ Despite this, written sources for the Norse migration are relatively plentiful compared to other migrations of the early medieval period, including the Anglo-Saxon migration to England. Furthermore, there is an important and ever increasing amount of archaeological evidence which may elucidate aspects of the Norse migration. Although these are not the types of statistical data usually employed in migration theory, this does not mean that the information available on the Norse cannot be used, as will be demonstrated in the discussion below.

Another obstacle to using migration theory for the Norse migration is that it was not developed to explain pre- and proto-historic migrations. The use of 1881 census data in Ravenstein's original 1885 paper on migration theory is a useful reminder that the theory was based on the recent past, using data concerned with individuals and families.²⁸ A good example of this interest with the individual is the ethnographic approach, in which observation and 'in-depth interviewing [of migrants] over the course of many months or years, solely or principally by an individual ethnographer' is carried out.²⁹ By contrast, pre- and proto-historians are usually concerned with migrations that have left significant amounts of evidence, and this form of population movement implies numbers greater than that of the individual or family.³⁰

A further problem with using migration theory to examine a proto-historical migration is that it has been argued that the scale of population movements was markedly

²⁶ Arguably a failing of Redmond's work was not providing proof that migration theory was not simply a theory with little historical validity. She also fails to systematically apply her list of tenets to the Norse migration to England, something which I will do below.

²⁷ Although *Domesday Book* was a form of census and its information has been used by previous scholars in discussions of the Norse settlements, it is not easily applicable as it requires scholars to take the information from *Domesday* and project back roughly two centuries in an attempt to apply it to the period of the Norse invasions, for which there is no similar collection of data. Consequently *Domesday Book* will not be used in my discussion of the Norse migration. Some data is obtainable from Norse burials for the age and sex of Norse migrants and is presented below in Tables 1-3, pp. 95, 102, 107.

²⁸ Trafford, *Theoretical Approaches to Early Medieval Migration*, p. 10. Another example of recent statistical data being used in migration studies is Claudia Diehl & Rainer Schnell, "Reactive Ethnicity" or "Assimilation"? Statements, Arguments, and First Empirical Evidence for Labor Migrations in Germany', *International Migration Review* 40 (2006), pp. 766-816.

²⁹ Sarah J. Mahler & Patricia R. Pessar, 'Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies', *International Migration Review* 40 (2006), p. 30.

³⁰ Trafford, *Theoretical Approaches to Early Medieval Migration*, p. 14.

changed by the Industrial Revolution, making comparisons of migrations on either side of this event impossible.³¹ For example it has been suggested that in c. 1800 most European migrants were ‘led by farmers and artisans from rural areas, travelling in family groups’,³² which suggests that the ‘family groups’ would have included all ages from infants or young children to grandparents. In contrast, by the end of the nineteenth century the migrants were increasingly young adults from urban areas.³³ However, in a study of the preindustrial migration from England to New England before 1650, Richard Archer found that most migrants were young adults,³⁴ male, and a significant portion of the young men were unmarried.³⁵ London was ranked fifth in the place of previous residence for the emigrants.³⁶ These results challenge the presumption that preindustrial migrants were family groups, and somewhat lessen the expectation that they were necessarily from rural areas. There is also scientific evidence of both short and long distance migration occurring in the early medieval period. Of the oxygen isotope samples obtained from 24 burials at the fifth to seventh century cemetery at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire, four of those buried had probably spent their childhoods in Scandinavia,³⁷ thirteen had migrated to the area from the west over the Pennines, and only seven were native to the area.³⁸ Furthermore, analysis of isotopes obtained from cemeteries from the eighth to tenth centuries AD in Newcastle upon Tyne and north Lincolnshire demonstrated that ‘A number of individuals changed their area of residence one or more times over the course of their childhood implying that they and possibly their communities were not sedentary in nature’.³⁹ Similarly, Jeanette Brock presents evidence of significant emigration from Scotland prior to

³¹ Zelinsky, ‘The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition’, p. 230. This position is followed in Irving Rouse, *Migrations in Prehistory: inferring population movement from cultural remains* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1986), pp. 161-3.

³² Timothy J. Hatton & Jeffrey G. Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1998), p. 11. It is somewhat disturbing that the authors include no evidence for the migrants of c. 1800 whereas they do for later in the nineteenth century, making it possible that their description of earlier migrants is an assumption.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Richard Archer, ‘New England Mosaic: A Demography Analysis for the Seventeenth Century’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. 47 (1990), p. 480. Two-thirds of migrants were aged 10-39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 481. About one third of immigrants were young single men.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Table IV, p. 483.

³⁷ To be discussed below, p. 69.

³⁸ Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, ‘Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis’, pp. 135-6.

³⁹ Pamela M. Macpherson, *Tracing Change: An Isotopic Investigation of Anglo-Saxon Childhood Diet*. Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Sheffield, Department of Archaeology, 2006), p. I. Some of those buried at these cemeteries had also migrated to England.

1800, arguing that the culture of emigration was ‘established well before the seventeenth century’.⁴⁰ Contrary to the argument about preindustrial migration at the start of this paragraph, these results suggest that preindustrial migration was common and could be on a large scale. Consequently scholars of the preindustrial period should not be discouraged from using migration theory on the basis that these migrations were inherently different than industrial ones. Instead, the tenets of migration theory can be tested against the available evidence. Those tenets that do not appear to be applicable may be discarded while those that are can be considered further. Although Brock’s work appears to be informed by migration theory, this thesis will apply it to a much earlier period.⁴¹ Indeed one of the outcomes of this chapter will be to demonstrate that some aspects of migration theory are applicable to the Norse migration, and therefore may also be of use in examining other preindustrial migrations.

Various scholars have formulated a number of broad principles of population movement over the last century. There is no definitive and agreed list of tenets available.⁴² However most are a variation on the original ‘laws’ proposed by Ravenstein, augmented by the ‘push-pull’ theory developed by Everett Lee, whereby various pushes at home and/or pulls to the destination encourage people to migrate.⁴³ The theories of Ravenstein and Lee also form the basis of the tenets proposed by David Anthony in two articles that specifically deal with the possibility of applying migration theory to pre- and proto-historic migrations.⁴⁴ As the ninth-century Norse migration is best described as proto-historic the tenets used by Anthony are particularly suitable for this chapter. The migration theory principles which I use here are adapted from Anthony’s work, although they are also found in the works of others, dating back to Ravenstein. These tenets may be summarised as:

- 1) Most migration is local migration – the numbers of migrants decrease as the distance increases.

⁴⁰ Jeanette M. Brock, *The Mobile Scot. A Study of Emigration and Migration 1861-1911* (John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh, 1999), p. 15.

⁴¹ Brock never explicitly mentions migration theory, but many of the tenets discussed below appear in her work.

⁴² For an overview of the different approaches to migration theory see Stephen Castles & Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 3rd edition (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 21-32.

⁴³ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, pp. 47-57.

⁴⁴ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology: the baby and the bathwater’, pp. 895-914; & Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration as Social Process’, pp. 21-32.

- 2) 'Push and pull' factors determine the motivation to migrate.
- 3) First settlers gain status from helping later migrants.
- 4) Migration is more likely to occur when transportation costs are low.
- 5) Migrants usually gain information about their destination from 'scouts', creating a migration chain in which migrants often 'leap-frog' other places in order to arrive at the desired destination.
- 6) Once a migratory flow is established it tends to continue.
- 7) Migrants are a select group – usually more men than women, and predominantly young adults.
- 8) Migrants are more likely to be people who have migrated previously.
- 9) Migrants often return to their place of origin.⁴⁵

Of course not every migration will show evidence of all these tenets, and in a proto-historic situation like the Norse migration to England the nature of the evidence makes the task of identifying these trends especially difficult. Yet it is still a worthwhile exercise to briefly review the historical evidence to demonstrate that these aspects of migration theory actually have a basis in documented migrations, and then to see which of them can reasonably be said to apply to the Norse being studied in this work. To date, research on the ninth-century Norse migrations has often concentrated on the named military leaders. Modern migration theory however suggests that the demographic characteristics, practices, and motivations of the bulk of the migrating population are vital in determining the course of migrations; and provides a set of hypotheses about these factors which are worth testing against both written and archaeological evidence from the ninth century. In the process new or rarely asked questions emerge such as: 'Was the Norse migration a new event or part of a longer process?'; 'What was the likely demographic make-up of the migrants?'; 'What was the likely background of the migrants?'; 'Did the early settlers gain enhanced status?'; and 'Was the migration directed towards specific locations?'

⁴⁵ Adapted from Anthony, 'Migration in Archaeology: the baby and the bathwater', pp. 895-914; & Anthony, 'Prehistoric Migration as Social Process', pp. 21-32. A similar, though not identical, list can be found in Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 55-6.

Tenets of limited use to this thesis (tenets 1-4)

The following discussion will briefly deal with those aspects of migration theory which cannot be easily applied to the example of the Norse, before exploring in more detail those tenets that do appear to be applicable.

Of the nine tenets of migration theory listed above, one can immediately be discarded from the discussion. Tenet 1, which claims that most migration is local migration is clearly not applicable as it cannot be said that the Norse migrations to England were local. This is especially the case when one considers that a modern example of a local migration could be a family moving from one suburb to another within the same city.⁴⁶

A further three tenets, those dealing with push/pull factors (2), the increased status of first settlers (3), and low transportation costs (4), cannot be tested due to a lack of information, such as statistical data and first-hand accounts of the motivations of the migrants. However this does not presuppose that some of these do not apply to the Norse migrations to England. The lack of available data for the Norse is perhaps most detrimental to applying Tenet 2 and its push and pull factors, by which the possible reasons for migrations are assessed. Push and pull factors, especially economic considerations, were part of Ravenstein's original papers and remain one of the cornerstones of migration theory.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, without any written evidence from the Norse indicating why they migrated to England, or obvious reasons in the environmental/archaeological record, the reasons behind the undertakings remain conjecture.⁴⁸

Determining the earliest Norse settlers archaeologically and then ascertaining if they were successful and subsequently gained status, as suggested in Tenet 3, is very difficult. Migration theory suggests that status can be gained by early settlers through helping later

⁴⁶ Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', p. 57. Yet distance is a relative concept and for a potential Norse migrant in an area facing Britain, like Dublin, moving to eastern England may have been considered comparatively close compared to other potential destinations within the Norse world, for example Iceland or Kiev.

⁴⁷ Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', pp. 167-235; and 'The Laws of Migration: second paper', pp. 241-305. For the continued importance of economic push and pull factors see Sebnem Koser Akcapar, 'Conversion as a Migration Strategy in a Transit Country: Iranian Shiites Becoming Christians in Turkey', *International Migration Review* 40 (2006), p. 817. For a criticism of push and pull factors see Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 22-5, and the works cited therein.

⁴⁸ Such discussion will be briefly entered into in chapter 3, wherein push and pull factors will be revisited.

migrants by easing the obstacles of immigration.⁴⁹ A Norse example of this tenet in practice is the proposal that the early migrants to Iceland became the upper class in part by controlling settlement and renting livestock and land to later migrants.⁵⁰ There is a similar example of this for the Norse migrants to England. When a new Norse army arrived in the 890s those already settled allowed the army to leave ‘their women and their ships and their money’ in the Norse kingdoms,⁵¹ provided the army with military assistance,⁵² and allowed it to pass through their territory freely.⁵³ This considerable help in attempting to remove some of the obstacles to immigration appears to have been in order for the new army to win themselves a homeland somewhere in the Anglo-Saxon administered areas of Wessex or western Mercia.⁵⁴ Yet when the army abandoned this campaign only those army members who could buy themselves into the established Norse kingdoms were allowed to remain.⁵⁵ As with the Iceland example, it appears at least in most cases that early settlers would help later migrants only if the new arrivals had the finances necessary.

Tenet 4 proposes that the availability and cost of transport is an important factor in the migration process.⁵⁶ The geographic position of eastern England in relation to other Norse settlement areas dictated the use of ships, and there is textual evidence of the availability and capacity of Norse ships at the time.⁵⁷ However the relative cost to migrants of accessing shipping is impossible to determine.

Although these four tenets of migration theory cannot be proved to apply to the Norse migrations to England it is important to note that only one of them, that dealing with

⁴⁹ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 904; Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration as Social Process’, p. 26; Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 28. For example, 50% of Swedish migrants travelling to the USA in the 1880s had their passage paid for by previous Swedish emigrants, and similar figures are known for Finnish, Norwegian, and Danish emigrants to the USA, Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Orri Vésteinsson, ‘The archaeology of Landnám: Early settlement in Iceland’, in W. Fitzhugh & E. Ward, eds., *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 2000), p. 174.

⁵¹ Swanton, *ASC*, 894, p. 88; *hira wif 7 hira scipu 7 hira feoh*, Bately, *ASC*, 893, p. 58.

⁵² Swanton, *ASC*, 894, 895, pp. 85-8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ These campaigns happened after Guthrum, the great army leader who became king of East Anglia, had died (Swanton, *ASC*, 890, p. 82) and would have predominantly involved the first Anglo-Norse generation from East Anglia and Northumbria, especially in the military help, not the original settlers of the 870s.

⁵⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 897, p. 89.

⁵⁶ Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration as Social Process’, p. 24; Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ For example a Norse army with horses arrived in England from Francia in 893, reportedly on 250 ships. Swanton, *ASC*, 893, p. 84. Much longer and more hazardous journeys were undertaken by Norse migrants with livestock at this time to settle Iceland.

local migration, can be said conclusively not to apply. Some or all of the other three may have been the case in the Norse migrations, but they are impossible to test. That four of the nine aspects of migration theory proposed by other studies of proto-historic migrations cannot be proven to apply is hardly surprising considering the nature of the data available for analysis. There is certainty however about the applicability of the five tenets which will now be discussed.

5a) Prior contact and the use of scouts

‘It is a common observation that migrants proceed along well defined routes toward highly specific destinations’,⁵⁸ as ‘migrants are not likely to move to areas about which they have no information’.⁵⁹ It appears that in the modern era migrants acquire information, also referred to as ‘cultural capital’,⁶⁰ about their desired destination before they embark in all but the most extreme instances of forced migration. Even in ‘distress people do not [usually] move about randomly, but follow kin and co-residents to havens that have an attractive reputation’.⁶¹ The information acquired by migrants includes the best routes to take to reach the destination, and the conditions (political, economic, and social) to be found there.⁶² Today much of this information may be derived from electronic sources such as the internet and television but in the past it is most likely to have come from oral reports. Even with modern population movements information is provided by people effectively acting as ‘scouts’, either people who have already migrated to the desired destination, or other people from the prospective migrants’ home region who have visited the destination.⁶³ This usually results in migrants choosing from a very limited number of places to move to, as they tend to migrate to areas where family or friends reside.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 54.

⁵⁹ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 901. For an example of seventeenth century Scottish emigrants using information to choose their destination see Brock, *The Mobile Scot*, pp. 17-8.

⁶⁰ Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 27.

⁶¹ Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration as Social Process’, p. 27. For example when refugees (involuntary migrants) fled violence in Rwanda and entered Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) in 1994, they at least knew that Zaire was the closest safe place, and presumably also how to get there, Andreas Demuth, ‘Some Conceptual Thoughts on Migration Research’, in B. Agozino, ed., *Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, pp. 31, & 36-7.

⁶² On the flow of information see for example Demuth, ‘Some Conceptual Thoughts’, pp. 39-40; Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, pp. 54-5; Trafford, ‘Ethnicity, Migration Theory’, p. 26; Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration’, pp. 23-4; passim., ‘Migration in Archaeology’, pp. 900-01; Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, pp. 544 & 547.

⁶³ Trafford, ‘Ethnicity, migration theory’, p. 26.

⁶⁴ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 900.

Examples of this process include the emigration from Baan Dong Phong in Khon Kaen Province, to other areas of Northeast Thailand, whereby male scouts were initially sent out to find new settlement locations and households were later sent to settle the areas,⁶⁵ and a sample of 100 prospective migrants to New Zealand from England knowing more about their destination of choice, most often from other people, than 100 people who had no plans to emigrate.⁶⁶ It is difficult to know if pre-modern migrants would have acted in the same ways as those in these studies, but considering the geographic, cultural, and temporal range of these studies it does appear that gaining information from others that had already been to the migration destination was a common occurrence. Furthermore, obvious Norse examples of scouts relaying information about potential settlement destinations are the Norse discoveries of Iceland, Greenland, and north-west America, followed by the permanent settlement of the former two and the resource exploitation of the latter.⁶⁷ With regards to Iceland, it was presumably discovered by the Norse during the ninth century and settled from c. 871.⁶⁸ Ingólfr apparently acted as his own scout, returning to settle a few years after his initial landing.⁶⁹ It is therefore worth investigating the Norse migration for indications that these people had prior knowledge of eastern England.

It has been noted that ‘Mass migrations are extremely rare, and the improved state of research has often made it necessary to replace the supposition of prehistoric mass migration with the recognition of a process of infiltration that took place over centuries’.⁷⁰ Even in relation to episodes that are considered mass migrations, for example the migrations from Europe to North America between 1850 and 1914, it is noted that they are often part of a longer process. In this instance the period of mass migration saw the rate of

⁶⁵ H.L. Lefferts, Jr., ‘Frontier Demography: An Introduction’, in D.H. Miller & J.O. Steffen, eds., *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma, 1977), p. 44.

⁶⁶ L.B. Brown, ‘English Migrants to New Zealand: the Decision to Move’, *Human Relations* 13 (1960), pp. 171-3.

⁶⁷ For the Norse presence in the North Atlantic see James H. Barrett, ed., *Contact, Continuity and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2003).

⁶⁸ There is as yet no conclusive archaeological evidence of permanent settlement in Iceland prior to the arrival of the Norse. For a discussion of how closely the archaeological evidence of settlement matches the later Norse written account see Orri Vésteinsson, ‘Patterns of Settlement in Iceland: A Study in Prehistory’, *Saga-book of the Viking Society* 25 (1998), pp. 2-4.

⁶⁹ Ari Þorgilsson, *Íslendingabók*, ch. I, in *Íslendingabók – Kristni Saga. The Book of the Icelanders – The Story of the Conversion*. Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series vol. XVIII, S. Grønlie, trans. (Viking Society for Northern Research, London, 2006), p. 4. Ari fails to mention two earlier Norse journeys to Iceland which could also be included as scouting activity, *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

⁷⁰ Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, p. 540.

migration rise steeply from existing low levels before peaking and then declining again to lower levels.⁷¹ If a long term view were applied to the Norse in England then it could indeed be possible to suggest an infiltration lasting centuries, with a number of peaks in migration, of which the ninth-century Norse migrations would be one.⁷² Indeed, Stephen Oppenheimer has argued on the basis of genetic and linguistic evidence that people began migrating to Britain from Scandinavia during the Neolithic period.⁷³ Returning to the first millennium AD, the similarity of dress accessories supports the proposition that the collection of peoples referred to for the sake of convenience as the Anglo-Saxons who migrated to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries included peoples from much of Scandinavia, rather than just Jutland, amongst others.⁷⁴ It is interesting that the areas that were most likely settled by migrants from Scandinavia at this time were East Anglia and the central eastern seaboard,⁷⁵ the very areas settled by the Norse being studied in this thesis. In both of these places the Norse settlements appear to mimic the spatial distribution of the earlier settlements of peoples from the North Sea region. Indeed John Hines has observed that ‘the first Viking raiders to fall upon the English coast seem to have followed a route their forefathers had long previously established, and which had probably been maintained ever since’.⁷⁶ This is further emphasised by the evidence of early ‘Anglo-Saxon’ occupation of the area: there appears to have been more large Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Norfolk than in Suffolk,⁷⁷ suggesting that there was more early Anglo-Saxon

⁷¹ Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, p. 13.

⁷² For a view (I think unconvincing) that migrations from Scandinavia to England date back to the Neolithic period, see Stephen Oppenheimer, ‘Myths of British Ancestry Revisited’, *Prospect*, 21st October 2006, Issue 127, <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2007/06/mythsofbritishancestryrevisited/> [accessed June 30, 2010].

⁷³ Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British*, pp. 210-52, 276-80.

⁷⁴ The material evidence suggests that those migrating included the three peoples identified by Bede in the eighth century, the Angles, Saxons and Jutes (Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, L. Sherley-Price, ed., Revised ed. (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978), I:15, p. 56), but also others from the North Sea region, see Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 6. For the likely participation of people from Scandinavia beyond Jutland in particular see John Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking Period*, BAR 124 (B.A.R., Oxford, 1984), especially pp. 270-85; and John Hines, ‘The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England: An Update’, in M. Carver, ed., *The Age of Sutton Hoo* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 315-29.

⁷⁵ This is most obvious from distribution maps detailing dress fittings found in early Anglo-Saxon England with Scandinavian parallels, especially cruciform brooch types, bucket pendants, clasps in classes A-C, and Anglian and Scandinavian equal-armed brooches. Maps can be found in Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England*, pp. 340 (Map 1.1), 342 (Map 1.3), 343 (Map 2.1), 372 (Map 5.1b), 373 (Map 5.1c), 374 (Map 5.2), and 376 (Map 6.1) for suggested distribution routes to England.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁷⁷ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 5. A distribution map of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries can be found in Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, Fig. 8.1, p. 214.

influence in Norfolk. If the distribution of Norse place-names is regarded as an indication of Norse influence it is notable that there are more Norse place-names in Norfolk than Suffolk.⁷⁸ While burials and place-names are different forms of evidence they do at least suggest that the initial settlement of East Anglia may have concentrated in the same area for both migrations, possibly due to the same sailing route being used. Further north there are more Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in eastern Yorkshire than the area above the river Tyne.⁷⁹ This is interesting as Northumbria appears to have been divided at the Tyne by the Norse, with the immigrants mainly settling in eastern Yorkshire.⁸⁰ Significantly, when 24 samples (from a cemetery population of approximately 300) of oxygen isotopes found in teeth were obtained from the Anglian cemetery at West Heslerton in Yorkshire in use from the fifth to seventh centuries, four were shown to have spent their childhoods elsewhere, probably in Scandinavia. The dates of the burials for these individuals are thought to be spread over the c. 250-year duration of the cemetery and therefore 'it seems unlikely that this immigration was a short-lived event'.⁸¹

While the exact dating of the remains at West Heslerton remains uncertain there are other signs of contact between England and Scandinavia continuing beyond the Anglo-Saxon settlement period. Alfred of Wessex's grandfather may have been from Jutland.⁸² There are also earlier indications of elite connections between England and Scandinavia. The ship burial in mound 1 at the East Anglian burial ground of Sutton Hoo, dated to c. 625 AD, has similarities both in the form of the burial and some of the grave-goods to elite burials in Vendel Period (mid sixth to late eighth centuries) Sweden, particularly those in

Although a number of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been discovered since this publication their distribution remains largely unchanged.

⁷⁸ Perhaps best illustrated by the map in Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 56.

⁷⁹ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles and Normandy', pp. 142-3. For a map of Norse place-names see *Britannia Before the Norman Conquest*. The division of Northumbria will be discussed in chapter 5.

⁸¹ Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, 'Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis', p. 135. The authors note that dating within the cemetery remains poorly resolved. The original excavation report records that precise dating was difficult so 'simple pattern recognition and broad phasing information' was used. Christine Haughton & Dominic Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian Cemetery, Vol i. The Excavation and Discussion of the Evidence* (The Landscape Research Centre, Yedingham, 1999), p. 80.

⁸² Asser relates that Alfred's mother was the daughter of Oslac, a Goth descended from the Goths and Jutes, which some scholars interpret as meaning that Oslac was Danish, Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, ch. 2, p. 68. For discussion see Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, n. 8, pp. 229-30; & Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, pp. 548-50.

the province of Uppland.⁸³ This has led to the suggestion that there existed a network of mound-building aristocrats belonging to the same cultural sphere, although there was not necessarily permanent migration between these areas.⁸⁴ Furthermore, a recent publication by Sonja Marzinzik has reopened the debate on the helmet found in mound 1, arguing that it may have been made in Sweden.⁸⁵ An argument, based on the Sutton Hoo material and *Beowulf*, has also been made for the influence of Denmark on the ruling dynasty of East Anglia.⁸⁶ Bjørn Myhre posits that archaeological evidence indicates Norse contact with Britain before the attack on Lindisfarne in 793, with insular items appearing in graves in Scandinavia earlier in the eighth century, although this has not been widely accepted by other scholars.⁸⁷ Björn Ambrosiani agrees that objects from the British Isles could have reached Scandinavia in the eighth century, but believes that any ecclesiastical objects were obtained only in raids from the 790s.⁸⁸ With regards to England specifically, there have been suggestions that the Vendel art style III/D was influenced by the art of northern England,⁸⁹ and that the popular ‘gripping beast’ style was probably of Anglo-Saxon origin.⁹⁰ For example Ingmar Jansson has commented that the zoomorphic ornament on a

⁸³ ‘Vendel Period’ will be used in this discussion as much of the material is from Sweden, but the period is also known as the Late (Germanic) Iron Age.

⁸⁴ Martin Carver, ‘Reflections on the Meanings of Monumental Barrows in Anglo-Saxon England’, in S. Lucy & A. Reynolds, ed., *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 17, London, 2002), pp. 135-6. A possible North Sea society is discussed further in Martin Carver, *Sutton Hoo: A seventh-century princely burial ground and its context*. Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. 69 (British Museum Press, London, 2005), pp. 499-502.

⁸⁵ Sonja Marzinzik, *The Sutton Hoo Helmet*. British Museum Objects in Focus (British Museum Press, London, 2007), pp. 34-5. For earlier claims of strong links between Sutton Hoo and Sweden see R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, Vol. II (British Museum Publications, London, 1978), pp. 91-9 & 205-25.

⁸⁶ Karen Høilund Nielsen, ‘Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite’, in T. Dickinson & D. Griffiths, eds., *The Making of Kingdoms. Papers from the 47th Sachsensymposium York, September 1996*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10 (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Oxford, 1999), p. 200.

⁸⁷ Bjørn Myhre, ‘The beginning of the Viking Age – some current archaeological problems’, in A. Faulkes & R. Perkins, eds., *Viking Revaluations* (Viking Society for Northern Research, London, 1993), pp. 188-92. For a cogent summary for rejecting this position see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘Viking Ireland – Afterthoughts’, in H.B. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh, & R. Ó Floinn, eds., *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1998), pp. 432-9

⁸⁸ Björn Ambrosiani, ‘Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age: an Archaeological Response’, in H.B. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh, & R. Ó Floinn, eds., *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age*, pp. 413-4.

⁸⁹ Morgens Ørsnes, ‘Südsandinavische Ornamentik in der jüngeren germanischen Eisenzeit’, *Acta Archaeologica* XL (1970), pp. 107-8.

⁹⁰ Helen Clarke, ‘Viking Art’, in James Graham-Campbell, ed., *Cultural Atlas of the Viking World* (Andromeda Books, Oxford, 1994), p. 98. The art-historical arguments in favour of contact between northern Britain and Scandinavia during the seventh and eighth centuries, originally based on Hiberno-Saxon

mould recovered from Birka in Sweden for creating oval brooch style P 35 ‘has some striking parallels in English art’.⁹¹ Ulf Näsman has also argued that much of the glassware imported into Scandinavia during the Vendel Period, especially into Sweden, originated in England.⁹² An intriguing recent metal detector find at Great Dunham, Norfolk, also suggests contact between England and Scandinavia during the late Vendel Period. The find, an eighth-century brooch, showed little sign of wear so it is more likely to have been lost in the century of its manufacture than during the documented Norse settlement a century later.⁹³ These finds also suggest trade routes between Scandinavia and England before the contact at Portland in 787.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Alcuin’s letter about the attack on Lindisfarne is a clear indication that at least those in Northumbria were already familiar with the Norse before 793, suggesting first-hand contact between these peoples.⁹⁵

There are also strong suggestions in Anglo-Saxon literature of continued contact, particularly in *Beowulf*, *The Fight at Finnsburgh* fragment, and *Widsith*.⁹⁶ *Beowulf* and *The Fight at Finnsburgh* are both set in Scandinavia and Frisia and deal with heroic stories that may have been part of a shared North Sea culture. *Widsith* also recounts some legends from the North Sea within its broader geographical scope. All three of these poems mention Scandinavian peoples, especially ‘Danes’. Unfortunately none of these works can be accurately dated, and the manuscript of *The Fight at Finnsburgh* fragment is lost,⁹⁷ but there are suggestions that *Beowulf* and *Widsith* existed orally long before they were written

manuscript art but now augmented by pressed foil finds, are discussed in Hines, ‘The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England: An Update’, pp. 318-23.

⁹¹ Ingmar Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor: En studie av vikingatida standardsmycken med utgångspunkt från Björkö-fyndet*. Aun 7 (Uppsala University Institute of North European Archaeology, Uppsala, 1985), p. 223.

⁹² Ulf Näsman, ‘Vendel period glass from Eketorp-II, Öland, Sweden’, *Acta Archaeologica* 55, 1984 (1986), pp. 69-96. Most of the glass appears to have been manufactured in Kent but was probably exported to Scandinavia via East Anglia, *Ibid.*, p. 75. See also John Ljungkvist, ‘Continental Imports to Scandinavia. Patterns and Changes between AD 400 and 800’, in D. Quast, ed., *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe: Thirteen International Studies on Early Medieval Mobility* (Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz, 2009), pp. 34-6 & 44-6.

⁹³ Andrew Rogerson & Steven Ashley, ‘A Selection of Finds from Norfolk Recorded Between 2006 and 2008’, *Norfolk Archaeology* 45 (2008), pp. 437-9. It is also possible that the brooch was deliberately buried.

⁹⁴ Swanton, *ASC*, 787, p. 54.

⁹⁵ *I.e.*, the Northumbrians were copying Norse hair styles, Whitelock, ed., *EHD* 1, 193, p. 776.

⁹⁶ Translations of *Beowulf* and *The Fight at Finnsburgh* can be found in Kevin Crossley-Holland, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982). For *Widsith* see, Kemp Malone, ed., *Widsith*. Anglistica 13 rev. ed. (Rosenkilde & Bagger, Copenhagen, 1962).

⁹⁷ Richard Hamer, trans. & ed., *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse* (Faber and Faber, London, 1970), p. 34.

down.⁹⁸ For example, the *Beowulf* manuscript is dated to the early eleventh century⁹⁹ but proposed dates for its composition, usually based on language and perceptions of the intended audience, have ranged from 340 to 1025, especially 530 to 1000.¹⁰⁰

Another example of cultural interaction between England and Scandinavia is missionary activity. Various Anglo-Saxons missionaries went to the continent in the seventh and eighth centuries to convert the peoples of the former Anglo-Saxon homelands of Saxony, Frisia, and to a lesser extent Denmark. Willibrord, a Northumbrian monk and first Bishop of Utrecht in Frisia, is thought to have undertaken a mission to Denmark before 714. He was unsuccessful in his attempts to convert a Danish king, Ongendus, but reportedly baptised thirty Danish boys.¹⁰¹

Alex Woolf has suggested that the attack on Lindisfarne in 793 was not a raid but may instead represent an earlier attempt by the Norse to invade Northumbria.¹⁰² The entries for 793 and 794 in the northern version of the *ASC* and the fuller account in the contemporary northern annals suggest that following the attack on Lindisfarne the Norse army spent the winter in Northumbria before raiding the kingdom. It then attacked the monastery of Jarrow on the River Don on the mainland before one of the army's leaders was killed and its fleet was destroyed in a storm.¹⁰³ If Woolf is correct and this was an attempted Norse invasion of Northumbria it is plausible that Norse settlement would have ensued if it had succeeded. Consequently the Norse migration to England in the latter ninth century may have followed an attempted migration almost a century earlier, which in turn came after migrations from Scandinavia to England during the migration period. All of this fits the theory that migration is a long-term process.

⁹⁸ Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, pp. 200-10, 213-4. For a variety of approaches to the dating of *Beowulf* see Colin Chase, ed., *The Dating of Beowulf* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1997).

⁹⁹ Kevin S. Kiernan, 'The eleventh-century origin of *Beowulf* and the *Beowulf* manuscript', in C. Chase, ed., *The Dating of Beowulf* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1997), pp. 9-21.

¹⁰⁰ Robert E. Bjork & Anita Obermeier, 'Date, Provenance, Author, Audiences', in R.E. Bjork & J.D. Niles, eds., *A Beowulf Handbook* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1997), pp. 13-34. *Widsith* is part of the *Exeter Book*, dated to the second half of the tenth century, but dates for its composition have ranged from the seventh to tenth centuries: Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, p. 214.

¹⁰¹ Alcuin, *The Life of St Willibrord*, in C.H. Talbot, trans. and ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (Sheed & Ward, London, 1954), pp. 9-10.

¹⁰² Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070*, pp. 44-5.

¹⁰³ Swanton, *ASC*, E, 793 & 794, p. 57; Hart, *Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle*, 793 & 794, pp. 137 & 139.

Even if the ninth-century Norse migrations are considered part of a longer trend stretching back centuries it still appears to represent a new peak in migrations, and the process of using scouts may have commenced anew. In the case of the ninth-century Norse it is not difficult to imagine how information about eastern England and other settled areas of Europe to which the Norse migrated would have been acquired. By 865 the Norse had developed an extensive trade network throughout much of Europe and Norse merchants using this network would have acquired information on the places that they visited, which could then be relayed to others when they returned home. Norse warrior bands were active across large areas of Europe and it would be expected that they acquired information, especially on the wealth, politics, and defences of the places that they raided. Lucien Musset has suggested that the existence of a good information network was one of the reasons that Norse raids were able to continue for almost three centuries.¹⁰⁴

Norse warriors had been raiding England since 793 and over-wintering since at least 850/1,¹⁰⁵ providing ample opportunity for the gathering and passing-on of information. Once the great army were active in England its members could have acted as scouts, perhaps attracting other warriors. Indeed there are indications that some members of the great army left England for other Norse settlements,¹⁰⁶ and on these journeys information about the situation in England could have been relayed. Ohthere's presence at the court of King Alfred sometime between 871 and 899¹⁰⁷ is an important reminder that there are also likely to have been non-military contacts with the Norse throughout the ninth century.¹⁰⁸ Ohthere's visit to Wessex is an indicator that England was part of Norse networks, probably of both traders and the elite, and these groups meeting other Norse could have been sharing information about England.¹⁰⁹ Asser also mentions the presence of Norse at

¹⁰⁴ Lucien Musset, 'Skandinavene og det vesteuropæiske kontinent', in E. Roesdahl, ed., *Viking og Hvidekrist. Norden og Europa 800-1200. Catalogue of the 22nd EU exhibition*, 2nd ed. (National Museum, Copenhagen, 1993), p. 88.

¹⁰⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 851, p. 64. As discussed above, *ASC E* says that the Norse attacking Lindisfarne in 793 spent the winter in Northumbria.

¹⁰⁶ These indications will be discussed in the following chapter.

¹⁰⁷ The years during which Alfred was king of Wessex.

¹⁰⁸ For discussions on why Alfred may have accepted the presence of Ohthere at his court despite the threat posed to Wessex by the Norse see Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, p. 191; & Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, p. 284.

¹⁰⁹ For elite networks see Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, p. 285; for Ohthere and trade see *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8.

Alfred's court.¹¹⁰ The preservation of Ohthere's account in the Old English *Orosius* indicates that the desire for information existed not just with the Norse; at least some Anglo-Saxons in the late ninth century were also interested in geographic and ethnographic information about the North Sea area.

Similarly, information about a destination often comes from previous migrants, and although the first recorded Norse settlement is of Halfdan's portion of the great army in 876,¹¹¹ this does not negate the idea of earlier Norse settlers. The settlement of part of the great army that the ASC had been tracking since 865 was likely to be noticed and recorded in the Wessex-based chronicle as it was ultimately of benefit to Wessex if the army was now smaller and without one of its original leaders. By contrast, if a small number of Norse had settled in England before 865 on a permanent or semi-permanent basis, perhaps as merchants at trade centres, it was unlikely to be commented upon, or perhaps even noticed by a chronicler.

It is curious that the great army landed in East Anglia and proceeded to conquer it (869/70)¹¹² and Northumbria (866/7) before invading Wessex (870/71).¹¹³ As we have seen, studies of documented migration clearly show that most migrants proceed to places about which they have gained information. Therefore, presuming that the behavioural context indicated by these studies applies to the Norse migration to England, one would expect that the leaders of the great army had gained information about these kingdoms from scouts, probably either previous warriors or traders, before they arrived in 865. Yet until the arrival of the great army in 865 the ASC records no Norse attacks on East Anglia after 841,¹¹⁴ and even more remarkably, none on Northumbria since 794, the year after the attack on Lindisfarne.¹¹⁵ It is highly unlikely that Norse warrior bands largely left East Anglia and Northumbria alone whilst making fairly regular raids against Wessex, and in this instance the recorded attacks are likely to reflect the Wessex orientation of the ASC. Even the 794 attack on Northumbria is mentioned only in ASC recensions 'D' and 'E', versions which

¹¹⁰ Asser uses the plural *pagani*, for the Norse, Asser, ch. 76, in Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser*, p. 60.

¹¹¹ Swanton, ASC, 876, p. 74.

¹¹² Swanton, ASC, 870, p. 70.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 871, pp. 70-2.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 838, p. 64.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, E, 794, p. 57.

incorporate much northern material.¹¹⁶ Instead it may be expected that equally regular raids were made against the other kingdoms. Nicholas Higham has suggested that the frequent Norse attacks recorded against nearby Kent and London make it likely that East Anglia also suffered.¹¹⁷ Indeed the high concentration of Norse-influenced place-names on Flegg, which at the time was almost an island, on the coast of East Anglia, has led to the suggestion that this area may have been the site of an undocumented Norse settlement *before* the arrival of the great army in 865.¹¹⁸ There is also a record in the early thirteenth-century chronicle of Roger of Wendover of the Northumbrian king Rædwulf being killed fighting the Norse in 844.¹¹⁹ However the numismatic evidence suggests that Roger's chronology was incorrect, assigning a much longer reign to king Osberht than can be accounted for from his surviving coin issues. A proposed revised chronology based on the numismatic evidence suggests that Rædwulf's reign and death would have happened in c. 858.¹²⁰ If the latter dating is correct then it places Norse activity in, and therefore information about, Northumbria much closer to the 865 arrival of the great army than is indicated by the ASC.

Anthony has suggested that the evidence for a large-scale migration should be supported by archaeological evidence of the earlier activities of scouts, including merchants and mercenaries.¹²¹ Presently, no ninth-century Norse material that predates the great army is known in England, which opens a number of possibilities. Contrary to the suggestion of Anthony, it is quite likely that the scouts, be they merchants or warriors, left little mark on the material record of ninth-century England. Warriors on a raid are difficult to spot archaeologically, especially in the case of the Norse as they predominantly used Frankish and Anglo-Saxon weapons.¹²² Similarly a Norse merchant may also be difficult to detect in

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxv-xxvii. For a translation of the annal in 'D' see Whitelock, *EHD*, 1, 794, pp. 167-8.

¹¹⁷ N.J. Higham, 'East Anglia, Kingdom Of', in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, & D. Scragg, eds., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1999), p. 155.

¹¹⁸ James Campbell, 'What is not known about the reign of Edward the Elder', in N.J. Higham & D.H. Hill, eds., *Edward the Elder 899-924* (Routledge, London, 2001), pp. 18-21. It has been discussed further in Abrams & Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', pp. 415-22.

¹¹⁹ Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, 4, p. 256.

¹²⁰ Philip Grierson & Mark Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. I The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries)* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986), pp. 301-3.

¹²¹ Anthony, 'Migration in Archaeology', p. 903.

¹²² This especially appears to have been the case with swords, with the Norse predominantly using Frankish and Anglo-Saxon blades. As a victorious army would claim the weapons of the fallen from the field after battle this suggests that the longer the great army campaigned in England the greater the proportion of Anglo-

the archaeological record, especially if the goods being traded were not specifically from the Scandinavian homelands, for example Baltic amber, or were perishable.

A third possibility is that some of the ninth-century Norse material culture that has been found in England could belong to the period before 865, but the historical record of Norse settlements from 876 encourages scholars to assign these artefacts to the period post 865, even though no firm proof exists for the later dating.¹²³ This possibility was raised in regards to Norse burials by James Graham-Campbell as long ago as 1980 when he noted that the grave-goods in male warrior burials cannot be dated precisely,¹²⁴ but to my knowledge this issue has yet to be examined further. It is not the purpose of this thesis to re-evaluate the contexts of all ninth-century finds that may indicate an earlier Norse presence; however an example should demonstrate the potential for some Norse settlement before 876. A number of pieces of jewellery in the Borre style have been recovered from the Norse settlement areas that are thought to have been brought to England from the Scandinavian homelands.¹²⁵ However the Borre style was in use for over a century from c.850,¹²⁶ making it difficult to date an object precisely on purely artistic grounds. This may result in a scholars' view of the settlement process influencing their dating of these objects. For example Caroline Paterson explains that 'Small disc brooches were popular in Scandinavia in the ninth and tenth centuries', commonly with Borre-style motifs, and they are found throughout the Norse world.¹²⁷ Yet those examples found in England, which 'are indistinguishable from their Scandinavian parallels', only 'suggest that the wearing of such

Saxon weapons would have been. For blades and scavenging see Paddy Griffiths, *The Viking Art of War* (Greenhill Books, London, 1995), pp. 173-4.

¹²³ The possibility of Norse settlement before 876 is mentioned in Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 82.

¹²⁴ James Graham-Campbell, 'The Scandinavian Viking-Age Burials of England – Some Problems of Interpretation', in P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson, & L. Watts, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979: the fourth Anglo-Saxon symposium at Oxford*, B.A.R. British Series 82 (B.A.R., Oxford, 1980), p. 380.

¹²⁵ See for example Caroline Paterson, 'From Pendants to Brooches: The exchange of Borre and Jellinge style motifs across the North Sea', *Hikuin* 29 (2002), pp. 267-76. For a distribution map of Borre objects in England see Richards & Naylor, 'The metal detector and the Viking Age in England', in Sheehan & Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West*, Fig. 32.5, p. 347. I am unaware of any artefacts in the Norse Berdal style, which commenced before the Borre style, from eastern England. However fragments of a Berdal-style oval brooch were recovered from the burial ground at Cumwhitton, Mark Brennand, 'Finding the Viking dead', *Current Archaeology* 204 (2006), p. 623. The Berdal style is thought to be earlier than the Borre, starting by c. 800, Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, pp. 226-7. For the approximate dating of the Borre style see David M. Wilson, 'The Development of Viking Art', in S. Brink with N. Price, eds., *The Viking World* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2008), p. 327.

¹²⁶ Clarke, 'Viking Art', pp. 98-9.

¹²⁷ Paterson, 'From Pendants to Brooches', p. 268.

brooches became fashionable in tenth-century England'.¹²⁸ Although it may be argued that the brooches only became a part of mainstream fashion in the tenth century following the integration of Norse and Anglo-Saxon culture, there is no reason why this process could not have happened by the late ninth century, or why some of the jewellery items, which Paterson believes were either made in Scandinavia or by a Norse migrant in England,¹²⁹ could not be from the ninth century. It would be interesting to investigate if the three Borre-style brooches assigned to the tenth century are significantly different than the two assigned to the ninth century in a volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*.¹³⁰ A pertinent example of the dating difficulties is the silver pendant or mount figure of a warrior found with a metal detector in the Wickham Market area of Suffolk in 2002. Based on sculptural parallels it is thought that the item is an Anglo-Norse product, dated to the settlement of East Anglia in 879 or later in the ninth century.¹³¹ If this item is considered to be ninth century then it is possible that other objects of similar date range are as well, perhaps even earlier than the first recorded Norse settlements.

The work of John Hines and the isotope results from the West Heslerton cemetery suggest that the Norse migration beginning in the mid 9th century was not a sudden 'mass' migration but part of a longer trend beginning in the fifth century and continuing at least until the migration associated with the success of Knut in the early eleventh century. The ninth-century Norse migration should be viewed as one of the peaks in migration during this process. The volume of migration is unlikely to have been continuous throughout this period, and at times it may have stopped, although the evidence presented here suggests that other forms of contact may have been maintained. This contact is likely to have been useful in providing information about England to potential Norse migrants.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ These are recorded amongst the 'Late Saxon' finds in the 'Recent Archaeology' section of *Norfolk Archaeology* XLII, part II (1995), pp. 227-8.

¹³¹ B. Ager & F. Minter, 'Near Wickham Market', in Helen Geake, ed., 'Portable Antiquities Scheme' report in J. Bradley & M. Gaimster, eds., 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 2002', *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), p. 213.

5b) Chain migration

Migrants usually go to specific places about which they have information, resulting in a migration stream known as chain migration.¹³² Utilising the information leads to the migrants using the same routes and arriving at the same destination as those who had provided the information, rather than arriving as a less localised ‘wave’ of migrants over an entire landscape.¹³³ While migrants tend to go to carefully selected locations, they also often emigrate from a very select number of origin points, namely those places that have some form of connection with the destination point: ‘large movements take on the form of streams which are highly specific both in origin and destination’.¹³⁴ For example, over 90% of immigrants to the USA from the Dutch province of Zuid Holland between 1830 and 1930 settled in four locations within the USA.¹³⁵ Similarly, a study of migrants into the Digos-Padada valley of Davao Province in the Philippines concludes that the origins of the first 10% of migrants could be used to predict the place of origin of all subsequent migration.¹³⁶ Consequently the point of origin, the migration route, and the destination should all be visible archaeologically if the migrant group has a material culture in some way distinct from those of the areas they pass through and then settle at.¹³⁷

This is the situation with the Norse migrating to Anglo-Saxon England. Although in their cultures the two groups had much in common there were some notable differences that are evident in the material culture. At some point after the initial Norse settlements the hybrid Anglo-Norse art style developed, as evidenced for example by Norse art motifs being used on Anglo-Saxon style disc brooches.¹³⁸ However there are also some finds of a distinctly Norse character in England that have contemporary parallels with material in other Norse settlements that are more likely to have belonged to the early settlers. Such items include an array of brooches worn by women that are identical to those found in

¹³² Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration as Social Process’, p. 24; Trafford, ‘Ethnicity, migration theory’, p. 26.

¹³³ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, pp. 902-3.

¹³⁴ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 55.

¹³⁵ Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, p. 17.

¹³⁶ Paul D. Simkins & Frederick L. Wernstedt, *Philippine Migration: The Settlement of the Digos-Padada Valley*, Davao Province Monograph Series No. 16 (Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, New Haven, 1971), p. 61.

¹³⁷ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 903.

¹³⁸ Paterson, ‘From Pendants to Brooches’, p. 270

Scandinavia ‘in terms of object form and ornamental detail’.¹³⁹ However some of these brooches were manufactured in eastern England, and included insular rather than Scandinavian pin fittings,¹⁴⁰ making it difficult to be sure that such brooches were not also adopted by Anglo-Saxon women.¹⁴¹

More certainly Norse are oval brooches, of which there have only been three pairs recovered from the early settlement area.¹⁴² The pin setting of the brooches meant that they could only be worn on a Norse-style strap-dress, rather than an Anglo-Saxon dress.¹⁴³ Oval brooches appear to have gone out of fashion in the Scandinavian homelands by c. 980-1000,¹⁴⁴ so those found in England are likely to be no later than this date. However the distinctiveness of oval brooches compared to Anglo-Saxon brooches is likely to date them to the earliest settlement period, before significant acculturation had taken place.¹⁴⁵ This possibility is strengthened by recent research that suggests that oval brooches are markers of paganism and are not found in christian contexts,¹⁴⁶ so one would expect them to be used primarily before the settlers converted. Similarly, another likely indicator of early Norse

¹³⁹ Jane Kershaw, ‘Culture and Gender in the Danelaw: Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian Brooches’, *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009), p. 298.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹⁴¹ Kershaw (*Ibid.*, pp. 300-1), notes that these brooches (trefoil, equal-armed, convex disc, and lozenge) were quite distinctive from Anglo-Saxon flat disc brooches, and that the trefoil, lozenge and disc brooches included a loop from which additional objects could be suspended on a chain, something which was not part of traditional Anglo-Saxon dress. However the manufacture of such brooches in England, and especially the adoption of the Anglo-Saxon pin fitting, suggests that they may have quickly been adopted by the Anglo-Saxon population in the settlement areas.

¹⁴² These were found in Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire, Bedale, North Yorkshire, and Santon Downham, Norfolk, whilst fragments of three or four brooches have been recovered from Norfolk. Two other pairs are known from north-west England: Claughton Hall, Lancashire, and Cumwhitton, Cumbria. See Greg Speed & Penelope Walton Rogers, ‘A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire’, *Medieval Archaeology* 48 (2004), p. 75; *Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2004/05* (MLA, London, 2005), p. 60; Brennand, ‘Finding the Viking Dead’, p. 623; Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 94; Kershaw, ‘Culture and Gender in the Danelaw’, pp. 315-6.

¹⁴³ Kershaw, ‘Culture and Gender in the Danelaw’, p. 300.

¹⁴⁴ Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, p. 228. In Denmark there are twice as many oval brooches known from the ninth century than the tenth, suggesting that they went out of fashion earlier there. Furthermore, overall there are ‘only a fifth of the number [of oval brooches] known from either Sweden or Norway’ strongly implies that brooches were never as popular in Denmark as the rest of the Scandinavian homelands, Anne H. Madsen, ‘Women’s dress in the Viking period in Denmark, based on the tortoise brooches and textile remains’, in P. Walton & J.P. Wild, eds., *Textiles in Northern Archaeology. NESAT III: Textile Symposium in York, 6-9 May 1989* (Archetype, London, 1990), p. 101.

¹⁴⁵ For the distinctive appearance of traditional Norse female dress amongst the Anglo-Saxon population see Speed & Rogers, ‘A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire’, p. 77. Although Redmond (*Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 95) dates the oval brooches at Bedale to the mid-tenth century, like the Santon Downham brooches they were P51 type (Rogers, ‘The Artefacts from the Grave’, p. 75), making it impossible to provide such an exact dating.

¹⁴⁶ Annika Larsson, ‘Förbjöd kyrkan den vikingatida kvinnodräkten?’, *Populär Arkeologi* 1 (2008), pp. 6-7.

settlers are Thor's hammers. As will be discussed in chapter 6, there are a number of indications that the Norse quickly assimilated to the prevailing Anglo-Saxon christian culture upon settlement, so anything overtly non-christian, like a Thor's hammer, is more likely to represent an early phase of settlement.¹⁴⁷ Indeed Jörn Staecker's argument that Thor's hammers were a pagan reaction to christianity and mark the earliest phase of the conversion process strengthens this likelihood.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that items like oval brooches and Thor's hammers, which continued to be used in Scandinavia during the tenth century, and in the case of Thor's hammers into the eleventh, could have been brought to England by later pagan Norse settlers.¹⁴⁹ But apart from a second group of migrants arriving in the 890s there is only conclusive evidence of later Norse migrants to Northumbria in the first half of the tenth century, and there are no clear indications of continued paganism south of the river Humber.¹⁵⁰ Whilst it is possible that some of the oval brooches and Thor's hammers found in the Norse settlement areas could have arrived post 900 with undocumented Norse migrants, that the three pairs of oval brooches found could have all been manufactured before 900 cautions against this theory.¹⁵¹ Instead it may be expected that any later migrants would quickly adapt to the culture of the earlier migrants.¹⁵² Accordingly, such material found in East Anglia and eastern Mercia is more likely to have arrived with settlers before 900.

There are also other items of jewellery that are thought to have been brought by Norse settlers to England, including pendants like those found in a burial at Saffron Walden

¹⁴⁷ The quick conversion of the Norse was used to explain the small number of Thor's hammers in England: Jörn Staecker, 'Thor's Hammer – Symbol of Christianization and Political Delusion', *Lund Archaeological Review* 5 (1999), p. 95. Although the number of Thor's hammers found in England has increased since Staecker's article was written, it does not invalidate the argument.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-9.

¹⁴⁹ At this time the Scandinavian homelands had yet to convert, although there may have been some christian Norse living there. For the dating of Thor's hammers and the likelihood that they were in part a reaction to christianity see *Ibid.*, pp. 89-99.

¹⁵⁰ The issue of later migrants will be discussed below. That there are written accounts of these migrants cautions against the assumption that there were others not recorded.

¹⁵¹ The Adwick-le-Street brooches are a non-matching pair of the P 37 style, while those from Stanton Downham and Bedale are P 51, Speed & Rogers, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire', p. 75. P 51 brooches began to be manufactured by c. 890 but were primarily a tenth-century type, p. 228) P 37 brooches were the most common in the ninth century, Jansson's 'Early Birka Period', but they possibly continued to be manufactured for a period after c. 900, Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, pp. 181-2, 223, 226-8.

¹⁵² For an example of this process in effect see Burmeister, 'Archaeology and Migration', p. 541.

in Essex, as pendants were not then worn by the Anglo-Saxon community.¹⁵³ Consequently the pendant depicting a human figure found in Lincolnshire may belong to the pre-900 settlement phase,¹⁵⁴ while the silver pendant or mount of a male warrior found in Suffolk discussed above is dated to the ninth century.¹⁵⁵ Although every item in a Norse art style was not necessarily owned by a genetically Norse person, these finds in ninth-century England are an intrusion into the local material culture, indicating contact with the Norse. That the finds also occur in the areas where there is documentary evidence of Norse settlement is an indicator that the find areas are likely to have been the end point of a migration stream.

Migration theory indicates that a group of migrants are more likely to come from the same geographic area, which suggests that they would have similar backgrounds and descent: 'The pool of potential migrants is kin-defined, often quite narrowly'.¹⁵⁶ Despite modern concerns with the 'agency' of the individual Catherine Cameron has questioned whether peoples in the past would have had as much agency as their modern counterparts, and has suggested that people in the past were more likely to migrate as part of a group, particularly a kin group.¹⁵⁷ Some works on modern migration also stress that the 'family and community are crucial in migration networks'.¹⁵⁸ An exception to a restricted kin group origin for migrants may occur where the 'social organisation in the home region is characterized by clans, military associations, or other forms of segmental solidarity', in which case 'the potential pool of migrants becomes more diverse'.¹⁵⁹ Likewise Redmond suggests that the great army was not a culturally homogenous group, and the isotope results, although limited in number, indicates that the early settlers had spent their childhoods in all of the Scandinavian homelands.¹⁶⁰ Despite this it will be suggested in the

¹⁵³ Many of the Norse motifs found on pendants were transferred to brooches more in keeping with Anglo-Saxon fashion through the acculturation process. Paterson, 'From Pendants to Brooches', p. 270. For a photo of the Saffron Walden necklace including two pendants see Sue Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk* (Norfolk Museum Service, Norfolk, 1997), Fig. 17, p. 16.

¹⁵⁴ For a photo of the pendant see Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 107. Even if the figure itself is not associated with pagan mythology, that the item is a pendant it is still likely to make it early in the settlement process.

¹⁵⁵ Ager & Minter, 'Near Wickham Market', *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), p. 213. For the pendant was discussed above, p. 29.

¹⁵⁶ Anthony, 'Migration in Archaeology', p. 903.

¹⁵⁷ Catherine M. Cameron, in 'Comments', *Current Anthropology* 41.4 (2000), p. 556.

¹⁵⁸ Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁹ Anthony, 'Migration in Archaeology', p. 903.

¹⁶⁰ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 62-3.

following chapter that regardless of where the members of the great army had spent their childhoods, most are likely to have embarked for England from a limited number of places rather than across the Norse world in general. If my argument is accepted the great army, and therefore probably most subsequent settlers, did come from distinct geographical areas, increasing the likelihood that kinship ties were important.

While not necessarily a kin group, the great army was a composite force with a number of leaders, each of whom is likely to have brought with them their own group of armed retainers.¹⁶¹ As such the army comprised a number of probably close-knit warrior groups, whose experience of fighting and living together had made them like kin.¹⁶² There is also evidence that some Norse women and children accompanied both the great army and the 890s army, representing the likely migration of family groups.¹⁶³ It would appear that the great army comprised some actual kinship groups, with two of the original leaders being described as brothers.¹⁶⁴ While it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon sources were wrong in describing them thus, there is no reason why many of the warriors making up the great army could not have had other relatives within the army, probably as part of the smaller warrior groups that combined to make up the great army. It is also possible that the army contained not only blood brothers, but also the foster-brothers, sworn-brothers, and oath-brothers that were additional kinship bonds in the Norse world.¹⁶⁵

Although the archaeological evidence may help us to determine the ends of the Norse migration chains to England, they provide less of a clue to the beginnings of the chain. While distinctly Norse items like oval brooches and Thor's hammers help to locate the Norse within England, these items are too common in other areas of Norse settlement to provide any clues to the geographical origins of the migrants. The issue is further complicated by the propensity of immigrant groups to adapt and abandon aspects of their culture.¹⁶⁶ These aspects will be discussed in chapter 3 but another archaeological clue to the geographic origin of some of the Norse may be briefly mentioned here. The 59

¹⁶¹ Lund, 'The settlers', p. 152.

¹⁶² For contemporary Norse uses of the terms *bróðir* (brother) and *drengr* (perhaps warrior) and the camaraderie of warrior groups see Judith Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 217-32.

¹⁶³ This will be examined below, pp. 102-6.

¹⁶⁴ Best illustrated in the entry for 878, Swanton, *ASC*, 878, p. 74.

¹⁶⁵ Jesse Byock, *Viking Age Iceland* (Penguin, London, 2001), p. 188.

¹⁶⁶ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 6-7, 67. Redmond is primarily speaking of aspects of burial rite.

cremation barrows at Heath Wood is the only known Norse cremation cemetery in England and the form of the cemetery is thought to have similarities to others in northern Jutland in Denmark, southern Sweden, and Norway.¹⁶⁷ Due to the uniqueness of this cemetery and its location within the area of early Norse settlement, this is likely to represent the burial place of a distinct migrant group from an area where cremation was the norm.¹⁶⁸ As with the use of Thor's hammers, cremation was a clearly non-Christian activity in ninth-century England, so the Heath Wood cemetery is likely to represent a group of very early Norse settlers. The evidence of some weapons amongst the grave-goods, including swords,¹⁶⁹ makes it a possibility that some of those cremated were originally one of the groups that made up the great army.

The migration route used by the Norse was predominantly over water and is not likely to be recovered archaeologically, as any evidence would probably have perished under the North and Irish seas, or be extremely difficult to locate and recover. One rare find which could represent a Norse migration route between Ireland and Britain is a sword guard decorated in the Norse Urnes style and dated to c. 1100-25, found at Smalls Reef, thirteen kilometres off the Welsh coast.¹⁷⁰ Although this find is obviously much later than the Norse migration under discussion, it is likely to represent a point along a shipping route used by the Norse between Ireland and England, and such routes are unlikely to have changed between the ninth and early twelfth centuries.¹⁷¹ That a Norse fleet apparently working with the great army attacked Devon in 878 from Wales indicates the potential longevity of such routes.¹⁷² One possible indication of a land route is the hoard buried at Beeston Tor, Staffordshire in c. 875. The hoard contained Anglo-Saxon coins, '1 gold, and 2 bronze

¹⁶⁷ Earlier scholars expressly related Heath Wood to cremation cemeteries in northern Jutland (eg. James Graham-Campbell, 'Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw', in J. Graham-Campbell, R.A. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), p. 109), but this has been revised in the excavation report, Julian D. Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire', *The Antiquities Journal* 84 (2004), p. 96.

¹⁶⁸ In some parts of Scandinavia, for example Møre, Småland, Sweden, in the tenth century (Fredrik Svanberg, *Death Rituals In South-East Scandinavia AD 800-1000. Decolonizing The Viking Age 2* (Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, 2003), p. 139) cremation and inhumation were used concurrently, so the Heath Wood cremation cemetery could represent a specific segment of society from an area where cremation was practiced.

¹⁶⁹ Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire', p. 90.

¹⁷⁰ Mark Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest* (National Museums and Galleries of Wales, Cardiff, 2000), pp. 55 & 58-9.

¹⁷¹ Assuming that sailing conditions had not changed.

¹⁷² Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 54, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 83.

rings, some gold wire, a bronze strap-tag, and 2 silver disc brooches'.¹⁷³ That all of the objects in the hoard were Anglo-Saxon and the coins were not pecked, has led some scholars to consider the hoard as Anglo-Saxon.¹⁷⁴ However the Anglo-Saxon coins found in the Croydon hoard, Surrey, of c. 872, which is considered to be Norse, were not pecked, and the earliest evidence for pecking of Anglo-Saxon coins is from the Stamford hoard of c. 890.¹⁷⁵ Consequently the lack of pecking in the Beeston Tor hoard does not exclude the possibility that it is Norse. Similarly, that all of the objects were Anglo-Saxon could simply indicate that the items had been acquired in England, and not all members of the great army that had arrived in 865 would necessarily have any non-Anglo-Saxon material left to deposit by 875. Alternatively, it was previously noted that 'There may have been members of Viking armies who did not bring any silver to England with them and whose treasure might therefore consist entirely of English coins and of English silver ornaments'.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, ninth-century Anglo-Saxon coin hoards rarely included non-numismatic elements, whilst it was a common practice of the Norse.¹⁷⁷ Beeston Tor is on the direct route from Repton, which the great army left in 874, and the west coast of England facing the Irish Sea. Considering the association of some members of the great army with the Norse settlement of Dublin, and the dating of the hoard to the campaigning years of great army, it was possibly deposited by a member of the army on the route between the conquered kingdom of Mercia and Dublin. A later find possibly connected with a Norse

¹⁷³ D.M. Wilson, 'Some Archaeological Additions and Corrections to J.D.A. Thompson, Inventory of British Coin Hoards', *Medieval Archaeology* 2 (1958), p. 169.

¹⁷⁴ Richards (*Viking Age England*, p. 32) and Graham-Campbell ('The Archaeology of the 'Great Army'', p. 37) consider the hoard to have been deposited by an Anglo-Saxon, and David A. Hinton (*Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005), p. 116) agrees and suggests that it was being hid from the great army at Repton.

¹⁷⁵ Gareth Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage: Monetary and Political Perspectives On Silver Economy in the Viking Age', in J. Graham-Campbell & G. Williams, eds., *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, 2007), pp. 196-7.

¹⁷⁶ Nicholas Brooks with J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on the Viking-Age Silver Hoard from Croydon, Surrey', in M.A.S. Blackburn, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in memory of R.H.M. Dolley* (Leicester University Press, 1986), reprinted and revised in Nicholas Brooks, *Communities and Warfare, 700-1400* (Hambledon Press, London, 2000), p. 86. The authors associate the Beeston Tor hoard with the great army but do not specify whether they consider it to have been buried by the Norse or an Anglo-Saxon, pp. 90-1.

¹⁷⁷ See for example the 'Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, c. 450-1180', Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/index.list.html [accessed December 1, 2010].

migration route between Dublin and York is the Cuerdale, Lancashire, hoard of c. 905.¹⁷⁸ Other potential land and riverine routes from the west coast of Britain to the areas of settlement in the east of England may yet yield some results suggesting chain migration.

5c) Leapfrogging

As part of the process of chain migration it is observed that both scouts and early migrants often ‘leapfrog’ over large areas on their journey from home to the desired destination.¹⁷⁹ For example, hundreds of kilometres through sparsely populated areas were crossed by migrants on their way to the Californian goldfields from 1849, with only some establishing themselves in the small towns and villages along the route.¹⁸⁰ Such action may be evident in the archaeological record with concentrations of distinctive material found in desirable locations, while few or no objects are found in intervening areas.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, ‘military outposts or trading centers become the focus of migration streams and the filling-up of the passed over territory is left to a later stage of development’.¹⁸² It could be added that if something happens to disrupt the migration stream then the passed-over territory may not be filled by settlers, as appears to have been the case with Norse settlement in Ireland where a number of fortified trading centres were established but there is little evidence of Norse settlement in the rural hinterlands.¹⁸³

Leapfrogging as such is unlikely to have occurred during the Norse migrations to England from the east, primarily as England was close to those areas of the Norse world from which the migrants are likely to have originated. Being an island there was nowhere for migrants to leap to on their way to England if they were coming from areas directly

¹⁷⁸ For the possible context of this and smaller hoards in the Irish Sea deposited c. 902-913, see James Graham-Campbell, ‘The Early Viking Age in the Irish Sea Area’, in H.B. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh, & R. Ó Floinn, eds., *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1998), pp. 108-10. For the dating of the Cuerdale hoard see Marion M. Archibald, ‘Dating Cuerdale: the Evidence of the Coins’, in James Graham-Campbell, ed., *Viking Treasure from the North West: the Cuerdale Hoard in its Context* (National Museum and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool, 1992), pp. 15-20.

¹⁷⁹ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, pp. 902-3; Anthony, ‘Prehistoric Migration as Social Process’, p. 26; Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, p. 544; Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 55.

¹⁸⁰ Malcolm J. Rohrbough, ‘Mining and the Nineteenth-Century West’, in W. Deverell, ed., *A Companion to The American West, Blackwell Companions to American History* (Blackwell, Malden, 2004), pp. 115-6.

¹⁸¹ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 903.

¹⁸² Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 55. A likely Norse example of ‘leapfrogging’ are the settlements established along the Volkhov and Dnepr rivers on the trade route to the east. For an overview see Thomas S. Noonan, ‘Scandinavians in European Russia’, in P. Sawyer, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History Of The Vikings* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997), pp. 136 (map), & 140-47.

¹⁸³ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘Ireland, Wales, Man, and the Hebrides’, in P. Sawyer, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997), p. 89.

opposite England's coast. However the situation was different for those coming to England from the west, who could have stopped at the Isle of Man on the route from Ireland. Once landing on the west coast of England those settlers from the Irish Sea region appear to have passed over the immediate territory to establish the settlement areas in the east of England. It is generally believed that the north-west of England was only settled by the Norse following their expulsion from Dublin in 902.¹⁸⁴ However considering the difficulties of providing exact dates of archaeological finds or place-names it is possible that there was some settlement prior to 902. From a logistical perspective it would be surprising if at least an outpost was not established from the commencement of activities by the great army in 865. Such an outpost would also serve as the initial destination point on England's west coast for migrants from the Irish Sea region to the Norse settlement zone in the east of England. The cemetery at Cumwhitton, Cumbria, could be evidence of a ninth-century Norse population, particularly due to the find of fragments of a Berdal-type oval brooch.¹⁸⁵ The Norse burial at Aspatria, Cumbria, has been dated late ninth/early tenth century,¹⁸⁶ making both of these sites possible evidence of a link in a migration chain between Ireland and eastern England.¹⁸⁷

There may be evidence of leapfrogging taking place within the area of Norse settlement, and the observation that initial migrants focus on trading centres or military outposts may apply. It would appear that the early Norse migrants were concentrated in urban centres, at least some of which had trade functions, and which were also fortified. This may have partly been due to some of the settlers becoming the new leaders and aristocracy of the Norse kingdoms, so being at important centres may have been considered necessary to maintain their control. The excavations at Coppergate in York are the clearest evidence of significant trade at a Norse settlement site,¹⁸⁸ while there is textual and archaeological evidence of the Norse repairing York's fortifications once they occupied the

¹⁸⁴ See for example Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 26-8; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 37.

¹⁸⁵ Brennand, 'Finding the Viking dead', p. 623.

¹⁸⁶ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 94.

¹⁸⁷ For another suggestion that there may have been Norse settlement in north-west England prior to 900 see Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁸ See Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, pp. 114-7.

city.¹⁸⁹ Other urban centres occupied and controlled by Norse settlers that display evidence of being manufacturing and commercial centres and/or military strongholds are Nottingham, Leicester, Derby (or perhaps the nearby Roman fort of Little Chester), Lincoln, Norwich, Thetford, Stamford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Ipswich,¹⁹⁰ whilst an area near Torksey continued as a trading place.¹⁹¹ The military aspect of some centres of Norse settlement is also implied by the *ASC* when it refers to ‘the army that belonged to’ Cambridge and Northampton.¹⁹² Over time however it would be expected that Norse migrants started to occupy rural areas previously passed over, as there appears to have been no impediments to further Norse settlement for a generation.¹⁹³ The problems associated with dating the available evidence, especially place-names, make it difficult to determine when this later stage of Norse settlers filling the hinterlands occurred. Archaeological finds suggestive of the Norse¹⁹⁴ are generally fewer in rural areas than the urban centres known to have been occupied by the Norse. Notable exceptions to this are the numerous finds at the so-called Ainsbrook site near York, as well as Torksey, reminders that the distribution of finds may in part be due to the greater intensity of activity in modern urban centres leading to a higher probability of recovery in these areas.

This final part of Tenet 5, while highly plausible, is inconclusive in regards to the ninth-century Norse migrations to England, primarily due to the difficulty of recovering archaeological evidence and accurately dating it.

¹⁸⁹ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 27, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 76; Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 14, p. 53. For archaeological evidence see R.A. Hall, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Defences in North-East of the Ouse’, in P.V. Addyman & R.A. Hall, *Urban Structures and Defences. Lloyds Bank, Pavement, and Other Sites, with a Survey of Defences North-East of the Ouse*. The Archaeology of York, Anglo-Scandinavian York 8/3 (Council for British Archaeology, London, 1991), pp. 264-77. For general discussion see Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 164-5.

¹⁹⁰ Jeremy Haslam, *Early Medieval Towns in Britain c. 700 to 1140* (Shire Archaeology, Aylesbury, 1985), pp. 25-30; Richard Hall, ‘The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: A Review of the Present Knowledge’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989), pp. 149-206; Richard Hall, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian urban development in the East Midlands’, in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), pp. 143-155.

¹⁹¹ Graham-Campbell, ‘The Archaeology of the ‘Great Army’ (865-79)’, pp. 40-1. A list of finds and a discussion can be found in Hannah Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*. Unpublished MA dissertation (Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, 2006).

¹⁹² *Se here þe to*, Bately, *ASC*, 917, p. 68; Swanton, *ASC*, 921, p. 103. During this section of the *ASC* a scribe altered the original annal dates. Bately keeps the original dates while Swanton uses the altered dates, leading to the discrepancy between their texts for entries like that of 917/921. See Bately, *ASC*, pp. xcvi-xcviii and xxv-xxx.

¹⁹³ That is, until Edward of Wessex began to conquer the Norse settlement areas from 915.

¹⁹⁴ As well as those artefacts discussed above which are likely to belong to early Norse settlers, other material includes objects that incorporate Norse artistic motifs.

6) Migratory flows tend to continue

‘Migratory movements, once established, become self-sustaining social processes’.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, a migration stream will often continue even after changes in the circumstances that initiated the original people movement, as the desire to follow kin and the reduction of obstacles entice more migrants to follow.¹⁹⁶ For example, more than two centuries after establishing colonies in Australia the United Kingdom continues to be the most common home of origin for migrants to Australia.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, *Eirik’s saga* claims that when Aud migrated to Iceland she spent the first year with her brother Bjorn, suggesting that the destination was in part determined by kin who had previously migrated.¹⁹⁸ It is also thought that people from Norway and Norse settlement areas like the Orkney Islands continued to migrate to Iceland after the initial settlement,¹⁹⁹ and it is possible that Hiberno-Norse migration from Ireland and western Scotland also continued.²⁰⁰ Yet migration may stop if the obstacles become difficult to overcome. For example Ari Þorgilsson claimed that Iceland’s arable land was all utilised within sixty years of the beginning of Norse settlement.²⁰¹

In the case of the Norse migration to eastern England there is written evidence of subsequent migration after the settlement of members of the great army, but it is unknown how many migrants were involved, or if there was further unrecorded migration. Some scholars have argued that the members of the great army alone would account for the perceived Norse influence in eastern and northern England and that they were the only

¹⁹⁵ Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 28.

¹⁹⁶ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 904.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Table 1.2: Settler arrivals by birthplace, 1997-98 to 2007-08’, *Settler Arrivals 2007-08* (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2008), pp. 4-10. Available online at http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/settler-arrivals/settler_arrivals0708.pdf [accessed June 22, 2009].

¹⁹⁸ *Eirik’s saga*, ch. 1, in Magnus Magnusson & Herman Palsson, trans., *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Graenlendinga saga and Eirik’s saga* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 75.

¹⁹⁹ Vésteinsson, ‘Patterns of Settlement in Iceland: A Study in Prehistory’, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ Vésteinsson (*Ibid*) maintains that there is no evidence for continued migration from Ireland or western Scotland, but a claim to the contrary based on DNA evidence is made by Nils Milman, ‘Evidence that the haemochromatosis C282Y mutation of the HFE gene was spread with the Vikings from southern Scandinavia to other parts of Europe’, in E. Roesdahl & J.P. Schjødt, eds., *Treogtyvende tværfaglige Vikingsymposium* (Forlaget Hikuin og Afdeling for Middelalderarkæologi, Aarhus Universitet, 2004), pp. 73-4.

²⁰¹ Ari Þorgilsson, *Íslendingabók*, ch. III, in *Íslendingabók – Kristni Saga*, Grønlie, trans., p. 5. Despite this claim there is evidence of at least one site first being settled only in the mid to late tenth century, T.H. McGovern, A. Friðriksson, O. Vésteinsson, M.J. Church, I. Lawson, I.A. Simpson, A. Einarsson, A.J. Dugmore, G. Cook, S. Perdikarsis, K.J. Edwards, A.M. Thomson, W.P. Adderley, A. Newton, G. Lucas, & O. Aldred, ‘Landscape of Settlement in Northern Iceland: Historical Ecology of Human Impact and Climate Fluctuation on the Millennial Scale’, *American Anthropologist* 109 (2007), p. 38.

significant group of Norse settlers,²⁰² while others claim that further migrations must have taken place.²⁰³ Migration theory suggests that the latter scenario is more likely, perhaps continuing through to another documented group of Norse settlers, those accompanying Knut.²⁰⁴

After recording the settlement of parts of the great army in 876, 877, and 879,²⁰⁵ the *ASC* makes no mention of other Norse settlers until some of those from the 890s army settled in East Anglia and Northumbria.²⁰⁶ All of these settlements were no doubt recorded in the *ASC* as they represent the settlements of parts of armies that had previously attacked Wessex. Sawyer has suggested that some of the 890s migrants would have also settled in Norse-administered eastern Mercia, but this was deliberately left out of the *ASC* as western Mercia was allied with Wessex.²⁰⁷ However if other migrants proceeded directly to the Norse settlement areas a Wessex-based chronicler was unlikely to have known and even less likely to have made a record of it.²⁰⁸ Further migration to eastern England is recorded in the tenth century, but this movement of Hiberno-Norse from the Irish Sea area appears to have been only to Northumbria.²⁰⁹ The *HSC* provides some details about the impact of this migration,²¹⁰ while northern sources, the *ASC*, and the *AU* record some of the political changes.²¹¹ These sources often record only the name of the leader migrating to Northumbria, but it is highly likely that the leader would have been accompanied by others

²⁰² Lund, 'The settlers', pp. 147-71; Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed., pp. 168-9. Sawyer's view has evidently changed – see fn. 214 below.

²⁰³ H.R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (Longmans, London, 1962), p. 54; Cameron, 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence. Part II: place-names in thorp', in K. Cameron, ed., *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements* (English Place-Name Society, Nottingham, 1975), p. 143; Hart, *The Danelaw*, pp. 28-9. Fellows-Jensen, 'In the steps of the Vikings', p. 280, posits an intensification of settlement after 900.

²⁰⁴ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 28.

²⁰⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 876, 877, 880, pp. 74 & 76.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 897, p. 89.

²⁰⁷ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, pp. 97-8.

²⁰⁸ Similarly, the Hiberno-Norse migrations to north-west England that are attested in place-names and recorded in an Irish annal are not recorded in the *ASC*. For the place-names see Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*. *Navenstudier* 25 (C.A. Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1985). A migration from Ireland by Ingimund and his followers is recorded in J.N. Radner, ed., *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1978), 429 (?907), p. 169.

²⁰⁹ As this migration happened after 900 it will not be discussed in detail in this thesis.

²¹⁰ Johnson South, *HSC*, pp. 61, 63, 104-7.

²¹¹ The chronology of these different sources does not always agree, but it is possible that the Hiberno-Norse Ragnall became king at York from c. 910, but certainly from 919, after which he was followed by other Hiberno-Norse from Ireland, and kings of Wessex. For an overview see Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 66-9. For the political link established by the Hiberno-Norse between Dublin and York see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 63-105.

from Ireland.²¹² Significantly, the leaders of these migrants, including Ragnall and Sitric, appear to have been the grandsons of Ivar, one of the original leaders of the great army of 865.²¹³ In this respect migration theory is obviously borne out in stating that a migration stream is usually maintained by the kin of the original migrants.

While F. Donald Logan has confidently referred to ‘thousands upon thousands’ of undocumented migrants arriving in the Norse controlled areas, and Sawyer considers it likely that Norse migration continued for decades, it has been pointed out by Hadley that the notion of further migration is based entirely on the place-name evidence.²¹⁴ Furthermore, whilst migration theory suggests that migration would have continued, this would not necessarily have entailed ‘thousands upon thousands’ of migrants. Studies of migrations have shown that they often peak from a low base, level out, and then decline.²¹⁵ The Norse impact on the place-names in the Norse settlement area is significant, which may be evidence of continued migration.²¹⁶ Yet it is also possible that many of these place-names were coined much later and not necessarily only by Norse speakers.²¹⁷ It could be argued that the increased amount of Norse material in England ascribed to the early tenth century, for example sculpture with Norse characteristics,²¹⁸ was due to an increase in the Norse population in these areas following further immigration, but it could equally be due to the development of a hybrid Anglo-Norse population and culture.

Although there is no evidence of a continual stream of migrants following in the wake of the great army’s success, that a further two migrations are recorded is significant, lending credence to this tenet of migration theory.

²¹² For example Ragnall is recorded to have won a number of battles and presumably arrived in Northumbria with an army. As will be discussed below, Norse armies were often accompanied by women.

²¹³ The family of Ivar is the subject of Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*. For Ragnall and Sitric specifically see *Ibid.*, pp. 91-9.

²¹⁴ Hadley, ‘‘And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves’’: the Scandinavian settlement of England’, p. 75. Logan, *The Vikings in History*, p. 151; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, pp. 105-6.

²¹⁵ Perhaps most clearly demonstrated in Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, Fig. 2.3, p. 13.

²¹⁶ For example Cameron, ‘Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs’, p. 121, claims that there was secondary settlement in eastern Mercia ‘for at least two generations’.

²¹⁷ Lund, ‘The settlers’, pp. 155-68.

²¹⁸ Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 215.

7) Migrants are a select group

It has been noted that ‘migrants are not a random sample of the population at origin’²¹⁹ and that immigrants usually comprise ‘those most willing and able to overcome the difficulties of movement’.²²⁰ One indication of this is that even amongst the same groups experiencing the same conditions some will choose to migrate and others will choose to stay.²²¹ This is particularly the case when there are greater obstacles to overcome, including longer distance migration: ‘It is commonly noted that as distance of migration increases, the migrants become an increasingly superior group’.²²² It is possible that certain extreme situations, for example war or natural disaster, may cause an involuntary migration where no choice exists and there is no ‘selection’ of migrants.²²³ However there is no evidence that an extreme event caused the Norse to migrate to England, so some form of selection would be expected in a modern migration, and by analogy in the case of the Norse as well. This select group of immigrants is likely to include more males than females, often due to restrictions placed upon the mobility of women.²²⁴ It will also predominantly be made up of young adults, especially in the early ‘scouting’ phase of establishing a migration stream,²²⁵ often making the act of migration a rite of passage.²²⁶ The implications of these findings for the Norse migration to eastern England are significant.

That migrants are often a select group has implications for the acculturation process once the Norse settled in England. It has been mentioned that England was not the only migration opportunity available to the Norse in the latter ninth century, and that Iceland in particular may have represented an attractive alternative opportunity. Unlike unpopulated Iceland, which had the potential disadvantage of no infrastructure or trading sites, migrating to England required the immigrants to settle in an occupied land amongst another cultural group. Consequently it seems a reasonable assumption that those who were not prepared to endure this cultural interaction, and perhaps to adapt to it, would have decided to either migrate elsewhere or not migrate at all. Likewise those who did migrate to England but

²¹⁹ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 56.

²²⁰ Trafford, ‘Ethnicity, Migration Theory’, p. 26.

²²¹ Demuth, ‘Some Conceptual Thoughts’, p. 24.

²²² Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 57.

²²³ For involuntary, or forced, migration see Demuth, ‘Some Conceptual Thoughts’, pp. 33-7.

²²⁴ Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, p. 543.

²²⁵ Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 28; Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, p. 543; Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 905.

²²⁶ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 57.

found that they did not like it would be likely to move elsewhere. There is a later Anglo-Norse instance of such a decision. In 914 a leader with a Norse name and title, Jarl Thurcytel, and other principal people including *holds*, in the Anglo-Norse controlled areas of Bedford and Northampton apparently sought-out and submitted to Edward, king of Wessex.²²⁷ But something appears to have changed as in 916 the ASC records that ‘with the peace and help of King Edward, Jarl Thurcytel went across the sea to the land of the Franks with those men who wanted to follow him’.²²⁸ Earlier that year Edward had built a fort at Maldon in Essex, and the previous year he had occupied Bedford, at which time we are told that ‘almost all of the garrison who had earlier dwelt there turned to him’, so perhaps some of the garrison that had not done so left with Thurcytel.²²⁹ From this and other annals in the ASC it is clear that most of those in Anglo-Norse administered England²³⁰ were prepared to submit to the rule of Edward of Wessex and remain in England.²³¹ This is likely to have been because Edward would allow those who submitted to him to keep their estates.²³² But others, like Thurcytel and his followers, were not prepared to accept the new political reality and decided to emigrate, and Edward was evidently happy to help potential foes to leave England. This event is recorded as it directly involved the house of Wessex, but it is possible that there were many earlier unrecorded instances of Norse migrants leaving England as they found it difficult to adapt to the settlement process, including acculturation.

The most difficult aspect of this migration theory tenet to prove, for any migration from any era, is that migrants are ‘those most willing and able to overcome the difficulties of movement’.²³³ Lee writes in terms of the selection of migrants being ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ by which ‘positive selection is meant selection for migrants of high quality and

²²⁷ Swanton, ASC, 918 [914], p. 100. *Holds* (ON *holdr*) were a Norse hereditary landowning class ranking below a *Jarl*, *Ibid.*, fn. 7, p. 94.

²²⁸ Swanton, ASC, 920 [916], p. 100. *Purcytel eorl ofer sæ on Froncland mid þam mannum þe him gelæstan woldon mid Eadweardes cynges friþe 7 fultume*, Bately, ASC, 916, p. 66.

²²⁹ Swanton, ASC, 919 [915], p. 100. *him cirdon to mæst ealle þa burgware þe hie ær budon*, Bately, ASC, 915, p. 66.

²³⁰ Remembering that these events were 40 years after the initial Norse rule and settlement, so to speak of ‘Norse’ would not allow for the hybrid culture which had emerged. Of course Thurcytel and some of his followers may have been recent Norse immigrants.

²³¹ For example there are a number of annals that indicate that descendants of the Norse were prepared to submit to the over-lordship of Edward. Swanton, ASC, 913 [912], 918 [914], 921 [917], 922 [918], pp. 96, 100, 102-4.

²³² As recorded in Janet Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis*, II: 25, pp. 121-2.

²³³ Trafford, ‘Ethnicity, Migration Theory’, p. 26.

by negative selection the reverse'.²³⁴ High quality migrants are considered those who are best adapted to overcoming the obstacles of migration, and include those who move not out of necessity but for advancement, like many modern-day professionals.²³⁵ It was found that the migrants moving to the Digos-Padada Valley in the Philippines were not the poorest members of their society, but those who had had 'some degree of economic success in their home communities'.²³⁶ Since it is not known if the Norse migrants to eastern England were reacting primarily to push or pull factors, this cannot be used to gauge whether the migrants were positively or negatively selected. Similarly, Redmond's proposal that Norse migrants would 'Be in possession of a strong recognition of 'self', and a great confidence in what he is doing is right', is impossible to verify.²³⁷ However the surmounting of obstacles may be an indicator of the abilities of the migrants. Norse immigrants overcome significant obstacles in making England their new home. During the campaigning period the members of the great army had to win through military conquest the lands into which they would settle. This demonstrates that the members of the great army were skilled warriors, and they and any non-combatants were able to endure hardships in order to achieve their goal, while the leaders and their advisors were also good tacticians. Once settlement commenced there were new obstacles to overcome and other abilities came to the fore. The Norse settlers had to adapt to the situation where, whilst in political control, they were likely to be outnumbered by the local Anglo-Saxon inhabitants. Redmond in particular considers that the type of person 'likely to migrate is potentially suited for assimilation', and highlights the number of years members of the great army spent in England exposed to Anglo-Saxon culture prior to settlement.²³⁸ Although the argument is inevitably circular, the significant obstacles overcome by the Norse both before and after their settlement suggests that those involved had numerous abilities and may be considered to be what Lee would describe as a 'positively selected' group.

Fortunately the likely age and sex ratio of the early Norse settlers are a little easier to determine, and the results have several implications for the settlement and acculturation processes. A number of studies have shown that most migrants will be young adults. For

²³⁴ Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', p. 56.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ Simkins & Wernstedt, *Philippine Migration*, p. 94.

²³⁷ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 62.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

example 76% of immigrants to the USA between 1868 and 1910 were aged between 15 and 40.²³⁹ Earlier, two-thirds of migrants to New England between 1620 and 1649 were aged between 10 and 39.²⁴⁰ Similarly, following the establishment of Baan Dong Phong in Thailand in 1923, approximately 40% of its population in 1937 was aged between 20 and 39.²⁴¹

It is difficult to know the average age of the Norse migrants to England, but some indication may be provided by early Norse burials for which a skeletal age has been estimated, which are given in Table 1. The burials included are those which are likely to be of migrants from the early settlement phase up to 900, based on their association with historical events, primarily the movements of the great army, or the inclusion of early material. However artefacts can rarely be accurately dated, and it is possible that some artefacts may have been old when buried.²⁴² Consequently, and despite historical probability, some of the Norse whose burials feature in the following discussion may not have been living in eastern England before 900. There can also be problems identifying the Norse. Contemporary Anglo-Saxon burials sometimes included grave-goods associated with dress, including small knives, but obviously non-dress artefacts such as weapons may be considered Norse. Such artefacts are likely to be earlier in the settlement period due to the Norse assimilation into Anglo-Saxon burial practices.²⁴³ Cremation and burials under mounds are also unlikely to be Anglo-Saxon.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, p. 11.

²⁴⁰ Archer, 'New England Mosaic', p. 480.

²⁴¹ Lefferts, 'Frontier Demography', p. 44.

²⁴² For the likelihood that some brooches were old when buried see Kershaw, 'Culture and Gender in the Danelaw', p. 304.

²⁴³ This does not discount the possibility that in individual instances an accompanied burial may be post 900, perhaps of a more recent Norse immigrant.

²⁴⁴ For contemporary Anglo-Saxon burial practices see Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 246-52.

Table 1

Skeletal ageing of early Norse burials			
Burial	Burial Place	Age	Date
1	Repton churchyard, grave 511	35-45	873-4
2	Repton churchyard, grave 295	17-20	873-4
3	Repton churchyard, grave 529	25-35	873-4
4	Heath Wood, mound 50	18-45	870s
5	Heath Wood, mound 50	infant/juvenile	870s
6	Heath Wood, mound 56	18-40	870s
7	Adwick-le-Street	33-45 or older	late 9 th century
8	Cambois	45-60	late 9 th /early 10 th century
9	Cambois	40s	late 9 th /early 10 th century
10	Cambois	20s	late 9 th /early 10 th century
11	Sonning	18-22	870-1

The three early Norse burials in the churchyard at Repton were probably members of the great army, the earliest recorded group of Norse migrants. The man in grave 511 (Table 1, no. 1) was 35 to 45 years old, and next to him in grave 295 (Table 1, no. 2) was buried a younger man, aged 17 to 20.²⁴⁵ Another man aged 25 to 35 was buried in grave 529 (Table 1, no. 3) with five silver pennies dated to the mid-870s.²⁴⁶ The man in grave 511 is possibly older than the average age of immigrants suggested by the migration studies

²⁴⁵ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', pp. 60-5.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6. The excavation report discusses other probable Norse burials at Repton but I have concentrated on those where isotope analysis confirms that those buried did not spend their childhoods in England. Furthermore, these burials were chosen for isotope analysis as they were considered to be the most 'Norse' based on grave goods and burial style, Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, 'Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis', p. 137.

above and could have been one of the leaders of the army, a proposition supported by his relatively elaborate grave goods, and the use of a grave marker.²⁴⁷ But all three fall roughly within the 15 to 40 age bracket which appears to account for most recorded migrants. A similar result is found from the Norse cremation barrow cemetery at Heath Wood. It was possible to ascribe an age to the bones of three individuals, burials 3-6 above: one was aged 18 to 45 (Table 1, no. 4), another 18 to 40 (Table 1, no. 6), and the third was an infant or juvenile (Table 1, no. 5).²⁴⁸ Repton and Heath Wood may be dated to the great army winter camp at Repton in 873-4, or to the very early settlement period so the ages at death of those identified are likely to be close to the age at which they migrated.²⁴⁹ Another burial dating to the campaigning period is that at Sonning, on the opposite bank of the Thames from Reading, the site of the great army's winter camp of 870-1.²⁵⁰ One of the males buried there was aged 18 to 22 (Table 1, no. 11), suggesting that he came at the young age of 12 to 16 in 865, or came with the summer army in 871, or of course in any undocumented arrivals of Norse warriors between 865 and 871.²⁵¹ The woman buried at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire (Table 1, no. 7), is thought to have been aged at least 33 to 45 at death, and quite possibly older.²⁵² However this burial is thought to be from 'the end of the 9th century',²⁵³ so it is possible that the woman had migrated up to thirty years earlier if she arrived with the great army. Burials 8-10 in Table 1, a female aged 45-60, a probable male in his twenties and another in his forties, were recovered at Cambois, Bedlington in Northumberland. They are thought to date to the late ninth or early tenth centuries and are somewhat remarkable for being Norse-style burials in an area further north than that controlled by the Norse kingdom of York.²⁵⁴ The burials were accompanied by minimal grave-goods, namely a disc brooch and a comb, but as they were buried under a mound

²⁴⁷ He was accompanied by 12 items, including a sword and Thor's hammer, Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', Figs. 4.14 & 4.15, pp. 63-4.

²⁴⁸ Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', Table 1, p. 77.

²⁴⁹ Swanton, *ASC*, 874, p. 72.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 871, p. 70.

²⁵¹ The other male buried at Sonning was thought to be 20 or older, too vague an ageing to be of use to this discussion. H. Carter, 'Report on Human Bones from Sonning', *Antiquaries Journal* 49 (1969), pp. 334-5.

²⁵² Speed & Rogers, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street', p. 60.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁵⁴ M.L. Alexander, 'A 'Viking Age' Grave from Cambois, Bedlington, Northumberland', *Medieval Archaeology* 31 (1987), pp. 101-5. The area controlled by the Kingdom of York will be discussed in chapter 5.

they are interpreted as Anglo-Norse.²⁵⁵ Even though these artefacts imply ‘deposition no later than the middle of the 10th century’, Alexander suggests that it represents ‘an example of a Scandinavian (or Anglo-Scandinavian) late 9th- or early 10th-century élite’.²⁵⁶ Consequently those buried may have been living in England prior to 900, hence their inclusion in Table 1. If this burial dates to the late ninth century it is possible that the female and older male were amongst the original Norse settlers. The younger male would have either been born in England or a later arrival.

There is a tendency for young adults to be over-represented in some burial studies due to the better preservation of their skeletons in certain conditions.²⁵⁷ However the results in Table 1 include at least four people over 33, lending a degree of credibility to the results. On the other hand, the single infant/juvenile recorded suggests that this particular group is under-represented. Although the sample of ninth-century Norse burials where the individuals can be provided an age is small, it is striking that they largely fit the age profile of migrants suggested by migration theory.

If this age range is indicative of the age of the majority of the members of the great army, as studies of other migrations suggests it would be, it is possible to estimate the age range of the majority of the Norse when they settled. Someone arriving in England aged 15 to 40 in 865 would have been aged 26 to 51 if they joined those settling in Northumbria in 876. If the woman buried in South Yorkshire arrived with the great army at age 15 she would have been 26 if she had joined Halfdan in the settlement of Northumbria, and in her forties if she had died in the 890s, which would agree with the excavation report. Similarly, if the woman buried at Cambois was aged 15 to 30 and arrived in 865 she would have been 45 to 60 if she died in the 890s, and the older of the two men buried with her would be in his forties if he had arrived with her in 865 aged in his teens.²⁵⁸ Those settlers aged 15 to 40

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* The burial was previously thought to be Anglo-Saxon, but following Alexander’s reappraisal it has been included in the corpus of likely Norse burials, eg. Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 241; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 194. However Redmond (*Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 116) is more sceptical.

²⁵⁶ Alexander, ‘A ‘Viking Age’ Grave from Cambois, Bedlington, Northumberland’, p. 105.

²⁵⁷ Phillip L. Walker, ‘Problems of Preservation and Sexism in Sexing: Some Lessons from Historical Collections for Paleodemographers’, in A. Herring & S. Saunders, eds., *Grave Reflections: Portraying the Past through Cemetery Studies* (Canadian Scholars’ Press, Toronto, 1995), pp. 33-4.

²⁵⁸ This is a suggestion combining the written record of the arrival of Norse groups and the Norse settlements with the excavation report and migration theory. Of course they could have arrived in England after 865.

that arrived as part of the ‘great summer-fleet’ that joined the great army in 871²⁵⁹ would have been 24 to 49 if they were amongst the last group of the army to settle in East Anglia in 880.²⁶⁰ It is likely that the leaders of the great army, and therefore some of the initial rulers of the Norse settlements, would have been older than many of the other migrants,²⁶¹ and there could have also been some migrants younger than 15.²⁶²

The presence of young Norse males has implications for the settlement process. Heinrich Härke argues that young males were important in ancient war bands, and that one would ‘expect a higher level of violence in immigrant communities dominated by young males and the development of codes of conduct that go with it’.²⁶³ Härke suggests that this violence is demonstrated in a past migration by burials with weapons becoming ‘the symbol of Anglo-Saxon males in 5th/6th century Britain’.²⁶⁴ Coming to England as members of an army attempting to conquer themselves a homeland obviously fits Härke’s view of the likely violence of young male immigrants. The codes of conduct formed to express this violence are also evident as, like the earlier Anglo-Saxon immigrants, early male Norse burials, possibly primarily during the campaigns of the great army, often include weapons. Another implication of young Norse migrants, male or female, is that they were of the age to form relationships that were likely to result in children. Any such relationships that involved local Anglo-Saxons may have helped the integration of the two cultures. Migration theory also suggests that migrants are more likely to be male.²⁶⁵ At times this imbalance in the sexes can be substantial, as with the migration from England to New England from 1620 to 1649 when over 65% of the migrants were male,²⁶⁶ and where there were four single male migrants for every single female.²⁶⁷ This is very similar to the

²⁵⁹ Swanton, *ASC*, 871, p. 72. *micel sumorlida*, Batley, *ASC*, 871, p. 48.

²⁶⁰ The argument in favour of assuming that the separate settlements of the great army represent discrete parts of the army will be discussed in the following chapter.

²⁶¹ This may be indicated by the death of Guthrum, the Norse king of East Anglia and the leader of the great army when it invaded Wessex in 878. Guthrum died in 890, a decade after the settlement of East Anglia. As no battle is recorded associated with his death he may have died of natural causes. Swanton, *ASC*, 890, p. 82.

²⁶² This will be discussed below.

²⁶³ Heinrich Härke, ‘Comments’, *Current Anthropology* 41:4 (2000), p. 558.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ It has been noted that since the 1960s the rate of female migration has increased and that females are now sometimes in the majority, suggesting that previously this was not the case. Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 9.

²⁶⁶ 1276 males to 684 females. Archer, ‘New England Mosaic’, Table I, p. 479.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

migrants to the USA between 1851 and 1910 when 64% were male.²⁶⁸ Such results are not confined to the USA: following a period of substantial immigration there were 209 males for every 100 females living in Digos-Padada Valley in the Philippines in 1918.²⁶⁹ Considering that the first Norse settlers recorded in the ASC were the members of the great army, it would appear to support the evidence obtained from migration studies that most early settlers are male.²⁷⁰ There is a lot of circumstantial evidence to support this notion, but after a review of the evidence I will be offering a different suggestion below.

There are fewer Norse female than male names preserved and also fewer Norse female name forms.²⁷¹ *Domesday Book* (c. 1087) recorded the name of twenty one landowners with Norse female names, sixteen of which were in the areas of documented ninth-century Norse settlement, compared to over 400 Norse male names. Although women were less likely to be landowners, the disparity remains striking.²⁷² Other documents of the tenth to fourteenth century also record fewer Norse female than male names.²⁷³ It is a similar result with place-names that contain a Norse female personal name.²⁷⁴ However it has been argued that the place-names, especially those ending in ON *-by*, most of which also include an ON first element, largely date from when ON was being spoken in England and are relatively early.²⁷⁵ Consequently it has been suggested that these place-names are evidence for ON-speaking communities and numerous settlers,²⁷⁶ and if such communities existed they are likely to have included a sizeable proportion of Norse-speaking women.²⁷⁷ Similarly, citing the likelihood that ON continued to be spoken by the second generation of settlers, Sawyer has posited that it is 'likely that there were many Danish-speaking mothers

²⁶⁸ Hatton & Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration*, p. 11.

²⁶⁹ Simkins & Wernstedt, *Philippine Migration*, p. 52.

²⁷⁰ The discussion of the possible ratio of males to females that follows is concerned with biological sex rather than gender.

²⁷¹ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 83.

²⁷² Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 76-7.

²⁷³ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 83.

²⁷⁴ Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, p. 78. For more detailed discussion see Carole Hough, 'Women in English Place-Names', in C. Hough & K.A. Lowe, eds., *'Lastwords Betst': Essays in Memory of Christine E. Fell* (Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2002), pp. 65-8, 97-8; Judith Jesch, 'Scandinavian women's names in English place-names', in O.J. Padel & D.N. Parsons, eds., *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling* (Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2008), pp. 154-62.

²⁷⁵ D.N. Parsons, 'Anna, Dot, Thorir... Counting Domesday Personal Names', *Nomina* 25 (2002), pp. 33-5, 45.

²⁷⁶ Abrams & Parsons, 'Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England', p. 422.

²⁷⁷ Jesch, 'Scandinavian women's names in English place-names', p. 154.

as well as fathers'.²⁷⁸ However this notion is impossible to prove as it is not known if the first Anglo-Norse generation born in England continued to speak ON.

Furthermore the DNA evidence discussed by Sykes also suggests more male than female Norse settlers, although there are problems both in distinguishing Norse DNA and in approximating how long a particular DNA sequence has been in Britain.²⁷⁹ Sykes considers Germanic/Norse mtDNA to account for about ten percent of the population of East Anglia and eastern Mercia, and five percent in Yorkshire.²⁸⁰ These results certainly suggest female Norse migration to England, but the Y-chromosome results are fifteen percent in eastern Mercia and Yorkshire, and twenty percent in East Anglia, suggesting that there were two or three male Norse migrants for every female.²⁸¹ Unfortunately, in addition to the problems associated with using DNA sampling of modern populations to draw conclusions about past populations discussed in chapter 1, no peer-reviewed scientific publications are available that address the sex-ratio issue from genetic samples, so the figures provided by Sykes are difficult to verify and need to be used with caution.

Despite the lack of documentary evidence it should not be discounted that some women and children may have arrived with the great army. During the campaigns of the Norse army in the 890s women and children accompanying the army are mentioned on four occasions. Minors are mentioned twice, once implying that there were a number of Norse children captured in London by the Anglo-Saxons, and in the same entry two sons of the Norse leader Hæsten are recorded.²⁸² Hæsten's wife and other women are also mentioned as having been caught,²⁸³ while later there are two accounts of the Norse women from the army remaining in East Anglia.²⁸⁴ These reports clearly demonstrate that a number of women and children accompanied the Norse army to England in 894 and obviously if it was possible for that army to bring women and children then it would have also been possible for the great army of 865. The detail on these campaigns in the ASC is fuller than those of 865-878 which may explain the survival of information on women and children.

²⁷⁸ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 105.

²⁷⁹ Sykes, *Blood of the Isles*, pp. 283, & 152-161 for the problems of dating a DNA sequence.

²⁸⁰ Sykes considers that the genetic contribution is more likely to have been made by the Norse than Anglo-Saxons or Normans as it is within the area historically settled by the Norse from the ninth century, *Ibid.*, pp. 282-3.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

²⁸² Swanton, *ASC*, 894, pp. 86-7.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 894 & 896, pp. 88-9.

The non-combatants accompanying the 890s army were also of interest to the Wessex scribe as they were captured in Wessex, whereas any knowledge of earlier non-combatants may not have been considered noteworthy. Furthermore, that King Alfred and Ealdorman Æthelred of western Mercia were the godfathers of the two sons of Hæsten captured and subsequently presented to Alfred, along with Hæsten's wife, was likely to demand a notice in the *ASC*. The establishment of client kings in the conquered kingdoms created 'safe' areas for the great army, meaning that women and children and other possible non-combatants may not have had to accompany the army on campaign after 867.²⁸⁵ As Wessex was not attacked until 871 it is possible that those in Wessex were unaware of the presence of any Norse women and children as by 871 they resided in one of the conquered kingdoms. There are also accounts of the Norse armies having women with them in Francia.²⁸⁶ Regardless of the possible accompaniment of Norse women with the great army during the years of campaign, it is known that some Norse women did migrate to eastern England during the early Norse settlement period. Finds of female dress accessories suggest female Norse settlers, especially with artefacts like oval brooches which are more likely to have been brought into England than to be available locally.²⁸⁷

The predominance of Norse males in the early settlement period also appears to be indicated by the non-osteologically sexed burials of the conquest and early settlement period. Before more accurate osteological sexing techniques were developed, or when there are few skeletal remains, it is difficult to distinguish male and female graves and the less than satisfactory method of using grave-goods as an indicator is used.²⁸⁸ It is even more difficult to be sure of the origin of those buried and some of the 'Norse' burials in the settlement areas may be of Anglo-Saxons adopting Norse cultural forms.

The results of early Norse burials sexed according to grave goods are presented in Table 2 below. Only the Leigh-on-Sea burial has been dated by coin evidence, but another

²⁸⁵ The presence of woman and children with the great army will be discussed below.

²⁸⁶ Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 103-6. See for example Nelson, *AB*, 862, p. 99 for the Norse leader Weland and his wife and sons in Francia.

²⁸⁷ The small number of oval brooches found in England would appear to preclude the likelihood of local manufacture.

²⁸⁸ For the problems associated with ascribing sex on the basis of grave-goods see Emily Weglian, 'Grave Goods Do Not a Gender Make: A Case Study from Singen am Hohentwiel, Germany', in B. Arnold & N.L. Walker, eds., *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*. Gender and Archaeology Series, 2 (AltaMira, Walnut Creek, 2001), pp. 137-55; & Dianna L. Doucette, 'Decoding the Gender Bias: Inferences of Atlatls in Female Mortuary Contexts', in B. Arnold & N.L. Walker, eds., *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*. Gender and Archaeology Series, 2 (AltaMira, Walnut Creek, 2001), pp. 159-77.

four have been given provisional dating by scholars.²⁸⁹ The final three burials are not provided with specific dates but are possibly early due to the nature of the burial. The dating of the burials are discussed individually below. Burials that have been sexed osteologically have been omitted here and will instead be included in Table 3. The number of burials under discussion is small but this does not necessarily mean that the number of migrants was equally small. There are no doubt burials still to be discovered and others that have been destroyed over the centuries. But there are also many others that may be indistinguishable from Anglo-Saxon burials as by the time the migrant died they, or their descendants burying them, had adopted local burial customs.

TABLE 2

Burials of 6 or 7 early Norse migrants sexed by grave assemblage				
Burial	Burial Place	Grave-goods	Sex	Date
1	Thetford	sword	M	869-70
2	Thetford	spear & knife	M	869-70
3	Reading	sword & horse	M	870-71
4	Santon Downham	sword & oval brooches	M & F (?)	late 9 th /early 10 th
5	Middle Harling	4 knives & a whetstone	M	late 9 th /early 10 th
6	Wensley	sword, spear, knife, sickle	M	late 9 th /early 10 th

Some of these burials are directly associated with the documented movements of the great army. The two weapon burials from Thetford in Norfolk (Table 2, no. 1-2) may relate to the great army's wintering of 869-70.²⁹⁰ Likewise the weapon burial on the banks of the Thames at Reading (Table 2, no. 3) is possibly associated with the winter camp of 870-1.²⁹¹ The burials at Reading and Thetford are thought to be of males due to the weapon finds.

²⁸⁹ It should be noted that it has been suggested that the Middle Harling burial may be 'somewhat later' than the originally proposed date provided here. James Graham-Campbell, 'Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw', p. 112. Two unsexed burials from Hook Norton, Oxfordshire, one under a mound and another with a coin hoard deposited c. 875, have been associated with the great army but are omitted from the table as the minimal grave-goods makes it impossible to propose a sex. For discussion see *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁹⁰ Graham-Campbell, 'The Archaeology of the 'Great Army' (865-79)', p. 38.

²⁹¹ Graham-Campbell, 'Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw', p. 115. This article provides a concise evaluation of possible Norse burials south of the Humber and will be used here for my brief summaries, but for excavation reports and further discussion see the references in the article. For probable Norse burials further north see Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 92-121.

The other burials in Table 2 may be tentatively dated from the beginnings of documented Norse settlement in 876 to 900. The burial at Santon Downham in Norfolk (Table 2, no. 4) was found with a sword and a pair of oval brooches. It has been suggested that it was a double burial due to both male and female grave-goods being found, a position supported by most scholars, but only a single skeleton was reported with the find.²⁹² The burial at Middle Harling, Norfolk (Table 2, no. 5), is thought to be male, but neither the sex nor the proposed late ninth/early tenth century date is certain.²⁹³ Finally the churchyard burial including a sword and spear was recovered from Wensley, Yorkshire (Table 2, no. 6).²⁹⁴ Table 2 clearly demonstrates that when sexing according to grave goods only is followed, where weapons equate to male burial, migration theory appears to be correct in suggesting that most early migrants are male. Six of the possible seven burials are seen as male. Scholars provide a single putative female due to the oval brooches discovered at Santon Downham, but only if it is a double burial with a man, despite there only being one skeleton recorded.

The results may be thought to be supported by the sexing of skeletal remains at the Repton mass burial, where at least 264 people were deposited in part of a building converted to a burial mound. An axe, seaxes, and a fragment of a sword were amongst the items found in the burial.²⁹⁵ An examination of the bones determined that 82% of them were male.²⁹⁶ However radio-carbon dating of the material ranges from the seventh to ninth

²⁹² Graham-Campbell, 'Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw', pp. 110-11. Despite the popularity of the double burial proposal I find it difficult to ignore the report of a single skeleton. Richards (*Viking Age England*, p. 205) suggests that the brooches were an offering, implying that the burial was male; however this is no more likely than it being a female burial with a weapon, as suggested by Redmond (*Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 95) for the mid-tenth century Bedale burial containing a pair of oval brooches and a spearhead. The dating of the burial is given as late ninth century in Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 15; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 205; and Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins*, p. 118; but as early tenth century in V.I. Evison, 'A Viking grave at Sonning, Berks.', *Antiquaries Journal* 49 (1969), p. 335. The oval brooches are a P 51 type, and this style began sometime before 890 but after 841, Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, p. 228.

²⁹³ Graham-Campbell, 'Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw', pp. 111-12. The surviving bone fragments suggest a male, but the skull was lost and the sex cannot be certain. *Ibid.*, p. 111. Margeson (*The Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 16) refers to the burial as male.

²⁹⁴ D.M. Wilson, 'Some Neglected Late Anglo-Saxon Swords', *Medieval Archaeology* IX (1965), pp. 41-2. Wilson dates the sword by noting parallels of the sword ornamentation with a brooch from the Beeston Tor hoard, dated c. 873-5. Wilson's dating of the sword makes it reasonable to include the Wensley burial in the list of early Norse settlers.

²⁹⁵ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', pp. 67-8.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Table 4.1, p. 74.

centuries,²⁹⁷ so although some are likely to be members of the Norse army others may be the skeletons of earlier Anglo-Saxons incorporated by the army into the mass burial.²⁹⁸ Consequently it is uncertain how many of the 264 individuals represented in the burial were Norse, and the high proportion of males may be compatible not only with an army, but also with the inhabitants of a monastery.²⁹⁹

Other weapon burials that have not been included in this table, as no opinion of the sex of the burials has been offered by recent scholars, would appear to strengthen the case for the predominance of Norse men amongst the early settlers. A sword, horse, and coins dated to c. 895 were found with a burial at Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, whilst a mound burial at Camphill, Yorkshire included a sword and spear.³⁰⁰ Redmond lists two males at the cremation cemetery at Heath Wood near Ingleby, Derbyshire, due to swords being found.³⁰¹ Finally seven or eight burials accompanied by at least four swords, an axe, a set of scales, and knives were discovered under, and were possibly earlier than, the church at Kildale, Yorkshire. At least five of these individuals were accompanied by the weapons.³⁰² It is possible that some of these burials were female, despite the characteristically ‘male’ grave-goods, but the impression is still one of predominantly male burials.³⁰³

Such evidence has naturally affected how scholars view the Norse settlement and subsequent acculturation, as have possibly preconceptions of pre-modern women. A recent news report stating that ‘experts’ (presumably the archaeologists involved) were surprised at finding female remains in what they expected to be an excavation of a military site, an

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

²⁹⁸ Graham-Campbell, ‘The Archaeology of the ‘Great Army’ (865-79)’, p. 42. Earlier Anglo-Saxon skeletons could have come from the proposed mausoleum that was utilised for the mass burial, or from churchyard burials disturbed by the army creating a ditch for its winter camp. Biddle, & Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘Repton and the ‘great heathen army’, 873-4’, pp. 57-60 & 67-74.

²⁹⁹ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 13-5.

³⁰⁰ Graham-Campbell, ‘Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw’, p. 114; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 241.

³⁰¹ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, Appendix 5, p. XIV. As the most recent and thorough excavation report (Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood’, pp. 28-30, 36-38) is careful to state that the sex of those recovered in earlier excavations is unknown, I have decided not to include Redmond’s opinion in Table 2.

³⁰² Four were buried with swords and other weapons including an axe and spearheads, Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 110.

³⁰³ Redmond (*Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 110) states that ‘it seems safe to suggest that at least four were male’, and that there is nothing to suggest female internments. She considers one of the swords to date to the early tenth century (based on a nineteenth-century sketch).

Iron Age hill fort, highlights these preconceptions.³⁰⁴ Similarly, although occasionally mentioning female Norse settlers and listing some female burials, Redmond consistently refers to the great army and early settlers as ‘men’, and considers that they would ‘Be primarily young adult males’.³⁰⁵ As the ASC indicates that some Norse women migrated most works that deal with the Norse in England at least mention this.³⁰⁶ Yet some works remain silent on the probable sex ratio of the immigrants.³⁰⁷ Most scholars who have devoted more time to the issue are of the opinion that there was possibly little Norse female migration, but often argue in favour of more substantial migration based on evidence which is difficult to date or verify. Judith Jesch has argued that if Norse migration was only due to the two documented great armies then there would have been few if any female migrants, but posits that there were probably more female migrants as part of an undocumented second wave of migrants following the success of the great army.³⁰⁸ This position has recently been echoed by Katherine Holman.³⁰⁹ Based on a consideration of place-names, Jesch has since reiterated her notion of ‘the immigration of substantial numbers of women from Scandinavia’, coupled with ‘the extensive use of Scandinavian speech in the home’.³¹⁰

An increase in the number of finds of Norse-style jewellery in the last two decades has led some scholars to suggest a larger number of female settlers. Indeed, it has been noted that there are more Norse female dress items than those worn by men.³¹¹ Sue Margeson does not mention the prospect of women arriving with the great army, but the Norse-style jewellery finds in Norfolk led her to suggest that women would have ‘come

³⁰⁴ For the report see http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/derbyshire/8691348.stm [accessed May 20, 2010].

³⁰⁵ For example, ‘Information would have continued to flow between England and the homelands as men moved backwards and forwards’, Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 64. For the migrants being ‘young adult males’, see *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁰⁶ For example Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, p. 248; Eric Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age*, p. 232; Martin Arnold, *The Vikings: Culture and Conquest* (Hambledon Continuum, London, 2006), p. 95.

³⁰⁷ For example Richards, *Viking Age England*; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*.

³⁰⁸ Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 77-8. She argues that Norse female personal names preserved as place names may be evidence of this.

³⁰⁹ Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, p. 150.

³¹⁰ Jesch, ‘Scandinavian women’s names in English place-names’, pp. 154-5.

³¹¹ Caroline Paterson, ‘Part 2. The Finds’, in Kevin Leahy & Caroline Paterson, ‘New Light on the Viking presence in Lincolnshire: the artefactual evidence’, in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), p. 197; Kershaw, ‘Culture and Gender in the Danelaw: Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian Brooches’, p. 306.

over to join the first settlers' after the army had settled.³¹² A similar review of jewellery finds from Lincolnshire led Caroline Paterson to the conclusion that 'a substantial contingent of Scandinavian women were present in Lincolnshire in the late ninth and tenth centuries'.³¹³ However Penelope Walton Rogers has argued that from a costume standpoint much of this jewellery is likely to have arrived as gifts and merchandise and than Norse women 'would have been an unusual sight in 9th-century Yorkshire'.³¹⁴ By contrast, Kershaw considers that the Norse-style jewellery had probably 'been introduced to England on the clothing of female settlers from Scandinavia, rather than items having arrived as trade goods for the mass market'.³¹⁵ Yet the use of Anglo-Saxon style pin fittings rather than Norse on a significant number of the Norse-style (rather than Anglo-Norse) brooches demonstrates that many were made locally,³¹⁶ and could suggest that they were adapted to also be worn by the Anglo-Saxon population, something previously acknowledged by Patterson.³¹⁷

Hadley has probably given the most consideration to the issue of Norse women in England recently, and has also reiterated that the available evidence suggests that most of the settlers were men.³¹⁸ In a recent article Hadley has noted that although Norse women were present in England during both the conquest and settlement period, both the identified Norse graves and sculpture show that Norse funerary display was decidedly masculine.³¹⁹ The imbalance in the sexes has acculturation implications as it would necessarily result in male Norse settlers marrying Anglo-Saxon women and 'children must have been reared in ethnically and culturally diverse households'.³²⁰

Despite the apparent strength of results suggesting a much higher proportion of males amongst the Norse migrant population, which supports the modern DNA results, the

³¹² Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 11. Margeson is specifically referring to the army that settled East Anglia in 879.

³¹³ Paterson, 'Part 2. The Finds', p. 193.

³¹⁴ Rogers, 'The Significance of a Viking Woman's Burial in the Danelaw', pp. 86-7. Quote p. 87.

³¹⁵ Kershaw, 'Culture and Gender in the Danelaw', p. 299.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300, and p. 310 for a specific example.

³¹⁷ Paterson ('Part 2. The Finds', p. 193) acknowledged 'the possibility that local women adapted their dress to suit Scandinavian fashions'.

³¹⁸ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 261.

³¹⁹ D.M. Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England', in S. Crawford & H. Hamerow, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15 (Oxford University School of Archaeology, Oxford, 2008), pp. 270-84.

³²⁰ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 83.

toponymic evidence, and migration theory, a different approach, using osteological sexing of burials, produces markedly different results. Table 3 below lists those burials that can be described as Norse with some confidence, either due to isotope analysis showing that they came from the Norse world, or because they were buried in a way not consistent with local Anglo-Saxon practice in the late ninth/early tenth century. Although the sexing of skeletons is considered to be problematic by some osteologists, this method of ascribing sex is likely to be more accurate than sexing burials on the basis of their accompanying grave-goods.³²¹

TABLE 3

Burials of 14 early Norse migrants sexed osteologically				
Burial	Burial Place	Grave-goods	Sex	Date
1	Repton mortuary	axe, seaxes, sword pieces in mortuary	F	873-4
2	Repton churchyd 511	12 items incl. Thor's hammer, sword	M	873-4
3	Repton churchyd 295	knife	M	873-4
4	Repton churchyd 529	finger ring, coins	M	873-4
5 & 6	Sonning	sword, knife, ringed pin, arrow heads	2M	870-1
7 & 8	Heath Wood 50	sword hilt grip, shield clamps, knife	1F/1?	870s
9	Heath Wood 5	2 iron nails	F	870s
10	Heath Wood 6	2 buckles, strap-end, small brooch (?)	F	870s
11	Adwick-le-Street	oval brooches, knife, bowl	F	late 9 th C
12 - 14	Cambois	disc brooch, comb	1F/2M	late 9 th /early 10 th

³²¹ The problems associated with osteological sexing is discussed in Walker, 'Problems of Preservation and Sexism in Sexing', pp. 35-44. The osteological sexing results in Table 3 are largely consistent with the sex that would be ascribed using grave goods alone, so the problem of archaeologists and osteologists providing different sexes for the same skeleton does not arise. The exception are the Heath Wood cremations, especially mound 50. In this instance Richards ('Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', p. 91) says 'Whilst it is possible that the female has been misidentified, it would be unwise to dismiss the skeletal sexing simply because it conflicts with the grave-good evidence'.

The burial with a question mark was that of an infant or juvenile and could not be sexed. The grave numbers are given for the Repton churchyard burials, and the mound numbers for Heath Wood. There were more burials at Heath Wood but only those that were osteologically sexed have been included. The sexing results recovered from the Repton mass burial are not included due to the problems of dating and identifying their place of origin, except for the four individuals subjected to isotope analysis. Of these, only one could be said to have grown up outside of Britain, highlighting the problems of using the evidence from the mass grave.

The results from this table are significantly different from those of Table 2, suggesting that females formed a significant proportion of the early Norse settlers. Of the Norse identified in Table 3 by stable isotope analysis, their genetic heritage cannot be proved but the analysis greatly increases the likelihood of them having been genetically or at least culturally Norse. It consequently lessens the likelihood of the ‘Norse’ burials actually being Anglo-Saxons adopting Norse cultural forms, a possibility for the burials in Table 2.

Of the three burials from the Repton churchyard (Table 3, no. 2-4), the men buried together in graves 511 and 295 were probably from the west coast of Denmark,³²² whilst the man in grave 529 probably grew up in south-eastern Sweden.³²³ A female from the Repton mass burial (Table 3, no. 1) grew up in either mid-Continental or Baltic Europe, which included parts of Scandinavia and other Norse settlements, so she is likely to have been from the Norse world and arrived in England with part of the great army sometime before 873. Furthermore, the strontium isotope results were similar to those of the man buried in Repton grave 529.³²⁴ The woman buried at Adwick-le-Street (Table 3, no. 11)

³²² Their drinking water isotope compositions suggest a childhood in western Britain, northern France, the Low Countries, or the west coast of Denmark. The Sr-isotope results suggest a childhood in the east Midlands, East Anglia, or Denmark, Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, ‘Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis’, p. 137. As only one locality, the west coast of Denmark, fits both results I interpret the results as assigning this locality as the most likely place of origin.

³²³ There is a lesser possibility that they spent their childhood in Baltic Europe, eastern central Europe or south-western Russia. He was wearing a gold finger ring with parallels at Birka and northern Jutland, *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

³²⁴ Despite the dating problems, this circumstantial evidence suggests that this female accompanied the great army, *Ibid.* That one of the two women from the mass grave examined were not Anglo-Saxon calls into question the suggestion that the 18% of women that made up the mass grave were more likely to be ‘English’, as suggested in Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘Repton and the ‘great heathen army’, 873-4’, p. 78.

may have grown up in a small area of north-east Scotland,³²⁵ but the results are ‘a better fit with the Trondheim area of Norway’.³²⁶

The other burials in Table 3 may be considered ‘Norse’ due to the style of burial. The cremation barrow cemetery at Heath Wood (Table 3, no. 7-10) is the most obvious collection of Norse burials under discussion, but unfortunately the site is also difficult to date. It has been variously proposed that it belongs to a previously unrecorded Norse settlement earlier than those noted in the ASC,³²⁷ that it was in use at the same time as the great army were wintering at near-by Repton,³²⁸ that it was the principal war cemetery of the great army and was in use from 873-8,³²⁹ and that it belongs to the early settlement period.³³⁰ Cambois (Table 3, no. 12-14) is included as mound burial was not common in that part of Anglo-Saxon England at the time.³³¹ Similarly the double burial with weapons at Sonning (Table 3, no. 5-6) is also more likely to be Norse than Anglo-Saxon, especially if the suggestion that it dates to 870-1 and the great army’s winter camp at Reading is correct.³³²

This sample returns the results of three male burials in the Repton churchyard, one female in the mass grave,³³³ three females and one undetermined at Heath Wood,³³⁴ a female burial in Yorkshire,³³⁵ two males at Sonning,³³⁶ and two males and one female

³²⁵ Specifically ‘in the rain shadow of the Cairngorm Mountains’, Speed & Rogers, ‘A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire’, p. 62.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63. The strontium results could equally fit either area, *Ibid.*

³²⁷ J.D. Richards, M. Jecock, L. Richmond, & C. Tuck, ‘The Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire’, *Medieval Archaeology* 39-40 (1995-1996), pp. 67-8.

³²⁸ Julian D. Richards, ‘Boundaries and cult centres: Viking burial in Derbyshire’, in J. Graham-Campbell, R.A. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), p.102; Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 95.

³²⁹ Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire’, p. 107.

³³⁰ Graham-Campbell, ‘Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw’, pp. 109-10.

³³¹ Alexander, ‘A ‘Viking Age’ Grave from Cambois, Bedlington, Northumberland’, pp. 101-5.

³³² Graham-Campbell, ‘Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw’, p. 115.

³³³ Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, ‘Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis’, pp. 137-8. Two males from the mass burial were examined but it could not be determined if they were local or of Danish origin. One female was from Britain. It is not certain that the other female from the mass burial was Norse but as she grew up in mid-Continental or Baltic Europe, which included parts of Scandinavia and other Norse settlements, she was quite possibly from the Norse world. Furthermore, the strontium isotope results were similar to the man buried in grave 529. Despite the dating problems, this circumstantial evidence suggests that this female accompanied the great army.

³³⁴ Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood’, pp. 33-4, 77 & 91. Four excavations at Heath Wood have identified the remains of eight individuals, but only three were able to be sexed by skeletal analysis, and these were all female.

³³⁵ Speed & Rogers, ‘A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire’, pp. 60-1.

³³⁶ Graham-Campbell, ‘Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw’, p. 115.

buried at Cambois,³³⁷ for a total of seven males, six females, and one undetermined.

Although this sample is small and not statistically viable, it is the best available and the sexing results are more likely to be reliable than those in Table 2. Furthermore, this sample is at least larger than the six in Table 2.

The Heath Wood cremations are pertinent in this regard. Despite the remains of three swords being recovered from the site,³³⁸ all three burials that could be identified were female, including one with a sword and shield.³³⁹ No doubt if only sexing by grave-goods had been undertaken this burial would have been identified as male. The man in grave 511 most fits the expectation of a male Norse warrior burial, being accompanied by a number of grave goods including a Thor's hammer, a sword and two knives.³⁴⁰ However the other two, in graves 295 and 529 had minimal grave-goods, showing the diversity possible with Norse burials, even of those that were probably warriors.³⁴¹ Like the man in grave 511, the woman buried in Yorkshire fits the idealised image of a female Norse burial, especially in being buried with oval brooches.

These results, six female Norse migrants and seven male, should caution against assuming that the great majority of Norse migrants were male, despite the other forms of evidence and possible assumptions about the make-up of Norse armies. The almost 50/50 ratio of Norse female migrants to Norse males is particularly significant when some of the problems with osteological sexing of skeletons are taken into account. Skeletons are sexed on a scale with five categories: ambiguous sex, female, probable female, male, and probable male. Which category a skeleton is placed in is determined by the degree of certainty as judged by the osteologist.³⁴² There is often poorer preservation of crucial parts of female skeletons for analysis of sex, such as the pubic bone, resulting in other better preserved bones such as the cranium being used. This in turn is problematic as cranial developments in post-menopausal females often lead to them being misclassified as males.

³³⁷ Alexander, 'A 'Viking Age' Grave from Cambois, Bedlington', p. 101.

³³⁸ Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', pp. 30, 36 & 57.

³³⁹ This female was accompanied by an unsexed infant or juvenile, so the sword and shield could have belonged to them. However it is of course possible that the unsexed remains were also female. For discussion see Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', p. 91.

³⁴⁰ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', pp. 60-5.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-6. The excavation report discusses other probable Norse burials at Repton but I have concentrated on those where isotope analysis confirms that those buried did not spend their childhoods in England.

³⁴² Pamela L. Geller, 'Skeletal analysis and theoretical complications', *World Archaeology* 37:4 (2005), p. 598.

These problems are likely to be exacerbated in cremations, where the same bones are required to ascribe sex but only small and damaged pieces of bone remain. The problem of identifying the bones necessary for sexing, and then having a useable sample, can result in most cremations not being ascribed a sex.³⁴³ Considering the problem of identifying females, if there were any osteological sexing errors in the burials presented in Table 2 they would be likely to lessen the number of females recorded.

Whilst it may be unwise to use such a small sample to presume that there were as many or almost as many female Norse settlers as male, the results at least suggest that there were a much greater number of female immigrants than has usually been acknowledged. Indeed it provides some support to the suggestions of a substantial female Norse presence in England made by Margeson, Kershaw and Paterson based on jewellery finds. An earlier example of migration from Scandinavia to eastern England may be pertinent in this regard. All four individuals analysed by isotope analysis from the fifth to seventh cemetery at West Heslerton who had not spent their childhoods in Britain were female and probably from Scandinavia.³⁴⁴ These results strengthen the conclusion drawn from Table 3 of ninth-century Norse migrants that, contrary to most previous scholarship, and migration theory, the migrants were not necessarily overwhelmingly male. Even if the burials sexed by grave goods in Table 2 are accepted as accurate and the results of both tables are combined, females make up six or possibly seven of the nineteen or twenty adults recorded, a not insubstantial ratio of approximately a third of sexed Norse burials.

Another highly important implication of the osteological sexing results is that Norse women appear to have been present from the earliest stages of the migratory process, rather than arriving in a second wave after the great army had won homelands. The presence of

³⁴³ For example, only two of eleven human cremated remains from the Bronze Age burial ground at Nosterfield, North Yorkshire, were able to be sexed, M. Holst, *Draft Osteology Report* (2003), <http://www.archaeologicalplanningconsultancy.co.uk/mga/projects/noster/speciali/holst03.html> [accessed September 30, 2010]. For the techniques used to sex cremated bones see *Ibid.*, and J. McKinley, 'The analysis of cremated bone', in M. Cox and S. Mays, eds., *Human Osteology: In Archaeology and Forensic Science* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 412.

³⁴⁴ Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, 'Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis', p. 135. The skeleton of one of the four, a juvenile, was unable to be sexed so 'female' was based on the assemblage, C. Haughton and D. Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian Cemetery, Vol ii. Catalogue of the Anglian Graves and Associated Assemblages* (Nottingham, 1999), p. 194. However as the three adults could not have been sexed by assemblage they were presumably sexed osteologically, as many of the West Heslerton graves were.

Norse women at Heath Wood and the probable woman in the Repton mass burial strongly suggest that women accompanied the great army to England. It would appear that the great army was similar to the 890s army, arriving in England with both men and women, probably with the intention of winning a homeland through conquest. The policy of new female migrants in the 890s remaining in Norse controlled areas may have also been followed earlier, with some women perhaps staying in Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia following their conquest and the appointment of client kings. The presence of Norse women during the campaign also makes it likely that Norse children were in England during the campaigning years, as with the 890s army. Consequently the man aged 18 to 22 buried at Sonning probably in 870-1 could have arrived as a juvenile aged 12 to 16 with the great army in 865. Infants born during the campaigning period would also be expected and indeed this may be attested by the infant or juvenile found with the woman in mound 50 at Heath Wood.

Migration theory suggests that migrants are a select group, but the nature of the available data made it impossible to determine if the Norse migrants were more able than many of their contemporaries. However the investigation of the age-range and sex of the early migrants was more successful, with some surprising results. Whilst the sample of aged Norse migrants is small, it is notable that it perfectly fits the demographic horizon suggested by studies of other migrations, lending credence to the notion that the sample is likely to be representative. However the similarly small sample of osteologically sexed migrants does not fit the male-dominated results of most migration studies, and instead suggests that there were also many female Norse migrants in both the conquest and early settlement phase. Both of these aspects of the Norse migration have elicited little comment in recent studies.

8) Most migrants have migrated previously

It is thought that the very act of migrating increases the likelihood of future migration as ‘A person who has once migrated and who has once broken the bonds which tie him [sic] to the place in which he [sic] has spent his [sic] childhood is more likely to migrate again than is the person who has never previously migrated’.³⁴⁵ As well as breaking ties with the home region a successful migration means that the obstacles of migrating have been overcome, so

³⁴⁵ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 54. See also Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 904-5.

the impediments to future migrations will look less formidable.³⁴⁶ Furthermore, an ‘Accumulated length of residence appears to generate inertia’.³⁴⁷ A Norse example of this tenet is that of Aud. If the later accounts of her life are accurate, she migrated to the Hebrides from Dublin some time after the death of her husband. This destination was probably due to the campaigns of her son Thorstein the Red in the area. Following Thorstein’s murder Aud briefly went to the Orkney Islands where she arranged the marriage of her grand-daughter, before finally migrating to Iceland.³⁴⁸

The Norse migration to eastern England in the latter ninth century appears to fit this model. The following chapter will suggest the probability that most if not all of the Norse migrated to England not from the Scandinavian homelands but from other areas of Norse settlement.³⁴⁹ While it is possible that some of the Norse migrants to England had been born in these areas, many are likely to have moved to England having previously migrated elsewhere. For example, one of the leaders of the great army, Ivar, was operating in Ireland before moving to England in 865, and had possibly arrived in Ireland from *Laithlind* in 853.³⁵⁰ People who have migrated previously are better able to ‘evaluate the positive and negative factors at origin and destination’,³⁵¹ which suggests that a knowledgeable group of Norse decided that migrating to England offered certain benefits. This increases the likelihood that those migrating to England were positively selected.³⁵² The acculturation implications of the migrants having come from other Norse colonies rather than the Scandinavian homelands will be explored in the final two chapters.

³⁴⁶ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 54.

³⁴⁷ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 905.

³⁴⁸ Aud’s migration is recounted in *Eirik’s saga*, ch. 1, in *The Vinland Sagas*, Magnusson & Palsson, trans., p. 75. A good overview of this migration is provided in Barbara E. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland. Scotland in the Early Middle Ages 2* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1987), pp. 216-7.

³⁴⁹ Despite mentioning this tenet of migration theory (p. 56, tenet viii, p. 62, point xix), Redmond often speaks about the Norse migrants in England arriving from and returning to the Scandinavian homelands. For example ‘the movement of people around and between England and the Scandinavian homelands would have continued, carrying and spreading information about the fledgling Viking kingdoms’, Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 65.

³⁵⁰ Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 12-16; Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, p. 36. The establishment of this group of Norse in Ireland is recorded in Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, ed. & trans., *AU*, 853.2, pp. 312-3. The career of Ivar will be discussed in the next chapter.

³⁵¹ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 54.

³⁵² Based on the theory of Lee discussed above.

9) Migrants often return to their place of origin

‘Most major migratory streams develop a counter-stream moving back to the migrants’ place of origin’,³⁵³ and in the early phase of migration this is essential as it is how information about the destination is disseminated and how future migrants are recruited.³⁵⁴ Migrants returning to their place of origin are not necessarily doing so on a permanent basis, and many may return for a short period to visit family and friends, disseminating information about their new home in the process, and for trade. Other migrants may have planned only a temporary stay in the new homeland and had always planned to return ‘home’, while others may return permanently to their place of origin if they have acquired enough wealth to re-enter their home society at a higher level, often by purchasing land and/or prestige goods.³⁵⁵ Children of migrants born in the new homeland may also return to see the birthplace and extended family of their parents, and indigenous people from the migrant’s new homeland may go to the migrant’s place of origin having heard of the opportunities available.³⁵⁶ However return migration is reduced if it was primarily negative ‘push’ factors that caused the migrant to leave their previous home, and/or if the obstacles between the two places are substantial.³⁵⁷

Despite modern evidence for return migration, and Tom Williamson’s suggestion that most of the great army returned to Denmark after the period of conquest, it is almost impossible to detect archaeological evidence of Norse migrants to England, or of their children or Anglo-Saxons from the settlement areas, returning to the migrant’s point of origin or the Scandinavian homelands.³⁵⁸ If material remains can be used to track migrants from their origin (A) to destination (B) then one may also expect that similar remains at A would imply return migration from B if it had occurred, such as material distinctive to the indigenous culture of B, or new hybrid forms of culture that may have developed from the migration between these places. For example, it has been suggested that Roman artefacts found in Ireland could represent goods carried by return migrants who had served as

³⁵³ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 904.

³⁵⁴ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, pp. 54-5.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55; Burmeister, ‘Archaeology and Migration’, p. 544; Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 904.

³⁵⁶ Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, p. 55.

³⁵⁷ Anthony, ‘Migration in Archaeology’, p. 904.

³⁵⁸ Tom Williamson, *The Origins of Norfolk* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 107. As will be discussed in the following chapter, it is also unlikely that most of the great army had embarked for England from Denmark.

auxiliaries in the Roman army, rather than as evidence of long distance trade.³⁵⁹ Even though it will be argued that most of the Norse migrants came from other Norse settlements rather than the homelands themselves, it may still be expected that a successful migrant would try to return to the land of their birth, and that some material evidence of these returns may be discernible. Yet there is surprisingly little ninth or tenth-century Anglo-Saxon material evident in Scandinavia. Although Redmond follows this aspect of migration theory and speaks of Norse in England returning to the Scandinavian homelands, she does not present any evidence to validate the theory.³⁶⁰ This lack of evidence led Anne Pedersen, in her study of Anglo-Danish contact in the ninth and tenth centuries, to conclude that ‘the interaction and changing customs here [the Norse settlements in England] are not necessarily reflected back in Denmark’.³⁶¹

As a durable item that the Norse in England are known to have acquired, it may be thought that Anglo-Saxon coins would be a good indicator of return Norse migration. There are a number of coin hoards associated with the campaigns of the great army. These include Anglo-Saxon coins,³⁶² and all of the Norse settlement areas were minting coins by 900.³⁶³ Therefore successful Norse settlers in England should have had little difficulty acquiring local coinage, yet such coins are rare outside England. Although Redmond, taking her cue from migration theory, suggests that before settlement ‘Accrued valuables would no doubt be periodically taken home’, there is little evidence for this process.³⁶⁴ Only 125 Anglo-Saxon and Frankish ninth-century coins have been recovered in Scandinavia, in comparison to over 60 000 Anglo-Saxon coins from 990-1040.³⁶⁵ The number of ninth-century coins is so small that even if each one was to be attributed to a Norse migrant returning from England it would represent an insignificant number of people. In speaking of the lack of

³⁵⁹ Michael G. Fulford, ‘Roman Material in Barbarian Society, c. 200 B.C.-c. A.D. 400’, in T.C. Champion & J.V.S. Megaw, eds., *Settlement and Society: Aspects of West European Prehistory in the First Millennium B.C.* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1985), pp. 102-3 and references therein.

³⁶⁰ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, pp. 64-5 for examples.

³⁶¹ Anne Pedersen, ‘Anglo-Danish Contact across the North Sea in the Eleventh Century: A Survey of the Danish Archaeological Evidence’, in J. Adams & K. Holman, eds., *Scandinavia and Europe 800-1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence*. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 4 (Brepols, Turnhout, 2004), p. 67.

³⁶² For a recent evaluation of the hoards see Graham-Campbell, ‘The Archaeology of the ‘Great Army’ (865-79)’, pp. 37-43.

³⁶³ For an overview of the Anglo-Norse mints see Williams, ‘Kingship, Christianity and Coinage’, pp. 196-202.

³⁶⁴ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 62, point xiii.

³⁶⁵ Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 45-6.

ninth and tenth-century Carolingian coinage in the Scandinavian homelands Simon Coupland has suggested that foreign coins would have been melted down to be turned into the locally manufactured silver rings, ingots and jewellery often found in hoards. That there were no silver mines in Scandinavia increases this possibility.³⁶⁶ This suggestion is equally applicable to Anglo-Saxon coinage and it may be significant that the eight coins from England found at Birka came from graves and all but two of these were used as pendants, lessening the likelihood of them being melted down.³⁶⁷ But another possibility is that the lack of western European coins in Scandinavia is due to them being spent or reinvested outside of Scandinavia by Norse who did not return to the Scandinavian homelands, but instead remained in places like eastern England.³⁶⁸

There is a similar lack of jewellery from England in the Scandinavian homelands. A few examples of the hybrid Anglo-Norse jewellery style that are thought to have been manufactured in the Norse settlement areas of England have been found in other parts of the Norse world, including Denmark and Iceland.³⁶⁹ However the number of such pieces recovered from outside England is currently very small³⁷⁰ and those found appear to be from the tenth century.³⁷¹ Pedersen has suggested that the relative lack of reused Anglo-Saxon objects like jewellery and metal mounts in ninth-century Denmark could be due to most of the Danish graves of this period being poorly furnished, but acknowledges that the number of foreign objects increased little in the following century when there were more richly furnished burials.³⁷² Items from tenth-century Denmark that may have been associated with the Norse settlement areas in England include a copper-alloy bowl probably made in northern England, an Anglo-Saxon sword, an Anglo-Saxon style strap-end, a

³⁶⁶ Simon Coupland, 'Carolingian Coinage and Scandinavian Silver', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (Copenhagen, 1985-6), pp. 15-16. Reprinted in Simon Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage and the Vikings: Studies on Power and Trade in the 9th Century*. Variorum Collected Studies Series (Ashgate Publishing, London, 2007). Coupland suggests that large numbers of Kufic coins were not melted down as their weight and size made them useful as small change, *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

³⁶⁷ Florent Audy, *Les pendentifs monétaires occidentaux des sépultures de Birka*. Unpublished MA thesis (UFR Sciences Humaines et Arts, Poitiers, 2008), pp. 35-6. See also Coupland, 'Carolingian Coinage and Scandinavian Silver', p. 20. The coins can be found in N.L. Rasmusson, 'Nordens tidigaste import av engelska mynt', *Fornvännen* 29 (1934), pp. 366-72.

³⁶⁸ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed., pp. 99-101.

³⁶⁹ Paterson, 'From Pendants to Brooches', pp. 270 & 273.

³⁷⁰ Of course this may change, especially with the increased use of metal detectors.

³⁷¹ Paterson, 'From Pendants to Brooches', pp. 269-70, & 272-3.

³⁷² Pedersen, 'Anglo-Danish Contact', pp. 44-5.

hooked tag, and reused mounts for Anglo-Saxon books.³⁷³ Such artefacts indicate continued cultural interchange between eastern England and the rest of the Norse world, possibly including continued Norse migration to England and return Anglo-Norse migration from England. However the items do not suggest significant return migration of the ninth-century Norse migrants.

It is possible that very few of the Norse settlers in England returned to the Scandinavian homelands for any significant length of time. Instead they may have returned to the Norse-controlled regions from which they had embarked for England, or migrated in turn to other regions under Norse control.³⁷⁴ An indication of this is those Norse discussed previously who migrated to England in the 890s. The *ASC* reports that those who did not remain in England went to the river Seine in Francia.³⁷⁵ They had originally arrived in England from Boulogne and elsewhere in Francia,³⁷⁶ so after being unsuccessful in England these potential immigrants returned to the emigration point rather than the Scandinavian homelands. Consequently it may be expected that if any of those migrants from this group who did successfully settle in England in the 890s participated in return migration it is as likely to have been to Francia as to the Scandinavian homelands. There is also documentary evidence of earlier Norse immigrants returning to places other than the Scandinavian homelands. The comparison of Irish annals with the *ASC* undertaken by Smyth and more recently Downham has led to the identification of some of the original leaders of the great army with Norse active in the Irish Sea region both before and after their activities in England.³⁷⁷ The involvement of the Hiberno-Norse on either side of the Irish Sea continued, and the most significant migration stream appears to be the one involving the grandsons of Ivar, amongst others, migrating to York in the early tenth century.³⁷⁸

Despite it being impossible to make a strong argument for return migration on the basis of the material evidence, the notices in the written records cannot be ignored and some form of return migration does appear to have taken place, but not necessarily to the

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6. A hooked tag is also known from Grave 348 at Birka, Sweden. Both are similar to those from ninth-century Kent and Norfolk: *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁷⁴ For example Iceland.

³⁷⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 897, p. 89.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 893, p. 84, & fn. 7, p. 84.

³⁷⁷ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 1-80.

³⁷⁸ For this migration see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 91-105.

Scandinavian homelands. Although this tenet of migration theory does apply to the Norse, it has little significance to this thesis and will rarely be used.

In conclusion, it has been demonstrated in this chapter that some elements of migration theory are applicable to the ninth-century Norse migrations to eastern England, and that the use of the theory has provided some unexpected results. The Norse migration can be viewed as part of a much longer migratory process, but it represented a peak within that process. Indeed, from a long-term perspective, theories of a ‘secondary’ Norse migration following the settlement of the great army make little sense and instead ‘continuing’ migration would be a better term. Previous Norse contact with England increases the likelihood that the migrants went to destinations for which they had acquired information. As tenet 8 suggests, there is evidence that at least some of the migrants had migrated previously. The small sample of osteologically aged Norse skeletons suggests that most of the migrants were young adults when they arrived in England, in agreement with tenet 7. Perhaps the most surprising finding was that, contra to migration theory, the osteologically sexed Norse burials do not support the notion that the overwhelming majority of the early migrants were male, suggesting that pre-modern armies may have been different from modern armies, and often travelling as a collection of kin groups including women and children. The application of migration theory to this proto-historic migration also reflects upon the theory as a whole. It demonstrates that migration theory can be applied to pre-modern migrations with some success, and that it can help to understand the migratory process for a period in which extensive sources may be lacking. However it also cautions against assuming that each tenet will apply to all migrations, and instead they need to be tested for their applicability. The higher than expected proportion of females amongst the Norse immigrants, and the evidence for an increase in the proportion of female migration since the 1960s,³⁷⁹ may suggest that that particular aspect of migration theory might need to be re-considered.

But the picture of the Norse migration is not yet complete and it remains to examine the evidence for the likely origin points of the migration in chapter 3. This in turn will inform later chapters when Norse acculturation and innovation will be discussed.

³⁷⁹ See fn. 265.

Chapter 3: The likely origins of the early Norse settlers

The arrival of the great army in East Anglia in late 865 heralded a major increase in Norse activities in England, and led to the first recorded Norse settlements. Yet whilst the *ASC* provides a number of details about the leadership and activities of the army it fails to record from where those who made up the army had come. That it ‘arrived’ in East Anglia strongly suggests it had done so by ship, but this is of little help as they could conceivably have come from anywhere within the Norse world. The failure of the West Saxon chroniclers to record the origin of the great army may indicate that they themselves did not know, a possibility increased by the knowledge that Wessex itself was not invaded until 870-1. By contrast, the *ASC* reports that part of the 890s army arrived in Kent by ship from Boulogne.¹ There is also no direct evidence available about the origins of the great army in other annals dealing with Norse activity in the second half of the ninth century. Despite the scanty evidence, can we draw any conclusions about the probable origins of the early Norse settlers?

As we have seen, migration theory posits that migrants are people who are likely to have migrated previously. If this theory holds good in relation to the Norse army in ninth-century England, the immediate origin of most of the Norse settlers may not necessarily have been the Scandinavian homelands. We can, therefore, test this tenet of migration theory by examining the available evidence for indications that the early Norse settlers in England had already spent time in other locations outside of the Scandinavian homelands. As in the other chapters, a multitude of sources will be used, which together strongly suggest two primary origins for the settlers outside of the Scandinavian homelands.

One of the most conclusive forms of evidence for the Scandinavian origins of the great army and early Norse settlers is isotope analysis. Such analyses have shown that two of the males in the Repton churchyard had probably grown up in Denmark,² and a third man had probably spent his childhood in south-eastern Sweden, or less probably in Baltic Europe,

¹ Swanton, *ASC*, 893, p. 84.

² Their drinking water isotope compositions suggest a childhood in western Britain, northern France, the Low Countries, or the west coast of Denmark. The Sr-isotope results suggest a childhood in the east Midlands, East Anglia, or Denmark, Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, ‘Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis’, p. 137. As stated previously, only one locality, the west coast of Denmark, fits both results and I interpret the results as assigning this locality as the most likely place of origin.

eastern-central Europe, or south-western Russia.³ A female from the Repton mass burial probably grew up in mid-Continental or Baltic Europe.⁴ Two males from the mass grave may moreover have grown up in western Denmark, but could equally have come from the local area.⁵ The woman buried at Adwick-le-Street had probably grown up in Norway.⁶ The isotope analysis of these few burials suggests that the subjects, members of the great army and other early Norse settlers, had spent their childhoods in all three of the modern-day Scandinavian nations and possibly the Continent. However isotope analysis is inconclusive in an estimation of where the Norse had embarked from for England as it cannot preclude the possibility that the individual migrated more than once between their childhood and death.⁷ Instead, with Norse activities ranging across a wide geographic area, it is possible that many of those who settled in England had already migrated from Scandinavia to other places within the Norse world.

There is indeed little evidence to suggest that most of the Norse migrants embarked for England directly from the Scandinavian homelands. A few items found in England were manufactured in Scandinavia; but this hardly proves that their owners had migrated directly from there. Artefacts like the P 37 oval brooches found with the burial at Adwick-le-Street could have been taken from Scandinavia by an individual who then migrated numerous times, or they and the later P 51 oval brooches, found at Santon Downham and Bedale, could have been acquired in trade with Scandinavia.⁸

The written evidence on the origin of the migrants is also inconclusive. The *ASC* sometimes uses the term ‘Danish’⁹ in its description of the great army, but this tells us little more that they were considered to be Norse. Any encouragement gained by the distinction made between ‘Denmark’, ‘Norway’ and ‘Sweden’ in the late ninth-century travel account by Ohthere is tempered by the *ASC* entry for 789 that records that the Northmen from

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Speed & Rogers, ‘A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire’, pp. 62-3.

⁷ The analysis typically determines where the individual lived up to the age of twelve, Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, ‘Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis’, p. 127-8.

⁸ The later dating of the P 51 brooches (beginning by c. 890 but primarily a tenth-century type, Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, p. 228) makes it more likely that they were either trade items or accompanied a migrant who came directly from Scandinavia. P 37 brooches were the most common in the ninth century (pp. 223, 226-8).

⁹ *Deniscan*, Bately, *ASC*, 870, p. 47.

Hordaland (in Norway) were the first Danish men in England.¹⁰ This suggests that a ‘Dane’ may have simply been anyone speaking the language of the Danes, Æthelweard’s *Danaam linguam* (today usually referred to as Old Norse).¹¹

Even if ‘Danish’ was meant in its modern sense it would not necessarily mean that ‘the Danes’ had come to England directly from Denmark. For example, it has been suggested that the army which wintered on Thanet before raiding eastern Kent in 865 returned later that year was at least part of the great army.¹² If ‘Danish’ did refer to people from a more specific origin it is interesting to note the occasions in which the term appears in the *ASC*. The *ASC* tracks various contingents of the great army from its arrival in 865 until the settlement of East Anglia in 879-80, and during this time ‘Danish’ occurs in only two campaigning years. It is used once for 869-70, the year in which Edmund of East Anglia was killed, and four times in the substantial entry for 870-1 on the first attacks on Wessex.¹³ It is possible that at this time, the first in which a Wessex chronicler may have had detailed information about the origin of the great army, it included a contingent from Denmark or of Danish origin.¹⁴ Yet in the other years that the great army invaded Wessex, 875-6, 876-7, and 878 the term ‘Danish’ is not used. So either the ‘Danish’ element was no longer part of the great army by 875 or the term was not a specific ethnic designation. Indeed, as Clare Downham notes, the exact origin of members of the army may have been of little relevance to the chronicler or his audience.¹⁵ If the context in which ‘Danish’ occurs is examined it becomes apparent that it is always used after the great army have won a battle, and is part of a set phrase, either ‘the Danish took the victory’ or ‘the Danish had

¹⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, E, 787 [789], p. 55. For Ohthere’s account in translation and OE see Bately, ‘Ohthere’s report’ in Bately & Englert, eds., *Ohthere’s Voyages*, pp. 44-7. The OE terms are *Denamearc*, *Norðweg*, and *Sweoland*.

¹¹ Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 37. For more on the use of ‘Dane’ in the *ASC* see David Dumville, ‘Old Dubliners and New Dubliners in Ireland and Britain: a Viking-Age story’, in S. Duffy, ed., *Medieval Dublin VI* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2005), p. 80.

¹² Graham-Campbell, ‘The Archaeology of the ‘Great Army’ (865-79)’, p. 32. Swanton, *ASC*, 865, p. 68. As with the great army, the *ASC* does not report where the Norse who attacked Kent came from.

¹³ Bately, *ASC*, 870 & 871, pp. 47-9.

¹⁴ An army from Wessex was involved in the earlier siege of Nottingham but no direct contact between the West Saxons and the great army is recorded as it was the Mercians who apparently negotiated the peace, Swanton, *ASC*, 868, p. 70.

¹⁵ Clare Downham, ‘‘Hiberno-Norwegians’ and ‘Anglo-Danes’: anachronistic ethnicities and Viking-Age England’, *Medieval Scandinavia* 19 (2009), p. 152.

possession of the place of slaughter'.¹⁶ 'Danish' is never used for other activities such as making peace treaties. However 'Danish' is used in different contexts in other parts of the *ASC*, including those describing the campaigns of the 890s army. The scribe of *ASC* 'A' changed after the entry for 892 and it is possible that the use of 'Danish' changed with the new scribe.¹⁷ Consequently, during the campaigns of the great army 'Danish' appear to be part of set phrases used by the chronicler when recounting the outcome of battles involving the great army and 'Danish' is unlikely to be a term of specific origin.¹⁸

Norse from Ireland

With little evidence that most of those in the great army and other early Norse settlers arrived in England directly from the Scandinavian homelands it is necessary to investigate other areas of the Norse world, particularly those with coasts facing Britain. The connection in the written sources between the Norse operating in Ireland and the great army has been explored in detail over the last thirty years, primarily by Smyth and Downham.¹⁹ There is little to be served by repeating their arguments in detail here, but it is necessary to review the evidence. Furthermore the links between the Norse in Ireland and England have primarily been based on written sources but I will argue that there are also indications in the archaeological record of a close connection, which lend credence to the written evidence.

The essential element of the argument for a link between the great army and Ireland is the identification of the Ímhar of Dublin found in Irish annals with the leader of the great army recorded as Inwære in the *ASC*.²⁰ Both of these names are thought to be renderings of

¹⁶ *þa Deniscan sige namon/ þa Deniscan ahton wēlstowe gewald*, Bately, *ASC*, 870 & 871, pp. 47-9; Swanton, *ASC*, 870 & 871, pp. 70 & 72.

¹⁷ For the change in scribe see Bately, *ASC*, p. xxi.

¹⁸ Further evidence of possible limited Norse immigration direct from the Scandinavian homelands will be discussed below.

¹⁹ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*; Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*. As Smyth is often reliant upon later literary material, Downham is generally preferred in this thesis. For earlier scholarship on the connection see Charles Haliday, *The Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin* (Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., London, 1882), & the introduction of James Henthorn Todd, ed. & trans., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, Rolls Series (Kraus Reprint, Nendeln, 1965), pp. lvi-lviii for the identification of Ímhar with Ivar.

²⁰ Bately, *ASC*, 878, p. 50; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 857.1, p. 314. The Annals are one year out (*Ibid.*, p. xi), and the corrected dating provided by the editors will be used. '857.1' corresponds to the first entry of the (corrected) year 857. The *AU* are considered to be the most reliable Irish annals and will be used here accordingly, although other Irish annals also mention Ivar.

the ON Ívarr.²¹ Ivar is not actually mentioned in the earliest versions of the *ASC* as a leader of the great army, but instead in 878 it is recorded that a brother of Ivar and Halfdan had arrived in Devon with 23 ships, demonstrating that the chronicler was aware of Ivar and that his family was involved with the great army.²² It is possible that Ivar is not named as a leader of the great army as he never invaded Wessex. No leaders of the army are named until the various battles in Wessex in 870-1, by which time Halfdan and Bagsecg are named as kings, along with various jarls.²³ Therefore Ivar could have led the great army from 865 to 869-870 without being recorded, after which his brother Halfdan was a leader.²⁴ Certainly by the late tenth century when Æthelweard and Abbo of Fleury were writing Ivar is recorded as the great army leader up to and including 869-70.²⁵ Stenton surmised that Æthelweard's use of the OE form *Iguuares*, rather than the *Hinguar* used by Abbo, 'proves that the statement comes from an Old English source, and there is no reason to doubt that Æthelweard derived it from the very early manuscript of the *Chronicle* which was the basis of his work'.²⁶ Æthelweard's acknowledgement of Ivar, and circumstances of the *ASC* makes it very probable that Ivar was an early leader of the great army.

The career of the Ivar of Irish sources is somewhat easier to follow. He first appears in 857 with Olaf,²⁷ who arrived in 853,²⁸ defeating another group of Norse in Ireland.²⁹ Ivar and Olaf appear together in a number of entries between 857 and 871, suggesting that they were joint leaders of a Norse faction in Ireland and were based in Dublin, to which they are linked in the entry for 871.³⁰ Ivar is recorded in *AU* between 857 and 863, and then

²¹ For the different forms of the name see Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 280.

²² Swanton, *ASC*, 878, pp. 74 & 76. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 246, fn. 2. Asser also only names Ivar at this time, Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 54, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 83. *ASC F*, the latest manuscript, is the only recension that names Ivar before 878.

²³ Swanton, *ASC*, 871, pp. 70 & 72. Five jarls are named but there were evidently more as it is said that nine were killed. See also Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 226.

²⁴ Assuming that the *ASC* 878 entry is accurate in describing Halfdan and Ivar as brothers.

²⁵ Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, pp. 35-6; Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, ch. 5-10, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, pp. 18-37.

²⁶ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 246, fn. 2. See also Whitelock, 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St. Edmund', p. 223. For the two forms of Ivar see Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 35, & Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, in Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints*, ch. 5, ln. 4, p. 71.

²⁷ Given the form Amlaíb but probably ON Óláfr. For discussion see Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 280. 'Olaf' will be used in this thesis.

²⁸ When Olaf arrived the Norse already in Ireland submitted to him and the Irish paid him a tribute, Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 853.2, p. 313.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 857.1, p. 315.

³⁰ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 857.1 – 871.2, pp. 315-27. For commentary see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 17-23.

reappears in 870 laying siege to Ail Cluaithe (Dumbarton) in Strathclyde, north-west Britain, suggesting that he was elsewhere from 864 to 869.³¹ As the great army arrived in England in late 865 and the death of Edmund of East Anglia occurred in November 869, an event with which Ivar is linked by Æthelweard and Abbo, it has been proposed that while Ivar was absent from the Irish annals he was leading the great army in England.³² Ivar would have left East Anglia probably after the winter of 869-70 in order to join Olaf in a campaign in Britain's north, including a successful four month siege of Dumbarton.³³ Ivar and Olaf returned to Dublin in 871, apparently with two hundred ships carrying Picts, Britons, and Angles as captives, probably destined for the slave markets.³⁴ That Picts and Angles were captured suggests that Ivar and Olaf had been campaigning elsewhere than just the British kingdom of Strathclyde. The Angles are most likely to have been brought by Ivar from his previous campaigns with the great army. When Ivar died the *AU* record that he had been the king of the Norse in all of Ireland and Britain, acknowledging that he had succeeded in creating some form of hegemony on both sides of the Irish Sea.³⁵ Such an obituary further implies that Ivar was also the leader of the Norse in England. As Smyth notes, the careers of Ivar in the Irish annals and the Ivar noted by Æthelweard and Abbo are too closely aligned to be coincidence.³⁶

The person said to be Ivar's brother in the *ASC*, Halfdan, may be the same as Albann, a brother of Ivar in the Irish annals.³⁷ After first appearing as a leader of the great army in the *ASC* in 870-1, Halfdan is mentioned as a leader again in 874-5 before leading the settlement of part of the army in Northumbria in 876.³⁸ He then disappears from the *ASC*, but later northern sources record that he left Northumbria in 877.³⁹ Irish sources mention Albann twice, first in 875 when he killed King Oistín of Dublin, the son of Ivar's ally Olaf, and later when Albann himself was killed by a rival Norse group off the coast of

³¹ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 857.1 – 863.4, & 870.6 - 871.2, pp. 315-9 & 327. For the location of Dumbarton see Map 2, p. 17.

³² Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, pp. 224-39; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 64-7.

³³ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 870.6, p. 327. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 234; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 142.

³⁴ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 871.2, p. 327.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 873.3, p. 329.

³⁶ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 236.

³⁷ Both are probably a form of the ON Hálfðan. See Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 263, fn. 31.

³⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 875 - 876, pp. 72 & 74.

³⁹ Johnson South, *HSC*, p. 53.

northern Ireland in 877.⁴⁰ As can be seen, the two sources do not dovetail as neatly as those for Ivar, especially for the year 875 when it may be supposed that Halfdan was in both Ireland and Britain. However the *ASC* reports that in 875 Halfdan based himself on the River Tyne and then raided north and west against the Picts and Strathclyde Britons, with the attack on the Picts also recorded in the *AU* although no Norse leader is named.⁴¹ As the following entry in the *AU* records Halfdan in Dublin, it is chronologically possible that he went to Dublin after attacking north-west Britain, and then returned to Northumbria to oversee the Norse settlement the following year.⁴² An alternative has been suggested by Woolf, who posits that as the location of Halfdan's killing of the king of Dublin is not given it may have happened in Northumbria or Strathclyde rather than Dublin.⁴³ The available evidence, especially the location of Halfdan's death, suggests that although he was more active in England than Ireland, he may have been attempting to maintain the link between Dublin and Britain established by Ivar.⁴⁴

A final connection in the written sources between the leaders of the great army and Ireland may be the attack on Devon by the brother of Ivar and Halfdan recorded in the *ASC*.⁴⁵ Asser adds that this group had come to Devon from Dyfed in south Wales, where they had spent the winter.⁴⁶ Considering the location of southern Wales between Ireland and Devon, it is possible that their brother had also come to England from Ireland, wintering in Wales on the way.⁴⁷

The links in the written sources between Norse activities in Ireland, northern Britain and England involved the activities of a Norse group identified in Irish annals as *dubh gall* or 'dark foreigners', while Welsh annals label them *dubgint* or 'dark gentiles'.⁴⁸ The use of the term 'dark' to describe these foreigners makes it likely that the annals are referring to

⁴⁰ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 875.4 & 877.5, pp. 331 & 333. See also Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 70-1.

⁴¹ Swanton, *ASC*, 875, pp. 72 & 74; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 875.3, p. 331.

⁴² Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 70-1; Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, pp. 258-9.

⁴³ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 112-3.

⁴⁴ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, pp. 258-9.

⁴⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 878, p. 74.

⁴⁶ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 54, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 83.

⁴⁷ Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 71.

⁴⁸ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*; David N. Dumville, ed., & trans., *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682-95; Texts A-C in Parallel*. Basic Texts For Brittonic History 1 (Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic, University of Cambridge, 2002), 867, pp. 12-3. The entry for 853 uses the Latin *Gentilibus Nigris* for 'dark/black gentile' (*Ibid.*). The origin of these annals lie in a Welsh chronicle maintained from the early ninth century, and they also used an Irish chronicle from the first half of the tenth century, *Ibid.*, p. ix.

the same group. Irish sources for this period refer to ‘dark foreigners’, ‘fair foreigners’, ‘foreign Gaels/Norse-Irish’, and most often simply ‘foreigners’.⁴⁹ Debate over who these different groups were continues, but recently the ‘dark foreigners’ who are first recorded in 851 have been equated to the faction led by Olaf and Ivar.⁵⁰ This connection is disputed by Mary Valante, who instead considers the ‘fair foreigners’ to be Norwegians and the ‘dark foreigners’ Danes, an ethnic distinction dismissed by most recent scholars, with whom I agree.⁵¹ Valante considers Olaf and Ivar to belong to another group coming from *Laithlinn*, which she identifies as Vestfold in Norway,⁵² but if both the *Laithlinn* group and the ‘fair foreigners’ were from Norway it is unclear why they would carry two different names. It is also questionable how much information contemporary chroniclers had on the origins of the Norse. As Downham notes, Insular chroniclers ‘were not preoccupied with identifying whether groups were Danes or Norwegians, for such distinctions had no apparent relevance in a contemporary context’.⁵³

Significantly the *AU* record that it was the ‘dark foreigners’ who conquered York in 867, which describes the great army’s victory recorded in the *ASC*.⁵⁴ The victory at York is also attributed to the ‘dark gentiles’ in the Welsh *Annales Cambriae*.⁵⁵ The connection between the Norse in Ireland and England is made even more explicit in the ‘B’ recension of the *Annales Cambriae*, which refers to the Norse victory at York as the ‘battle of

⁴⁹ See for example Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 852.3, 856.3, 856.6, pp. 311-2, 314-5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 851.3, p. 311. The equation between the dark foreigners and the Norse led by Olaf and Ivar is perhaps best expressed in Dumville, ‘Old Dubliners and New Dubliners’, pp. 82-6. See also Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 12-15; Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 89. Woolf considers Ivar to have been a ‘dark foreigner’ and Olaf a ‘fair foreigner’, and that these kings united the rival factions, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 107-110.

⁵¹ Mary A. Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland: Settlement, trade and urbanization* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2008), pp. 66-9. Valante finds written support for the ethnic labels in the non-contemporary *Fragmentary Annals* (p. 68), and a reconstruction of events in Vestfold (pp. 68-9). Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, also used ethnic labels. For recent scholars rejecting such labels see the works by Dumville, Downham, and Hall cited in fn. 50. For a recent argument in favour of the ethnic labels and the identification of Olaf and Ivar as ‘fair foreigners’ see Colmán Etchingham, ‘Laithlinn, ‘Fair Foreigners’ and ‘Dark Foreigners’: the identity and provenance of Vikings in ninth-century Ireland’, in J. Sheehan & D. Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), pp. 86-7. Etchingham’s thesis is based primarily on the Irish and Welsh Annals but he does not comment on the mention of Halfdan and Ivar in the *ASC*.

⁵² Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 68-70. The identification of Laithlinn is uncertain but the two primary candidates are somewhere in Norway or the Scottish Isles, *Ibid.*, pp. 64-6. For an argument in favour of Scotland see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the Ninth Century’, *Peritia* 12 (1998), pp. 296-339. For an argument in favour of the Hlaðir/Trondheim region of Norway see Etchingham, ‘Laithlinn, ‘Fair Foreigners’ and ‘Dark Foreigners’’, pp. 82-4.

⁵³ Downham, ‘Hiberno-Norwegians’ and ‘Anglo-Danes’’, p. 152.

⁵⁴ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 867.7, p. 323; Swanton, *ASC*, 867, p. 68.

⁵⁵ Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 867, pp. 12-3.

Dublin', clearly indicating that the Norse from Dublin were involved.⁵⁶ The involvement of Ivar with the 'dark' Norse and the conquest of York would make more sense of his obituary in the *AU* discussed above. It has also been noted that the success of the 'dark foreigners' against the Picts in 875 equates with the entry in the *ASC* describing the activities of Halfdan in that year. Later the *AU* record that the Saxons defeated the dark foreigners in a battle in 893, which may relate to the victory of the West Saxons over a Norse army gathered from Northumbria and East Anglia that had besieged Exeter, or to the 890s army augmented by people from the Norse settlement areas that was defeated at Buttington on the river Severn, and at Chester.⁵⁷ Downham has suggested that the dark foreigners in England in 893 may have included Ivar's son, who is recorded as leaving Dublin due to a dispute between Norse groups, before returning the following year.⁵⁸ The use of the term 'dark foreigners' for events in England and northern Britain strongly suggests that these campaigns were carried out by the same or a closely related group.

The identification of Ímhar of Ireland with the great army leader Ivar has recently been disputed by Valante. Yet part of her argument rests on the misreading that 'ASC A and E place Ivar in England in 878',⁵⁹ whereas the chronicle actually records that a 'brother of Ivar and Halfdan was in Wessex', and makes no mention of Ivar himself.⁶⁰ A more significant problem raised is Æthelweard's recording of Ivar's death in 870.⁶¹ However the death could have been a convenient way for Æthelweard to explain Ivar's sudden disappearance, and assert fitting divine retribution for the person who had recently martyred king Edmund.⁶² Valante also questions the correlation between Albann and Halfdan, but this is in part based on a mistake in Æthelweard.⁶³ Also, as the *ASC* refers to

⁵⁶ *cet Dublin, Ibid.*, p. 13. Etchingham, who considers the fair foreigners under Olaf and Ivar to have been in control of Dublin at this time, does not comment on the use of 'Dublin' in this entry.

⁵⁷ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 893.3, pp. 346-7; Swanton, *ASC*, 894 [893], 895 [894], pp. 86-7.

⁵⁸ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 893.4, 894.4, pp. 346-9; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 72-3. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 267, notes that the Norse at Chester were well placed to receive reinforcements from Ireland.

⁵⁹ Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, p. 72, fn. 2. For a summary of other errors in Valante's book see the review by Denis Casey in 'Reviews', *Saga-Book XXXIV* (2010), pp. 109-11.

⁶⁰ *Inwæres broþur 7 Healfdenes on Westseaxum*, Batley, *ASC*, 878, p. 50; Swanton, *ASC*, 878, p. 74. The entries for recensions A and E match.

⁶¹ Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 36; Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, p. 72.

⁶² Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 66; Patrick C. Wormald, 'Viking Studies: whence and whither?', in R.T. Farrell, ed., *The Vikings* (Phillimore & Co., London, 1982), p. 143.

⁶³ Æthelweard records Halfdan was the brother of Ivar killed in England in 878, whereas it was the unidentified brother of Ivar and Halfdan recorded in the *ASC* that died, and he evidently made a mistake in

the great army as being ‘Danes’ and she considers Ímhar to have been a Norwegian from Vestfold, Valante concludes that he could not have been a leader of the great army.⁶⁴ Yet as discussed above there are reasons against taking ‘Danish’ as a strict ethnic label in the *ASC*. Most scholars accept the identifications of Ivar and Halfdan and I also find the evidence, although admittedly not conclusive, convincing.⁶⁵

The connection between the family of Ivar and Norse Northumbria continued into the tenth century. Dumville, and more tentatively Downham, have proposed that the Guthfrith who ruled at York from c. 883 to c. 895 and is recorded in Æthelweard’s chronicle and later northern sources, was part of the family of Ivar, based on other documented members of the family of Ivar having the same name.⁶⁶ Such a suggestion is supported by Asser’s report of an alliance between the sons of Rhodri Mawr, who ruled the northern half of Wales, and the Northumbrians, which is thought to be a reference to Norse Northumbria.⁶⁷ The alliance between the North Welsh and the Norse must have occurred between Rhodri’s death in 877/8 and 893 when Asser wrote his work. Having access to northern Wales would have provided an important link between Ireland and Norse Northumbria.⁶⁸ What is less in dispute is that the kings of Dublin described as descendants of Ivar successfully claimed the kingship of Norse Northumbria in the early tenth century. Irish annals describe such figures as *ua Imhar*, meaning either grandsons of Ivar or direct descendants in the male line.⁶⁹ The label was used between 896 and 948 and covered three

copying the *ASC* entry into his chronicle, Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, n. 99, p. 248; Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 43 (Campbell corrects the mistake in his translation). Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, p. 74

⁶⁴ Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 67, 72.

⁶⁵ As well as the works of Smyth and Downham cited in fn. 18, other scholars who agree with the connections include Dumville, ‘Old Dubliners and New Dubliners’, pp. 83-6; Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 89; Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, p. 36; Johnson South, *HSC*, p. 87; Keynes, ‘The Vikings in England’, p. 54; Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 37.

⁶⁶ For example Guthfrith grandson of Ivar, Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 921.5, pp. 372-3. Dumville, ‘Old Dubliners and New Dubliners’, pp. 87-8; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 75-7. For the earliest notice of Guthfrith king of Norse Northumbria see Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 51.

⁶⁷ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 80, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 96. For commentary see Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, n. 183, pp. 262-3; David Dumville, ‘Vikings in the British Isles’, pp. 219-20.

⁶⁸ Rhodri’s death is recorded in Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 877.3, pp. 332-3; & Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 878, pp. 12-3.

⁶⁹ For discussion see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 2-9. Most scholars accept the evidence of the annals, including Valante. An exception is Benjamin Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian*

generations of Ivar's descendants.⁷⁰ Two Dublin kings described in the *AU* as grandsons of Ivar and as king of both the 'dark' and 'fair' foreigners, Ragnall and Sitric, ruled York between 918/9 and 927.⁷¹ Following Sitric's death a third grandson of Ivar, Guthfrith travelled to York from Dublin to claim the throne but his attempt failed.⁷² Three great-grandsons of Ivar from Dublin, Olaf Guthfrithson (r. 939-40), Olaf Sitricsson (r. 940-44), and Ragnall Guthfrithson, also later became kings of Norse Northumbria between 939 and 944.⁷³ This persistent connection of the descendants of Ivar with Norse rule of both Dublin and York strongly suggests that they were attempting to maintain a link that had been established by Ivar. Significantly, it is also a clear indication of continued migration between two areas as envisaged by migration theorists.

There is some support for Hiberno-Norse activity in the Norse settlement areas of England in place-names. *Domesday Book* recorded Irby (*Irebi*) in Yorkshire (now Lancashire), and Irby upon Humber (*Irebi, Iribi*) in Lincolnshire.⁷⁴ There are a further two Irby/Ireby's west of the Pennines in Cheshire and Cumberland, first recorded in the late eleventh and mid-twelfth century respectively.⁷⁵ These names combine the ON *-by*, settlement, with 'Irish': however it is thought that they are more likely to represent the settlement of Norse who had come from Ireland than actual Irish settlers.⁷⁶ Yet the

Princes: Dynasty, Religion, and Empire in the North Atlantic (Oxford University Press, New York, 2005), pp. 19-20, who argues that *ua Imhar* may have been used to describe any Norse whose ancestry was unknown.

⁷⁰ Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 2-3. For a list of the entries in Irish annals directly referring to male descendants of Ivar see *Ibid.*, Fig. 3, p. 4.

⁷¹ For Ragnall (ruled York 918/9-921) see Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 914.4 & 917.2, 918.4, 921.4, pp. 363, 367, 373; Johnson South, *HSC*, pp. 60-3; Swanton, *ASC*, D & E, 923, p. 105. The northern versions of the *ASC* clearly have the wrong date, which should be either 918 or 919, see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 93, fn. 187. For Sitric (ruled York 920/1-927) see Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 917.2, 920.5, 927.2, pp. 367, 373, & 379. Swanton, *ASC*, D, 925 & 926, pp. 105 & 107. For discussion see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 97-9.

⁷² Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 921.5 & 927.3, pp. 373 & 379.

⁷³ For Olaf Guthfrithson (r. 939-941), who was on the losing side at the Battle of Brunanbuh, see Swanton, *ASC*, A & E, 937, 942, pp. 106 & 108-111; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 937.6, 938.5, pp. 385, 387. For Olaf Sitricson (r. 941-944) see Swanton, *ASC*, A & E, 937, 942, pp. 106 & 108-111; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 937.6, 938.5, pp. 385, 387. For Olaf Guthfrithson (r. 942-944) see Swanton, *ASC*, 942 & 944, p. 110. For commentary on these events see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 99-112.

⁷⁴ Williams & Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 787, 908, 911, 944.

⁷⁵ Mary C. Higham, 'Scandinavian settlement in north-west England, with a special study of Ireby names', in B.E. Crawford, ed., *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain. Thirteen Studies of Place-Names in their Historical Context*. Studies in Early History of Britain Series (Leicester University Press, London, 1995), pp. 199-201.

⁷⁶ Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, 'Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England: a historical and toponymical investigation', *Fryske nammen* 3 (1981), p. 78 and the references therein.

possibility that some native Irish settlers accompanied the Norse should not be discounted.⁷⁷ Other names suggesting settlement by people from Ireland or south-west Scotland, be they Norse or Celtic, are those beginning with the ethnonym ‘Scot’. One of these, *Scotebi* (modern-day Scofton) in Nottinghamshire, includes the ON ending *-by*.⁷⁸ Other names identified with Scots in *Domesday Book* include Scotter (*Scotere, Scotre*) and Scothern (*Scoltorne, Scoltorne, Scotstorne*) in Lincolnshire, Scottow (*Scothou, Scotohou*) in Norfolk, and three Scotton’s (*Scotone, Scotune, Scotona, Scottune, Scotune*), one in Lincolnshire and two in Yorkshire.⁷⁹ With the Norse, and indeed one of the leaders of the great army, long established in Dublin and campaigning in north-western Britain, there was ample time for some native Irish/Scots to have joined them. Indeed, Higham suggests that some locals in a region that a Norse army was passing through may have adapted to the new circumstances by joining the army for adventure and gain,⁸⁰ and such motivations are likely to have been far greater in regions where a Norse population was permanently settled. This notion is supported by the number people with Gaelic personal names recorded in *Domesday Book*, who exclusively owned land in areas of Norse settlement, primarily north of the Humber.⁸¹ Furthermore, the names suggest that those who the places were named after, presumably groups of people considered to have been ‘Irish’ and ‘Scots’, were in some way different from other Norse settlers.⁸²

A further possible indication of settlers from the Irish Sea settling in eastern England are oxygen isotopes recovered from the teeth in burials at cemeteries at Black Gate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, which indicated that some of those interred had grown up on the west coast of Britain or central or western

⁷⁷ This possibility is briefly suggested in Higham, ‘Scandinavian settlement in north-west England’, pp. 199, 205.

⁷⁸ Williams, & Martin, eds., *Domesday Book*, p. 759.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 816, 843, 852, 856, 863, 870, 876, 900, 901, 910, 915, 918, 925, 937, 944, 949, 962. For a brief discussion of some of the names and their connection to Norse settlement see Kevin Leahy, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey* (Tempus, Stroud, 2007), p. 177.

⁸⁰ Nicholas Higham, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in the North-Western Countryside: Lifting the Veil?’, in J. Hines, A. Lane, & M. Redknapp, eds., *Land, Sea and Home* (Maney, Leeds, 2004), p. 306. Higham’s idea effectively returns agency to the local population.

⁸¹ Fiona Edmonds, ‘History and Names’, in J. Graham-Campbell & R. Philpott, eds., *The Huxley Viking Hoard: Scandinavian Settlement in the North West* (National Museums Liverpool, Liverpool, 2009), p. 10. The names occur on both sides of the Pennines.

⁸² Unfortunately it is impossible to know if these names refer to pre- or post-900 settlement.

Ireland.⁸³ Hadley has suggested that these individuals could represent ‘second generation ‘Scandinavians’ born in Ireland who subsequently settled in England’.⁸⁴ Unfortunately the broad dating of the cemeteries to the late seventh to early twelfth century for Black Gate, and late eighth to twelfth century for Barton-upon-Humber, makes this plausible proposal currently impossible to verify.⁸⁵

The Norse connections between England and Ireland seen in the written record are further supported by the archaeological record.⁸⁶ Artefacts from the Irish Sea region are rare in Anglo-Saxon England before the late ninth century, suggesting an increase in Anglo-Saxon-Irish economic contact coinciding with the Norse activities linking the areas discussed above.⁸⁷ The finds thought to relate to the activities of the great army are a number of artefacts probably brought directly from the Irish Sea area where both Ivar and Halfdan operated. Proceeding chronologically, the burial at Sonning presumably dating to 870-1 contained an Irish ringed pin.⁸⁸ The productive site identified at Torksey, linked to the great army winter camp of 872-3, included hack-silver ‘which emphasize Hiberno-Irish links’, included a piece of an eighth/ninth-century Irish penannular brooch, a section of a broad-band penannular arm-ring, and another piece of an arm-ring as well as a ringed pin.⁸⁹ Arm-rings have been described as ‘the main product of Dublin’s ‘Viking’ silversmiths’.⁹⁰ The Torksey finds also included lead weights that incorporated pieces of Irish decorated

⁸³ Macpherson, *Tracing Change: An Isotopic Investigation of Anglo-Saxon Childhood Diet*, pp. 130, 159. The burials were not otherwise noticeably different.

⁸⁴ Hadley, ‘Ethnicity and Identity in Context’, p. 176.

⁸⁵ For the dating see Macpherson, *Tracing Change: An Isotopic Investigation of Anglo-Saxon Childhood Diet*, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁶ The piece of a Hiberno-Norse arm-ring of a type that was produced by the Norse in Ireland from the second half of the ninth century found in the Croydon hoard is excluded from this discussion as it was probably made in Denmark. For discussion see Brooks & Graham-Campbell, ‘Reflections on the Viking-Age Silver Hoard from Croydon, Surrey’, pp. 75-8; John Sheehan, ‘Early Viking Age Silver Hoards from Ireland and their Scandinavian Elements’, in Clarke, Ní Mhaonaigh, & Ó Floinn, eds., *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age*, pp. 194-7.

⁸⁷ David Griffiths, ‘Sand-dunes and Stray Finds: Evidence for Pre-Viking Trade?’, in J. Graham-Campbell & M. Ryan, eds., *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), p. 280; Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, p. 35.

⁸⁸ Evison, ‘A Viking grave at Sonning, Berks.’, pp. 330-2.

⁸⁹ Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire, in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*, p. 33. Torksey appears to have had a marked increase in activity from the 870s and the arrival of the Norse. Some scholars use the term ‘ring-headed pin’ to describe what others call ‘ringed pin’. The latter term will be used here. For discussion of the terminology see Thomas Fanning, *Viking Age Ringed Pins from Dublin*. Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962-81, Ser. B, vol. 4 (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1994), p. 3.

⁹⁰ Graham-Campbell, ‘The Early Viking Age in the Irish Sea Area’, p. 106.

metalwork.⁹¹ A number of such ninth-century lead weights containing copper alloy or enamelled mounts are known from Ireland, Scotland, and the early Norse settlement areas in England.⁹² On leaving Torksey the great army moved to Repton, to which the cemetery at Heath Wood has been linked. Here a ringed loop-headed pin of Irish type was found.⁹³ In 875-6 part of the army wintered at Wareham and this event may be linked to the two lead weights with a coin inserted at the top found near nearby Kingston.⁹⁴ This type of weight probably originated with Norse settlers in the Irish Sea area.⁹⁵ At Cirencester, Gloucestershire, where the great army wintered in 878-9, a pierced coin thought to have been attached to a lead weight like those at Kingston has been found.⁹⁶

Evidence also suggests continuing links with Ireland after permanent settlement in England. York in the Norse period has produced a number of imports from Ireland, including ringed pins and penannular brooches.⁹⁷ The woman buried at Adwick-le-Street was accompanied by a copper-alloy bowl most probably made in Ireland.⁹⁸ Furthermore, at least eight pairs of oval brooches of the type she was buried with are known from Ireland and Scotland, showing that they were popular in that region.⁹⁹ Indeed, the combination of oval brooches and copper-alloy bowl at Adwick-le-Street, Ballyholme, Co. Down, and Westness, Rousay, Orkney, has led Redmond to suggest a common origin for the deceased

⁹¹ For the Torksey finds see Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire, in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*, pp. 33, 36-7, & *Gazeteer* items 205, 208, 209 & 280, pp. 83 & 89; Mark Blackburn, 'Finds from the Anglo-Scandinavian site of Torksey, Lincolnshire', in S. Suchodolski, ed., *Moneta Mediaevalis: studia numizmatyczne i historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanislawowi Suchodolskiemu w 65 rocznice urodzin* (Wydawn, DiG, Warsaw, 2002), pp. 95 & 99; Mark Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the 'Age of Silver'', in J. Graham-Campbell & G. Williams, eds., *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, 2007), p. 90.

⁹² Susan E. Kruse, 'Late Saxon Balances and Weights from England', *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992), p. 82. Weights from York and East Anglia are referred to. Kruse also notes that the insular examples are earlier than those known from Norway. For similar weights from Lincolnshire see Paterson, 'Part 2. The Finds', p. 193.

⁹³ In mound 56, Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', pp. 75-6. Redmond notes (*Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 102) that it is the only burial including a ringed pin that was not on the Irish Seaboard. However this will no longer be the case if the finds at Ainsbrook (below) are confirmed as a burial.

⁹⁴ Marion M. Archibald, 'Two Ninth-Century Viking Weights Found Near Kingston, Dorset', *British Numismatic Journal* 68 (1998), p. 11.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14 & 17.

⁹⁶ Gareth Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon and Viking Coin Weights', *British Numismatic Journal* 69 (1999), p. 28.

⁹⁷ R.A. Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century York', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), pp. 316-7.

⁹⁸ It could have also been made in northern or western Britain, Speed & Rogers, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire', p. 82. Such bowls have also been found in ninth-century graves in Norway (*Ibid.*, p. 80), so it is not impossible that the bowl had travelled from Britain to Norway and back again, but this seems unlikely.

⁹⁹ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 95.

and those responsible for the interments.¹⁰⁰ A possible piece from a gold Hiberno-Norse penannular broad-band arm-ring found in Cambridgeshire may relate to Norse settlement in the area from 879 or the winter camp of part of the great army at Cambridge in 874-5.¹⁰¹ The possible grave at Ainsbrook, Yorkshire, from c. 875-900 included an Irish-style ringed pin and ten coins, three of which had been pierced through the centre, reminiscent of the finds from Kingston and Cirencester.¹⁰² The inclusion of two swords at this site, along with trade-related items such as ingots, hacksilver, weights, and parts of a pair of folding scales, makes it in some ways similar to the burials around Dublin, described by Ó Floinn as the graves ‘of a military élite engaged in commerce’.¹⁰³ Such a description would equally fit the evidence of mercantile activity associated with the great army winter camp at Torksey. Influence from the Irish Sea region is also demonstrated by the finds in England of a style of double-sided strap-ends that probably originated in Ireland in the ninth century.¹⁰⁴ In England, where the type was often adapted and probably also manufactured, all of the finds are in Norse-settled areas.¹⁰⁵

Despite the indication in the written record of Ivar and Halfdan returning to Ireland, there is little archaeological evidence of return migration, which studies of modern migrations might expect. One such piece of evidence is a single coin of Alfred, struck in London in 886, found in Dublin and probably lost before 900.¹⁰⁶ However, as with the Scandinavian homelands, Ireland did not have a money economy at the time so most Anglo-Saxon coins may have been melted down to be turned into ornaments or ingots.¹⁰⁷ A second possible indication of return migration comes from the practice of transverse

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101. If this is correct it suggests chain migration (tenet 5), and/or supports the notion that migrants are likely to migrate more than once (tenet 8).

¹⁰¹ Blackburn, ‘Gold in England during the ‘Age of Silver’’, pp. 92-3.

¹⁰² This was first recorded in the *Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2003/04*, p. 55. For a brief discussion see Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 102. Unfortunately the best coverage of the Ainsbrook site currently appears to be on the ‘Time Team’ website, <http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/T/timeteam/2008/ainsbrook/ainsbrook-found.html> [accessed July 15, 2009]. Marion Archibald remarked of a Mercian coin pierced in the centre, ‘The position and shape of the piercing make the coin’s re-use in jewellery unlikely’, and the same may be true of the pierced coins at Ainsbrook, Archibald, ‘Two Ninth-Century Viking Weights’, p. 15.

¹⁰³ Ó Floinn, ‘The Archaeology of the Early Viking Age in Ireland’, p. 143.

¹⁰⁴ The strap-ends include Insular-derived interlace motifs, Gabor Thomas, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw: Exploring Social and Cultural Interaction’, in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 246.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

¹⁰⁶ Patrick F. Wallace, ‘The English presence in Viking Dublin’, in M.A.S. Blackburn, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in memory of Michael Dolley* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1986), p. 209.

¹⁰⁷ Sheehan, ‘Early Viking Age Silver Hoards from Ireland’, p. 172.

hammering of ingots. This technique is known from ingots found in Ireland, the Cuerdale hoard, and Ditchingham, Norfolk. The form is also known in Scandinavia, from the mid-tenth century, while the earliest known example appears to be from Torksey and the winter camp of 872-3.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore possible that this practice originated amongst the Norse of the great army and then spread to other Norse settlement areas. Finally, as the majority of miniature pyramidal bells have been found in Norse England it is possible that they originated there before spreading to the Irish Sea region and Iceland through trade or migration.¹⁰⁹

Later archaeological evidence of a connection between the Norse in England and Ireland is the Cuerdale hoard. Deposited in c. 905, it included items from much of the Norse world, but especially from Norse Northumbria and Ireland. Most of the coins in the hoard came from the Norse settlement areas in eastern England, especially Norse Northumbria, yet most of the bullion was of Hiberno-Norse origin.¹¹⁰ The contents as well as the location on the route between York and Dublin suggest that the link between these centres established by Ivar and Halfdan in the 860s and 870s continued. Importantly, the Cuerdale hoard is dated earlier than the written evidence of renewed contact between Norse Ireland and eastern England during the reign of Ragnall. Of a similar date, and potentially earlier is the hoard from Orton Scar, Cumbria, consisting of a complete penannular brooch and a small neck-ring.¹¹¹

It has to be admitted that none of these archaeological finds can firmly establish a direct link between the Norse in Ireland and the great army and early Norse settlers in England. The discovery of a fragment of a lead trial piece may suggest that arm-rings, if not from Denmark, were also manufactured on Anglesey in north-west Wales, although perhaps not until the early tenth century.¹¹² Simple objects like ringed pins could have been made elsewhere, and although the volume of finds, along with the discovery of a mould, suggest that Dublin was the main production centre,¹¹³ examples from Ribe, Denmark, dated to the eighth century calls into question where the Norse first encountered the

¹⁰⁸ Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the 'Age of Silver'', p. 89.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, pp. 150-1.

¹¹⁰ Graham-Campbell, 'The Early Viking Age in the Irish Sea Area', pp. 108-10.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹¹² Mark Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales and the Evidence from Llanbedrgoch', in J. Hines, A. Lane, & M. Redknap, eds., *Land, Sea and Home* (Maney, Leeds, 2004), pp. 158, 168.

¹¹³ Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 121-2; Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 152.

tradition.¹¹⁴ However with some of the weights we appear to have more cause for optimism. The lead weights with a coin inserted belong to a group of weights with added insular metal-work, like the example from Torksey, which are thought to have originated amongst the Norse settlers in the insular world.¹¹⁵

Even if all of the objects can be connected with the Irish Sea region, it does not mean that they came directly from that area with members of the great army and other migrants. Instead some or all of them could have reached England through trade and exchange. However the quantity of material suggests a direct connection, especially considering the general lack of evidence for direct trade between the Irish and Anglo-Saxons in the ninth century.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the lack of protection for merchants in Irish laws is a likely indication of how little involved the Irish themselves were in international trade, and all such trade appears to have been conducted through Norse ports.¹¹⁷ That quite a large amount of material that is likely to be from Ireland appears in England at the time of the great army, often directly connected to its known movements, suggests a direct connection between the great army and Ireland, either of members of the army bringing material from Ireland, or good contacts with the area.

However I consider the clearest archaeological indication of a connection between the great army and Ireland to be the employment of some aspects of an unusual burial rite. Many characteristics of Norse burial rites, for example human and animal cremation and inhumation, are too widespread to be of use in helping to establish the origins of the early Norse settlers in England. However a most interesting archaeological parallel between Norse activities in England and Ireland may be seen in the mass burial at Repton and burials at Cloghermore Cave, Tralee, Co. Kerry, and Donnybrook, Dublin. Repton contained disarticulated remains but few complete skeletons, and there is also evidence that the bones were stacked according to type around a central burial.¹¹⁸ Importantly, the

¹¹⁴ Thomas Fanning, 'Viking Age Ringed Pins from Denmark', *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000), p. 84. The two early examples are: number 19 which was coin dated, and 22 was in a grave in an eighth-century cemetery. However, for a recent suggestion that those produced by the Norse were based on earlier Irish metal-working traditions see Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 152. For a detailed consideration of the pins, including a chronology, see Fanning, *Viking Age Ringed Pins from Dublin*.

¹¹⁵ The sub-group with the coins has been specifically linked with the Norse in eastern England, Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon and Viking Coin Weights', p. 32.

¹¹⁶ Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, p. 35.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

¹¹⁸ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', pp. 67-74.

radiocarbon dates indicate that those creating the mass burial deliberately incorporated earlier disarticulated remains in the new grave.¹¹⁹

It is difficult to find a parallel to this burial rite in the Scandinavian homelands, but aspects of the burial do seem to occur in some Norse burials in Ireland. It shares similarities with Cloghermore Cave, excavated in 1999-2000. This rural site included the interment of three articulated adults and three articulated sub-adults. These have been interpreted as Norse based on the presence of burnt and unburnt animal bone caused by horse burial and animal cremation, and artefacts such as ringed pins, bone or antler combs, spindle-whorls, an axe, spearheads, shield boss, and tools.¹²⁰ A combination of radiocarbon dates, artefacts, and the burial rites led the excavators to posit a date in the second half of the ninth century for the Norse burials.¹²¹ However the cave also included disarticulated human remains, some of which were radiocarbon-dated to the eighth century.¹²² These have been interpreted as a local non-Christian Irish family group continuing 'a burial style from the pre-Christian Iron Age' who used the cave as an ossuary.¹²³ The number of small bones missing, such as those from the hands and feet, has led to the suggestion that the bodies deposited earlier were defleshed elsewhere and then carried to the cave in the eighth century.¹²⁴ This is paralleled by the mass burial at Repton where the bones of the hands and feet were almost totally absent.¹²⁵ At Repton earlier disarticulated remains were moved by the Norse to create a new burial, and this could also have happened at Cloghermore. Disarticulated human remains, interpreted as those of a local Irish population, have been recovered from other caves in Ireland that included artefacts interpreted as evidence of later Norse or Hiberno-Norse use. The cave at Carrigmurrish, Whitechurch, Co. Waterford, which included a conical shield boss, knife, ringed pin, spearhead, and a single skull,

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

¹²⁰ Michael Connolly & Frank Coyne, *Underworld: Death and Burial in Cloghermore Cave, Co. Kerry* (Wordwell Books, Bray, 2005), pp. 171-2. The cave also included a silver hoard comprising two ingots and four pieces of hack-silver cut from arm-rings, John Sheehan, 'The Silver Hoard', in Connolly & Coyne, *Underworld* (Wordwell Books, Bray, 2005), pp. 135-9.

¹²¹ Connolly & Coyne, *Underworld*, pp. 68-74, 161-4, 168. The excavators link the site to rituals from Sweden and those described by Ibn Fadlan on the Volga.

¹²² The earlier dates were obtained from two bones from the Two-Star Temple, returning dates calibrated to AD 645-795 and AD 665-815; and six bones from the Graveyard returned dates calibrated to AD 655-785, AD 635-780, and 645-770, *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-7, 170-1.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51, 171.

¹²⁵ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', p. 79.

strongly suggests that other caves apart from Cloghermore were used for Norse burial.¹²⁶ Less conclusive evidence from caves are at Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny, which included two silver hoards with hack-silver deposited in c. 928 and 970; Kilgreany, Co. Waterford, had a number of dress accessories and domestic finds paralleled by those at Cloghermore; and caves at Co. Clare that included knife blades, hones and bone pins.¹²⁷ However none of these sites have any secure evidence of Norse burial.¹²⁸ Even if the proposed associations between other Irish caves and the Norse are discounted, the placement of Norse articulated burials with already present local disarticulated remains at Cloghermore would appear to be part of a burial rite paralleled at Repton.

The mass grave or cemetery at Donnybrook offers another possible example of this burial rite.¹²⁹ This burial was under a proposed mound and contained the skeleton of someone interpreted as a warrior.¹³⁰ They were accompanied by a Petersen type D sword, spear, and probably three arrow heads, and two further bodies were interred at the feet.¹³¹ Beyond these burials, on the same level and covered by the same clay, was a mass burial of between 600 and 700 individuals of all ages and both sexes, some of which had evidence of injuries, in three layers. At some distance from these bodies were several piles of skulls.¹³² Based in part on the Norse and other burials being covered by the same clay, a reinterpretation of the Donnybrook burial by Richard Hall suggests that the mass burial and three interments occurred at the same time, and probably under Norse supervision, perhaps following a massacre of the local population.¹³³ The piles of skulls recall the stacking of bones at Repton, and a further parallel with the great army comes from the use of animal

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹²⁷ Connolly & Coyne, *Underworld*, pp. 41-2, 43-4, & Sheehan, 'The Silver Hoard', p. 150.

¹²⁸ The items could have as easily been left by the Irish as Norse, including the silver hoards as most from this period in Ireland were probably 'in Irish control and ownership when they were buried', Sheehan, 'The Silver Hoard', p.152.

¹²⁹ Donnybrook is in a suburb of modern Dublin and was excavated in 1879. The original report is William Frazer, 'Description of a Great Sepulchral Mound at Aylesbury-Road, near Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin, Containing Human and Animal Remains, as well as some Objects of Antiquarian Interest, Referable to the Tenth or Eleventh Centuries', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 16, 2nd series, Vol. 2 (1879-88), pp. 29-55.

¹³⁰ R.A. Hall, 'A Viking-age Grave at Donnybrook, Co. Dublin', *Medieval Archaeology* 22 (1978), p. 68. The mound was levelled but was visible in 1879, see Frazer, 'Description of a Great Sepulchral Mound', pp. 30-2.

¹³¹ Hall, 'A Viking-age Grave at Donnybrook', p. 68. There is a suggestion that these were the remains of two women ritually sacrificed, but in view of the evidence this remains speculation.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 70-2; Frazer, 'Description of a Great Sepulchral Mound', p. 34.

¹³³ Hall, 'A Viking-age Grave at Donnybrook, Co. Dublin', p. 73.

bones in the burial ritual.¹³⁴ At Donnybrook the mound included a layer of unburnt animal bones, including horse, cow, sheep, pig, and dog, whilst at Heath Wood unburnt cow bones were ‘incorporated in the mound make-up’ of three of the mounds at the cremation barrow cemetery.¹³⁵ Unfortunately the Donnybrook burial is difficult to date, but the Petersen type D sword must be post 800 and was most popular in the ninth century.¹³⁶

A more recent re-interpretation of the cemetery by Elizabeth O’Brien, if correct, may weaken the comparisons to Repton, but some remain apparent. The mass burial is interpreted not as the aftermath of a massacre but as a christian cemetery on a raised circular platform rather than in a mound. Later burials were placed over existing ones, disturbing some bones and the piles of skulls were probably created by grave diggers during ‘tidying-up operations’.¹³⁷ The animal bones may have been part of a midden used after the cemetery had ceased to function, probably by the early ninth century.¹³⁸ O’Brien considers the Norse burial to have been inserted after the cemetery had fallen out of use.¹³⁹ Even if this interpretation is correct it suggests that the Norse, like those at Repton, chose to associate their burial with an existing native burial place. In the case of Donnybrook the existing cemetery had the appearance of a mound, whilst at Repton a mound was created. O’Brien’s reappraisal does not account for the evidence cited by William Frazer for the Norse and native burials being contemporary, namely that the Norse ‘bones lay on the same level upon the soil, and one common clay covering was over all’.¹⁴⁰ There is no reason to doubt Frazer’s account,¹⁴¹ and it is difficult to envisage how the later placement of the Norse on the same level and under the same clay could have occurred. Furthermore, the notion that the local population used the former cemetery site as a midden has little to

¹³⁴ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘Repton and the ‘great heathen army’, 873-4’, p. 74 & Pl. 4.8, p. 70.

¹³⁵ Hall, ‘A Viking-age Grave at Donnybrook, Co. Dublin’, p. 73. Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood’, p. 92. Richards notes that these could have either been offerings or ‘the residue of meals eaten by those constructing the mounds’.

¹³⁶ Hall, ‘A Viking-age Grave at Donnybrook, Co. Dublin’, pp. 68-70. Hall notes (p. 70) that such an elaborate hilt may have been treasured over a long time.

¹³⁷ E. O’Brien, ‘A Re-assessment of the “Great Sepulchral Mound” Containing a Viking Burial at Donnybrook, Dublin’, *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992), pp. 170-1, quote p. 171.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173. Hall appears to agree with O’Brien’s revision, stating that it seems ‘likely that the Viking had been interred in a pre-existing Irish cemetery’, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁰ Frazer, ‘Description of a Great Sepulchral Mound’, p. 34. More details on the clay and subsoil are provided at *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

¹⁴¹ From his account it appears that he was careful in recording all that he saw, and enlisted the help of other scholars during the excavations, *Ibid.*, p. 30.

recommend it, as it is unlikely that they would have forgotten where their ancestors were buried.¹⁴² Another possible interpretation, but also not requiring a massacre, is that the native population from an existing cemetery were disturbed and some perhaps reburied by the Norse to accompany their own dead, as appears to have happened at Repton.

The combination of a significant number of disarticulated remains of a local population with articulated Norse burials from Repton, Cloghermore, and possibly Donnybrook, is striking as to my knowledge it is presently known only from the Insular world.¹⁴³ That this specific burial rite only occurs in these Norse burials in Ireland and England strongly suggests a link between the populations responsible, a link emphasized by the dating with the Repton and Cloghermore burials being dated to the second half of the ninth century, and those at Donnybrook from the ninth or tenth century. In these burials the Norse may have incorporated the bones of an earlier local population as a symbolic attempt to legitimise their rule of the area.

Another proposed Norse burial from Dublin, which is radio-carbon dated to the late ninth century, also has a parallel with Repton, but not one involving a ritual use of disarticulated remains.¹⁴⁴ A child aged between five and eight was buried less than one metre from a pit containing a complete cattle skull carefully positioned by a collection of stones in the lower mandible, with its horns pointing upwards. The child was also found with a fragment of cattle bone.¹⁴⁵ At Repton one of the pits associated with the mass burial contained only a sheep's jaw.¹⁴⁶ Also of interest is another pit found at Dublin containing seven full cattle skulls in a line along with the tops of two human skulls 'surrounded on one side by the cattle skulls'.¹⁴⁷ The digging of pits near a human burial and placing part of an

¹⁴² This is especially true as the cemetery was visible in the landscape.

¹⁴³ Another possible Insular example is the Balladoole boat burial on the Isle of Man, which was placed on top of an earlier native burial. It appears that some bones were removed from the Manx lintel graves and placed under the boat burial, Gerhard Bersu & David M. Wilson, *Three Viking Graves In The Isle Of Man* (The Society For Medieval Archaeology, Monograph Series: No. 1, London, 1966), p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ The burial had an intercept date of 890. It is thought to be associated with sunken structures that were dated by radiocarbon analysis to between the late eighth and late ninth century. Linzi Simpson, *Director's Findings: Temple Bar West*. Temple Bar Archaeological Report 5 (Temple Bar Archaeology, Dublin, 1999), pp. 13-7; Simpson, 'Viking Warrior Burials in Dublin', pp. 26-7.

¹⁴⁵ Simpson, 'Viking Warrior Burials in Dublin', pp. 26-7. The distance between the burial and the pit with the cattle skull is based on the scale given in Simpson, *Director's Findings*, Fig. 8, p. 16.

¹⁴⁶ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', p. 74.

¹⁴⁷ This burial was not radio-carbon tested, but is thought to be associated with a sunken structure that was dated by radiocarbon analysis to between the late eighth and late ninth century. Simpson, *Director's Findings*, pp. 13-7; Simpson, 'Viking Warrior Burials in Dublin', p. 27. Although parts of animals were included in

animal in the pit appears to have been part of a burial rite practised by the Norse at Dublin in the mid-to-late ninth century, as well as by members of the great army in England in 873-4.

Although not conclusive, the likely connection in the written record between the great army and the Norse in Ireland has been well established in previous research and is now accepted by most scholars. This proposed link is also supported by archaeological evidence from both the campaigning period of the great army and the early settlement period. Whilst none of this evidence on its own is enough to firmly establish the connection, with the combination of evidence the argument for the connection is greatly strengthened. Indeed it is difficult to explain what circumstances could have led to this combination of evidence without a direct connection between the Norse in England and the Norse in Ireland during the latter ninth century. The onus is on those scholars who doubt the link to provide an alternative explanation.

Norse from northern Francia

The other area connected with the Norse in eastern England, particularly after settlement, appears to be northern Francia, although there is little evidence in written sources of a direct link between the great army and Francia. Asser claimed that the great army had come from the Danube.¹⁴⁸ Whilst it is possible that this represents confused knowledge of the army coming from somewhere on the Continent, Asser could have also made ‘a mistaken connection between Danes and the Danube’.¹⁴⁹ Yet regardless of what Asser may have meant about the origin of the great army, the potters and moneyers operating in the settlement area before 900 demonstrate that links between the Norse and the Continent far to the north of the Danube did exist. It is proposed here that such specialists migrated to England as some of the Norse who conquered and settled England had themselves previously migrated from northern Francia.

A possible contemporary link between Francia and the great army is the report that in 866 Charles the Bald paid off a Norse fleet stationed on the Seine. The Norse then

Norse burials at Repton and Heath Wood, I am unaware of a burial where only small parts of humans were included.

¹⁴⁸ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 21, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 74.

¹⁴⁹ Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, n. 44, p. 238. See also Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, p. 189.

repaired their ships and built new ones before dispersing. It is reported that some of the fleet went to the Ijssel district in Frisia but the destination of the remainder is not given.¹⁵⁰ A number of scholars have noted the possibility that they sailed to East Anglia, joining the great army in time for their attack on York in November 866.¹⁵¹ Indeed, waiting for reinforcements would help to explain why the great army stayed in East Anglia for approximately twelve months and then campaigned in winter.¹⁵² Frankish annals often track the movements of Norse armies year by year, and this army had been reported on since the previous year, so the silence on the destination of part of it may indicate that it went somewhere beyond Francia and the immediate concern and interest of the chronicler and audience.¹⁵³ The group that sailed to Frisia were apparently unsuccessful in making an alliance with Lothar, the Frankish overlord, so it is possible that they too then sailed to England and joined the great army.¹⁵⁴ It is reasonable to assume that the desired alliance with Lothar involved being granted land in Frisia, as other Norse groups had been.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, acquiring land could have been an impetus for joining the great army in England, which was soon to begin conquering kingdoms that they would later settle.

Whilst no contemporary sources record Norse groups in Francia becoming part of the great army, a later written source claims that one of the leaders of the army was a Frisian. The eleventh-century *HSC* records that when the great army, who are described as ‘Danes’ and ‘Scaldings’, attacked York its leader was ‘Ubba, duke of the Frisians’.¹⁵⁶ Another entry refers to two leaders, Ubba duke of the Frisians and Halfdan, the king of the Danes.¹⁵⁷ Although this source refers only to a Frisian leader rather than a contingent from Frisia, it is highly unlikely that a leader would arrive in England without bringing others with him. Another Cuthbertine source, the early twelfth century *LDE*, mentions that the

¹⁵⁰ Nelson, *AB*, 866, p. 131.

¹⁵¹ See for example Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 114; Clare Downham, ‘Vikings in England’, in S. Brink with N. Price, eds., *The Viking World*, p. 342; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 92.

¹⁵² Of course attacking in winter may have also offered tactical advantages.

¹⁵³ Nelson, *AB*, 865, p. 127. Similarly, when another Norse fleet were paid off and broke into smaller fleets in 862, the Annals report on those that went to Brittany, and those that stayed and joined Charles, *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 866, pp. 131-2.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fn. 12, p. 132.

¹⁵⁶ *Ubba dux Fresciorum*, Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 10, pp. 50-51. *Dux* was used for a senior nobleman by the late eighth century in Northumbria, A.T. Thacker, ‘Some terms for noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 650-900’, in D. Brown, J. Campbell, & S.C. Hawkes, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 2, BAR, British Series 92 (B.A.R., Oxford, 1981), pp. 205-7, 222-3.

¹⁵⁷ Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 14, p. 53.

great army comprised Danes, Frisians, and others, but this information is probably drawn from the *HSC*.¹⁵⁸ Describing some of the great army as ‘Danes’ is probably based on the references to ‘Danes’ in the *ASC*. However the use of ‘Frisians’ is interesting as it is not derived from the *ASC* or Asser, and instead demonstrates that there was a tradition in England’s north by at least the eleventh century that people from Frisia had been involved in the conquest. The *HSC* also refers to the great army as ‘Scaldings’, a likely reference to the River Scheldt, which was known as *Scald* in OE and *Scaldis* in Latin.¹⁵⁹ As Woolf points out, the obvious implication of this description is that the great army had come from somewhere on the Scheldt, most probably the (former) island of Walcheren in the mouth of the river, part of the area granted to a Norse group by Lothar.¹⁶⁰ Woolf suggests that the ‘dark foreigners’ in Irish and Welsh annals and led by Ivar had migrated to Ireland from Frisia in the early 850s, perhaps attacking Canterbury and London in 851 on their way, before becoming known as the great army in England from 865.¹⁶¹ However it seems unlikely that the proposed origin of the great army in Frisia would be remembered in England, especially if no such tradition of the origin of the ‘black foreigners’ is recorded in Irish annals. Even if Woolf is correct in associating the ‘dark foreigners’ with an earlier migration from Frisia, a much simpler and more likely explanation for the use of ‘Scaldings’ and a duke of the Frisians in the *HSC* is that part of the great army had come from Ireland, but another part had come directly from Frisia. It is likely that the ‘Frisians’ referred to were not actually Frisians but Norse who had been living in Frisia, or that such Norse comprised the majority of those who had come from Frisia.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, ii. 6, Rollason, p. 95, & fn. 40, p. 96.

¹⁵⁹ *Scaldingi*, Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 11, pp. 50-51. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 72.

¹⁶⁰ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 72.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2. Swanton, *ASC*, 851, p. 64.

¹⁶² Bremmer, ‘Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England: a historical and toponymical investigation’, p. 78.



Map 3: Roric's fiefdom in Frisia.¹⁶³

The *HSC* claims that one of the great army leaders was a duke of the Frisians, and indeed Frisia did have a duke at the time of the great army, one that was Norse. Parts of Frisia, the island of Walcheren and its neighbouring area, so presumably the river banks at the mouth of the Scheldt, had been granted to the Norse leader Harald in 841 by Lothar in an attempt to stop further Norse attacks on the area.¹⁶⁴ There was a longstanding close connection between Frisia and parts of Scandinavia, possibly creating a culture that was 'common for both the Scandinavian-speaking and Frisian-speaking populations'.¹⁶⁵ Considering this cultural connection it may be expected that at least in some respects Norse over-lordship of the region may have been easy to implement. Indeed, an entry in the *AF* whereby the Norse leader Roric occupied north Frisia with the consent of the king of the

¹⁶³ After Besteman, 'Two Viking Hoards from the Former Island of Wieringen', in J. Hines, A. Lane & M. Redknap, eds., *Land, Sea and Home*, Fig. 4, p. 104.

¹⁶⁴ Nelson, *AB*, 841, p. 51.

¹⁶⁵ Johan Callmer, 'Scandinavia and the Continent', in Brink with Price, eds., *The Viking World*, pp. 440-2, p. 441 for quote. For evidence of later interactions between the Norse and Frisians see Nelleke L. IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes. Relations and their representations between Frisians and Scandinavians in the Viking Age, late 8th to 11th centuries. An analysis of textual and archaeological sources*. Unpublished MA thesis (Department of Medieval Studies, University of Groningen, 2010), pp. 54-6; Judith Jesch, 'The Senja Neck-ring and Viking activity' in *Blandade Runstudier 2* (Institutionen för nordiska språk Uppsala universitet, Uppsala, 1997), pp. 7-12.

Danes suggests that at times the ruler of southern Denmark may have had some control over parts of Frisia.¹⁶⁶ A larger area of Frisia, including the trading centre of Dorestad, had been granted to Roric, described as the nephew of Harald, from 850 until sometime after 873 but before 882.¹⁶⁷ Although he was occasionally referred to in later Carolingian sources as a king, as he held Frisia as a royal benefice on behalf of another the term *dux* as used in the *HSC* for Ubba is more appropriate.¹⁶⁸ It is reported that a large army was recruited by Roric in 850 to attack Frisia, but there is no indication of how many Norse remained with him after being granted the area following these attacks.¹⁶⁹ But Roric's armed forces must have been substantial enough to maintain control over the local inhabitants, and to deter attacks from other Norse groups.¹⁷⁰ It is also likely that some Norse women would have been with Roric's forces in Frisia, and that there would have also been intermarriage between the Norse and Frisians, so by 865 there would have been a new generation of Norse and Norse-Frisians born in Frisia. Indeed, as with the Norse from Ireland, it is possible that a group joining the great army may have included Frisians, or other Franks.¹⁷¹ An indication of the integration of the Norse and Frisians is the report of a Norse man who had long lived with the Frisians leading them in an attack against Norse pirates in 873.¹⁷² Additionally, the later Norse leader of Frisia, Godfrid, had at least two Frisian counts as part of his retinue in 885.¹⁷³ The number of dirhems minted in the ninth

¹⁶⁶ Reuter, *AF*, 857, p. 39, and n. 3 for commentary.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 850, p. 30; Nelson, *AB*, 850, p. 69. For the career of Roric see Simon Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers: Scandinavian Warlords and Carolingian Kings', *Early Medieval Europe* 7:1 (1998), pp. 95-101, reprinted in Simon Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage and the Vikings*. For a review of the archaeology of Dorestad see W.J.H. Verwers, 'Vikings in the lower Rhine area?', in I.S. Klæsøe, ed., *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe* (Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen, 2010), pp. 63-71. Unfortunately the new volume, A. Willemsen & H. Kik, eds., *Dorestad in an International Framework* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2010), was unavailable to me before this thesis was submitted.

¹⁶⁸ Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', pp. 98-9; Reuter, *AF*, 850, p. 30. *Dux* had come to mean the 'head of a district comprising several counties invested with military as well as judicial authority' by at least the Merovingian period, J.F. Niermeyer, & C. van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Brill, Leiden, 1976), p. 363.

¹⁶⁹ Nelson, *AB*, 850, p. 69.

¹⁷⁰ Roric was driven from Frisia, or part of Frisia, briefly by the otherwise unknown local group Cokingi, but his expulsion was only brief, Nelson, *AB*, 867, pp. 139-40; Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 99 for discussion. For Roric's success at preventing further Norse attacks see Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 101.

¹⁷¹ For example the *AB* mention that a Frank by the name of Pippin who had joined the Norse was captured in Aquitaine, Nelson, *AB*, 864, p. 119. For instances of collaboration between Franks and Norse warriors see Lund, 'Allies of God or Man?', pp. 45-59.

¹⁷² Reuter, *AF*, 873, p. 72.

¹⁷³ IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, pp. 52-3. Three gold rings of Scandinavian type have been found in Frisia which could indicate aristocratic gift exchange, *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

century, found mostly on the islands of Walcheren and Wieringen, also suggests that there may have been a substantial Norse presence in ninth-century Frisia.¹⁷⁴ It can therefore be assumed that there could have been enough Norse in Frisia by 865 for some to have left to become part of the great army. Indeed Sawyer posits that the bases of pre-865 Norse groups that raided England are likely to have been in Frisia.¹⁷⁵

Identifying Ubba is more difficult. He cannot be equated with Roric or any other named Norse leader associated with Frisia, and it is possible that the name preserved is incorrect or has been transferred from another Norse leader.¹⁷⁶ However Ubbi/Ubba is a genuine Norse name recorded on two rune stones, one in Sweden and the other in Norway, whilst four characters named Ubbo/Ubbi feature in the late twelfth or early thirteenth-century *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus, increasing the likelihood that the English tradition of a Norse leader with that name is genuine.¹⁷⁷ Indeed the Norwegian stone with the name is dated from the late-ninth century, so it could be roughly contemporary with the great army.¹⁷⁸ Within a century of the Norse settlements a tradition of a Norse leader of the great army named Ubba was current in at least parts of England, but not always with an association with the Frisians. In the late tenth century Abbo of Fleury claimed that Ubba had remained in Northumbria when Ivar invaded East Anglia in late 869, a statement not inconsistent with a northern source having more recorded about him, if the information in

¹⁷⁴ Besteman, 'Two Viking Hoards', pp. 102-3. For a map of find spots of dirhems see *Ibid.*, Fig. 3, p. 102. Dirhems were rare in Francia and most have been found in the parts of Frisia once controlled by the Norse, IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, pp. 70-1. Although Egge Knol considers the concentration of ninth-century silver hoards in the coastal area of Frisia to be evidence of Norse raids ('Frisia in Carolingian times', in I.S. Klæsøe, ed., *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe* (Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen, 2010), pp. 55-7), it could also be due to Norse occupation.

¹⁷⁵ Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed., p. 101.

¹⁷⁶ The careers of the Norse named in Continental sources relating to the ninth century are discussed in Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers'.

¹⁷⁷ Saxo's work includes three Norse Ubbi's and a Frisian named Ubbo who was part of the army of a legendary eighth-ninth century Norse king Harald Wartooth. Regardless of the veracity of Saxo's account, it again demonstrates that Ubba was a genuine name of the Norse world. For the references to these four characters see Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes, books 1-IX*, H.E. Davidson, ed., P. Fisher, trans. (D.S. Brewer, Woodbridge, 1996), p. 191.

¹⁷⁸ The rune stones including the name are Sö 255 and N 139. See Lena Peterson, *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon fjärde reviderade versionen med tillägg av frekvenstabeller och finalalfabetisk namnlista* (2002), p. 217. Available at www.sofi.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=1472 [accessed June 27, 2009]. Samnordisk runtextdatabas records Sö 255 as having pr3 ornamentation, so it is likely to date to c. 1050-1100. N 139 is dated V (AD) 875-925. For dating by ornamentation see Anne-Sofie Gräslund, 'Rune Stones – On Ornamentation and Chronology', in B. Ambrosiani & H. Clarke, eds., *The Twelfth Viking Congress: Developments Around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age*. Birka Studies 3 (RAÄ, Stockholm, 1994), pp. 117-31, for pr3 pp. 125-6.

the northern sources already discussed were independent of Abbo.¹⁷⁹ However recension 'F' of the *ASC*, written in c. 1100, claims that both Ubba and Ivar were responsible for Edmund's death.¹⁸⁰ In the early to mid twelfth century Gaimar did not mention Ubba in the early years of campaigning but claimed that he was the brother of Ivar and Halfdan who landed in Devon and was killed there in 878.¹⁸¹ As there are strong reasons for supposing that Ivar and Halfdan came to England from Ireland it would be unlikely that their brother was from Frisia. However as Downham notes, Gaimar may have assumed that the unnamed brother was Ubba based on other sources connecting Ubba with Ivar, such as Abbo's work.¹⁸² Significantly, Abbo does not describe Ubba as Ivar's brother but as another early leader of the great army, raising the possibility that he had a different origin than Ivar. This possibility is perhaps strengthened by Abbo's report that Ubba remained in Northumbria when Ivar moved to East Anglia, presumably with their associated troops. The *HSC* could have also taken the name Ubba from Abbo, but its connection of him with Frisia appears to be a unique local tradition. It may be worth considering the recorded expulsion of Roric from Frisia, in 867.¹⁸³ If any of Roric's followers decided to sail to England they could have joined the great army in York in the first half of 867, perhaps explaining the notice of a Frisian leader in York in the *HSC*. Despite the apparent confusion it is clear that a tradition of a Norse leader named Ubba being part of the great army was current in England from at least the time that Abbo visited. However whether Ubba, or another unknown Norse leader, led a group from the river Scheldt to England to join the great army must, on the basis of the written testimony, remain conjecture.

The suggestion of an involvement of people from Frisia in the activities of the great army gains some support from place-names. There are seven place-names in the Norse settlement area, four in Lincolnshire, two in Leicestershire, and one in Yorkshire, that combine an ethnonym for Frisian with an ON suffix, with the current forms Frisby, Firsby

¹⁷⁹ Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, ch. 5, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, pp. 20-1.

¹⁸⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 870, fn. 2, p. 70, & xxviii.

¹⁸¹ Gaimar, Geffrei, *Lestorie Des Engles: Solum La Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, Charles Trice Martin & Thomas Duffus Hardy, eds. (Kraus Reprint, Nendeln, 1966), ln. 3149, p. 101. Gaimar's work was written c.1135-47 (p. ix) and he mentions using the otherwise unknown *History of Winchester*, chronicles ordered by King Alfred and kept chained up to be read in Winchester Cathedral (ln. 2331-40, p. 76), quite possibly an early version of the *ASC* (xxiii). Indeed Dorothy Whitelock and James Campbell both consider Gaimar to have had access to a good copy of the *ASC*, Whitelock, 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St. Edmund', p. 224; Campbell, 'What is not known about the reign of Edward the Elder', pp. 15-6.

¹⁸² Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 68, fn. 25.

¹⁸³ Nelson, *AB*, 867, pp. 139-40.

and Friesthorpe.¹⁸⁴ Rolf Bremmer has suggested that these names are similar to the Ireby's found in the Norse settlement area, and are not likely to represent direct Frisian settlement but instead Frisian-Norse or Norse that had previously been living in Frisia.¹⁸⁵ Yet, as with the Ireby's discussed above, it is possible that some native Frisian settlers may have accompanied the Norse. Indeed, Frisian laws included provisions about what to do with the possessions of a Frisian who was forced to participate in Norse raids when they returned home, demonstrating that such events happened. However it also implies that some Frisians freely joined Norse raids.¹⁸⁶ It is likely that these 'Frisian' settlements were in some way different to others, resulting in the use of an ethnonym. As with the majority of place-names with ON elements the earliest record of these 'settlement of the Frisians' occur in 1086 in *Domesday Book*, so it is impossible to know when they first became current. Yet the combination of Frisian and ON elements in place-names and the location of the places is certainly very suggestive. Furthermore, unlike Norse groups from Ireland there is no further indication of Norse settlers from Frisia, which had ceased being a Norse benefice by the end of the ninth century, so these place names are likely to date to a pre-900 settlement.

The origin of a Norse army that arrived after the great army also strongly suggests a Frisian origin for some of the settlers. Although the origin of the army that arrived on the Thames in late 878 is not provided in the ASC, it is recorded that it went to Ghent in Francia the following year, making it a strong possibility that it had also arrived from the region.¹⁸⁷ This army had met up with Guthrum and his recently defeated army before spending the winter at Fulham on the Thames,¹⁸⁸ suggesting that they may have been asked to come to England as reinforcements, knowing exactly where to go.¹⁸⁹ This in turn suggests that the two groups were known to each other. Ghent is in present-day Belgium and is most likely to have been reached by a ship-borne army by travelling through Frisia along the river Scheldt. As we saw in chapter 2, migration studies have shown that recent migrants have usually followed earlier ones, and in this instance it is possible that those in the 878 army were following an established migration route that had been used by members

¹⁸⁴ Bremmer, 'Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England: a historical and toponymical investigation', pp. 62-3.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁸⁶ IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, pp. 44-5. For a discussion of the laws see *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁸⁷ Swanton, ASC, 879, 880, p. 76. Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 58, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 85, says they had come from foreign parts.

¹⁸⁸ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 58, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 85.

¹⁸⁹ The same could be said of the summer army of 871 that joined the great army at Reading.

of the great army and possibly others.¹⁹⁰ It has been suggested that the later army were responsible for an attack on Zutphen in the present-day Netherlands after it had arrived from England, and archaeological evidence of the attack includes a coin of Æthelred II of Northumbria minted at York between 840 and 844.¹⁹¹ That the leader of the army in Francia, Godfrid, was granted Roric's former benefice of Frisia in 882,¹⁹² and his army presumably then settled there, strengthens the possible connection between it and Guthrum's army. Indeed, some members of Guthrum's army could have decided to join those returning to northern Francia, making it a possible example of return migration.

In assessing the archaeological material it should be noted that Frisia in the ninth century does not have any durable artefacts that may be safely considered as diagnostically belonging to a Frisian culture. Even if there were the matter would be complicated by the likelihood that any 'Frisians' in England are likely to have included Norse previously settled in Frisia, and their descendants. Indeed the archaeological evidence for a Norse presence in Frisia is minimal, perhaps in part due to significant destruction of the environment by the later use of reclaimed coastal earth to fertilize the hinterland.¹⁹³ Evidence for Norse activity comes chiefly from two hoards with Norse characteristics found on Wieringen, as well as local finds of metal work and coins suggesting Norse activity.¹⁹⁴ The silver evidence can be difficult to interpret as, perhaps due to the existence of a common culture mentioned above, the Frisians appear to have accepted unminted

¹⁹⁰ It has been mentioned above that the ASC records that the 890s army also arrived from northern Francia and many returned there after the campaign.

¹⁹¹ It has been suggested that the coin at Zutphen, a rare find on the Continent, was brought over with a Norse army from England, Michel Groothedde, 'The Vikings in Zutphen (Netherlands): Military organisation and early town development after the Viking raid in 882', in R. Simek & U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhineland and Scandinavia*. *Studia Mediaevalia Septentrionalia* 11 (Fassbaender, Wien, 2004), p. 122. Other evidence included burnt huts, skeletons of an adult and child, cattle remains which suggest that the edible parts of the animals were taken elsewhere, and the construction of defences after the attack, *Ibid.*, pp. 115-29.

¹⁹² Reuter, *AF*, 882, pp. 92-3. See also Kaj van Vliet, 'Traiecti muros heu! The Bishop of Utrecht during and after the Viking Invasions of Frisia (834-925)', in R. Simek & U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine* (Fassbaender, Wien, 2004), pp. 142-3.

¹⁹³ H.A. Heidinga, *Frisia in the First Millenium: An outline* (Matrijs, Utrecht, 1997), p. 12; Knol, 'Frisia in Carolingian times', p. 54. For a review of finds associated with Norse groups see Annemarieke Willemsen, 'Scattered across the Waterside: Viking Finds from the Netherlands', in R. Simek & U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine* (Fassbaender, Wien, 2004), pp. 65-82; and IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, Appendix 2, pp. 102-19.

¹⁹⁴ Besteman, 'Two Viking Hoards', pp. 93-108; Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the 'Age of Silver'', p. 68.

silver, as did the Norse.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, Annemarieke Willemsen considers the archaeological evidence to ‘show an assimilated Frisian culture with Scandinavian influence’.¹⁹⁶ There are suggestions of a connection between the great army and Norse settlers in northern Francia in the archaeological evidence. To begin with the campaigns of the great army, a knife found with the double burial at Sonning is of a type not known from Scandinavia but paralleled by one at Dörverden in northern Germany. This town is south of Frisia on the river Wesser, which enters the North Sea in Frisia.¹⁹⁷ A number of ninth-century Carolingian coins have been found in England and are thought to be related to Norse activity. Perhaps the most significant of these are in the Croydon hoard of c. 872. It has also been suggested that the seven Frankish deniers, one minted between 814 and 860 and six between 840 and 864, could have arrived in England with a member of the great army who had previously campaigned in Francia in the mid 860s.¹⁹⁸ Carolingian coins are also known from other hoards deposited during the campaigning period of the great army, including Coney Street, York (c. 865), Gravesend, Kent (c. 871), Talnotrie, Dumfries and Galloway (c. 875), and Laxfield, Suffolk (c. 878).¹⁹⁹ Later hoards in the areas of Norse settlement that contained Carolingian coins, including Stamford, Lincolnshire (c. 890), Ashdon, Essex (c. 895), and Cuerdale (c. 905), suggests that a connection with Francia may have continued.²⁰⁰

A similar impression is provided by the single finds of ninth-century Carolingian coins. A search of the *Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds* reveals that all five of the Carolingian coins minted between 864 and 900 found in England were found in the Norse

¹⁹⁵ Besteman, ‘Two Viking Hoards’, p. 103.

¹⁹⁶ Willemsen, ‘Scattered across the Waterside’, p. 71.

¹⁹⁷ Evison, ‘A Viking grave at Sonning, Berks.’, pp. 332-3.

¹⁹⁸ Brooks & Graham-Campbell, ‘Reflections on the Viking-Age Silver Hoard from Croydon, Surrey’, p. 78; Smyth, *Alfred the Great*, p. 19.

¹⁹⁹ Hoards including Carolingian coins are listed in Mark Blackburn & Hugh Pagan, ‘A revised check-list of coin hoards from the British Isles c. 500-1100’, in M.A.S. Blackburn & D.N. Dumville, eds., *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 293-4. An updated list is provided by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and can be found at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/index.list.html> [accessed August 10, 2009].

These hoards were not necessarily all deposited by the Norse.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* The four late ninth/early tenth-century Carolingian coins in the Vale of York hoard of c. 927-9 continues this impression as they all came from northern mints: Cologne, Quentovic and Corbie, Gareth Williams & Barry Ager, *The Vale of York Hoard* (British Museum Press, London, 2010), p. 22.

settlement areas south of the Humber.²⁰¹ The distribution of the later coins is quite different from that of the pre-840 coins, with the south coast of England having no later single finds, suggesting that from the time of the great army most contact between England and Francia was in Norse settled areas.²⁰² Earlier coins of Charles the Bald, those most likely to have been brought to England by any Norse arriving from Francia to join the great army, are more plentiful, with twenty eight coins found, along with two of Lothar I (r. 840-55). All but ten of this group of thirty coins were found in East Anglia, Norse Northumbria, or eastern Mercia.²⁰³

Another possible link between the great army and Francia is the ninth-century Carolingian silver gilt square mount, probably originally a fitment on a sword or horse harness, found near Wareham.²⁰⁴ Other ninth-century Frankish items found in the Norse settlement areas could have arrived with members of the great army or other early migrants. Two such items found in Norfolk are a late ninth-century Carolingian-style strap distributor, probably made in northern Francia, and a ninth-century ansate brooch probably imported from Flanders, immediately west of Frisia.²⁰⁵ It has also been suggested that two eighth-century Carolingian mounts similar in shape to trefoil brooches found near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, arrived with Norse settlers.²⁰⁶ Some of these items may represent trade

²⁰¹ Three coins of Charles the Bald (r. 840-77), and one each of Odo (r. 888-97) and Louis II or III (r. 877-82). The list is available from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/search.php> [accessed November 16, 2009]. For an earlier list see Michael Bonser, 'Single Finds of Ninth-Century Coins from Southern England: A Listing', in M.A.S. Blackburn & D.N. Dumville, eds., *Kings, Currency and Alliances* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 199-240. Joanna Story includes a far greater number of single finds of Carolingian coins minted from 864-900 than are listed either by Bonser or on the website, a discrepancy that I am unable to account for. However her distribution map actually supports my point, with all but two of the twenty later coins found north of the Thames and in the east of England; Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750-870*. Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003), Map 3, p. 248.

²⁰² For distribution maps see Story, *Carolingian Connections*, Map 3, p. 248; and Bonser, 'Single Finds of Ninth-Century Coins from Southern England', Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, pp. 234-7.

²⁰³ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/search.php> [accessed November 16, 2009]. The remainder were found in London, Southampton (Hamwic), Cheshire, Staffordshire, Devon, Gloucestershire, Sussex and the Isle of Wight, and many, for example the two forgeries found in London, could possibly be associated with the great army.

²⁰⁴ Leslie Webster & Janet Blackhouse, eds., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (British Museum, London, 1991), p. 280. Wareham was the site of the great army winter camp in 875.

²⁰⁵ *Norfolk Archaeology* XLIII, part II (1999), p. 366, & *Ibid.*, XLIV, part IV (2005), p. 744

²⁰⁶ *Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2005/6*, pp. 69-70, available at <http://www.finds.org.uk/documents/report06.pdf> [accessed March 10, 2010].

rather than immigration, and may have no direct connection with the Norse. Despite this, a number of the coin hoards mentioned above can be safely attributed to Norse activity.

A particularly strong link between England and northern Francia is evident at the site at Torksey. Seven Carolingian sceattas have been found (as of 2005), all of which were likely to have been minted in either Frisia or the lower Rhine. Although this suggests direct trade between Torksey and Frisia and the lower Rhine, the sceattas were minted in the first half of the eighth century, indicating earlier activity at the site.²⁰⁷ The dating of these makes it possible that they are connected with the Frisian merchant community living in or near York mentioned by Altfred in his early eighth-century *Life of St. Liudger*.²⁰⁸ When one considers the importance to migration of scouts discussed in the previous chapter, the possible regular or permanent presence of north Frankish merchants along England's eastern seaboard could be significant in light of the possible involvement in the great army of Norse from Frisia. However there are also possible links between Torksey and Frisia in the latter ninth century. What is interpreted as a lead trial piece to make an imitation of a *solidi* coin of Louis the Pious (814-40) has been found at Torksey.²⁰⁹ The gold *solidi* of Louis were probably minted in 816 and imitations were made until the late ninth century, with over 100 imitations known, far exceeding the number of official coins that exist.²¹⁰ Of these imitations, most occur in Frisia, including their appearance in three hoards in the Netherlands deposited in the last quarter of the ninth century, and seventeen of the twenty single finds on the Continent.²¹¹ One of the hoards included seventeen die-duplicates, suggesting that they were being minted in Frisia in the late ninth century.²¹² Two imitation *solidi* also occur in the Hoen hoard from Norway and these are thought to have a Frisian link, as is one found near Elgin in north-east Scotland.²¹³ Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn have proposed that the imitations were minted either directly by the Norse in

²⁰⁷ Blackburn, 'Finds From the Anglo-Scandinavian site of Torksey', pp. 90-1; Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire, in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*, pp. 22 & Gazetteer items 8-12, p. 65. Only five were known to Blackburn when he wrote his article.

²⁰⁸ A translation of the relevant passage in chapter 10 is found in Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, No. 160, p. 725. For the likelihood of a continued Frisian presence in England after the eighth century, see IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, p. 19.

²⁰⁹ Blackburn, 'Finds From the Anglo-Scandinavian site of Torksey', pp. 93-4.

²¹⁰ Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the 'Age of Silver'', pp. 67-72.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²¹² *Ibid.*; Philip Grierson, 'The Gold Solidus of Louis the Pious and its Imitations', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 38 (1958), p. 10.

²¹³ Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the 'Age of Silver'', p. 69.

Frisia, or under their authority.²¹⁴ The discovery of an imitation *solidi* mounted in a brooch in the c. 880 Norse hoard on Wieringen strengthens this suggestion.²¹⁵ It has also been posited that some imitation *solidi* were minted in England prior to the arrival of the great army, although it is unclear how the coins would have functioned within the Anglo-Saxon economy.²¹⁶ This has led Blackburn to suggest that the lead trial piece from Torksey may have been made by Anglo-Saxons and ‘brought to Torksey as loot or through trade’.²¹⁷ Yet the other imitations that may have been produced in England, are thought to be earlier,²¹⁸ so it may be doubtful that a trial piece would still exist for coins no longer being produced. It is also far from certain that a sheet of lead would be considered valuable enough for a member of the great army to transport to Torksey. Considering the evidence that imitation *solidi* were produced in Frisia into the late ninth century, it is perhaps more likely that the trial piece was brought to Torksey, or made there, by someone from Frisia.

The Frankish connection is particularly apparent when one considers some of the specialised skills used in eastern England in the early settlement period. Soon after the Norse settlement of East Anglia in 879-80 their king Guthrum began to issue coinage in his Anglo-Saxon baptismal name Æthelstan. The weight of the coins continued the standard of earlier East Anglian coins, and the early coins copy the Carolingian Temple design employed by the previous client kings of East Anglia, Æthelred and Oswald following the Norse conquest of the kingdom.²¹⁹ The use of this Carolingian design by Anglo-Saxon client kings of the Norse, unlike the independent kings of Wessex and Mercia who did not use the Temple design,²²⁰ strengthens the likelihood that some of those in the great army had previously been active in northern Francia, and that they may have been involved in the

²¹⁴ Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 329.

²¹⁵ For the brooch see Besteman, ‘Two Viking hoards’, p. 95.

²¹⁶ Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 68-73; Grierson, ‘The Gold Solidus of Louis the Pious and its Imitations’, pp. 11, 34.

²¹⁷ Blackburn, ‘Gold in England during the ‘Age of Silver’’, p. 72.

²¹⁸ At least the two that can be dated are thought to be pre-850. These are Near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, c. 825-850, *Ibid*; one found in the New Forest, Hampshire and dated c. 825-850, as reported in 2009 in the PAS Database: http://finds.org.uk/index.php/database/search/results/mint_id/1393/ruler/465/format/xml [accessed December 8, 2010]. Archbishop Wigmund of York (c. 810-40) issued his own version of the solidus, and a cut quarter of an official solidus of Louis the Pious has also been found, Blackburn, ‘Gold in England during the ‘Age of Silver’’, p. 72. These finds also suggest that any imitation *solidi* made in England are likely to have been earlier than the arrival of the great army.

²¹⁹ Mark Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1: Guthrum and the Earliest Danelaw Coinages. Presidential Address 2004’, *The British Numismatic Journal* 75 (2005), pp. 22 & 26.

²²⁰ Ceolwulf II also did not use the Temple design, suggesting that he may have had more independence than the East Anglian client kings, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

design of the new coinage. It is possible that either the Norse asked the moneyers to use the design, or some of the moneyers themselves had been in England with the great army and were not as familiar with post 864/9 Frankish coinage. The Temple design was current before a reform by Charles the Bald in 864, extended to Lotharingia in 869, and the seven Carolingian coins found in the Croydon hoard of c. 872 were of the Temple design, demonstrating that members of the great army were familiar with the coinage.²²¹ Two of the moneyers of the East Anglian client kings had previously minted coins for Edmund of East Anglia.²²² Consequently, the suggestion by Gareth Williams that there was ‘complete discontinuity in the coinage’ of East Anglia appears difficult to sustain, and instead Blackburn considers that there was ‘continuity of minting in East Anglia through the 870s and 880s.’²²³

The numismatic connection with Francia is also seen in other aspects of the design of Guthrum’s coinage. It actually includes the mint name Quentovic and probably used official reverse dies produced after 864 from this north Frankish mint.²²⁴ This suggests that the dies were either obtained by the Norse in a raid, or that a moneyer formerly working at Quentovic brought them to England.²²⁵ Blackburn has also suggested that a gold penny found in Norfolk with a reverse using a rusty but official die from Chartres from c. 870-5 was struck in East Anglia.²²⁶

Furthermore, it has long been recognised that the moneyers involved in the ninth-century Norse coinage appear to have been immigrants, representing a major change. A number of the moneyers’ names for the coinage were Frankish, and this trend increased with the St Edmund memorial coinage issued after Guthrum’s death.²²⁷ Of the known moneyers on the Horizontal coinage of Guthrum, three had OE names, two had Continental

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30. For the change in Carolingian coin design see Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 232. Lotharingia was the kingdom ruled by Lothar until his death in 869. Including Frisia and modern-day Belgium, it contained Quentovic and Dorestad, and the Norse fief.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²²³ Williams, ‘Kingship, Christianity and Coinage’, p. 199; Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1’, pp. 33-4.

²²⁴ Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1’, p. 26.

²²⁵ Although now in north-east France the site of Quentovic, near modern Étampes, was in a Low German speaking area, indicated by the modern name being derived from Dutch. For the location see Map 2, p. 17.

²²⁶ Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1’, p. 27.

²²⁷ Herbert A. Grueber & Charles Francis Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, Vol. II, Wessex and England to the Norman Conquest* (William Clowes & Sons, London, 1893), p. xliii.

Germanic names, and one had an ON name.²²⁸ By the time of the St Edmund coinage, produced from c. 890-c. 905, there were two or three ON names, eleven OE, and over sixty, or almost 83%, with Continental Germanic names.²²⁹

Obviously moneyers' names do not necessarily reflect their heritage, and it is possible that certain names became fashionable for people involved in minting. Considering the similarities of the languages it is also possible that some of the Continental names may be Anglo-Saxon.²³⁰ However the significant proportion of Continental Germanic moneyers' names is difficult to ignore, especially as they were not so prevalent in earlier Anglo-Saxon coinage, and as they primarily occur in the areas of Norse settlement.²³¹ Veronica Smart suggests that the names represent 'a large influx of first-generation immigrants from the Continent'.²³² Analysis by Smart has demonstrated that most of the Continental names of the moneyers of the early Norse coinage occur in west Frankish sources, suggesting that most of the moneyers came from the region of modern France, with one name probably being Low German.²³³ Despite this it is possible that moneyers with typically west Frankish names were working in mints in Low German areas, or that west Frankish names had not become fashionable amongst moneyers.

A Frankish connection also emerges from other early coinages in the Norse settlement areas. Coins minted in Norse Mercia used the East Anglian weight standard and at least one of the moneyers, Winiger, has a Continental Germanic name.²³⁴ Coinage was not introduced to Norse Northumbria until c. 895 and when it was the style of the coins had more Carolingian than Anglo-Saxon parallels, again suggesting that Frankish moneyers

²²⁸ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 31.

²²⁹ Veronica Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', *Hikuin* 11 (1985), p. 88. Smart's list of moneyers' names includes 68 that are probably Continental Germanic which, when added to three ON names and eleven OE, gives a ratio of 68/82, or 82.9%. The differences in the ratio of moneyers' names of the Guthrum and St Edmund coins may be illusory as many more St Edmund coins are known, largely due to the Cuerdale hoard.

²³⁰ Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', p. 88. Smart posits that up to twelve names out of the more than sixty, could fit this category.

²³¹ For an overview of moneyers names on Anglo-Saxon coinage see Veronica Smart, 'Scandinavians, Celts, and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of moneyers' names', in M.A.S. Blackburn, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1986), pp. 171-84.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²³³ Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', pp. 84-9.

²³⁴ M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard and the Currency of the Southern Danelaw in the Late Ninth Century', *British Numismatic Journal* 59 (1989), pp. 17 & 19; Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', p. 87. He struck imitation coins of Alfred, St Edmund memorial coins, and official coins of Edward the Elder (r. 899-924).

were involved.²³⁵ In particular, some of the coins were based on the designs used on Charles the Simple's (r. 897-922) coinage in western Francia.²³⁶ There was also an imitation early tenth century coin issue from either Norse Mercia or Norse Northumbria other than York, which gives the mint name of Quentovic.²³⁷

There have been suggestions that some Franks were part of the great army, or that they were brought to England as captives, or that the Franks involved were already in East Anglia as traders.²³⁸ Although Veronica Smart favours the latter proposal, the lead trial piece found at Torksey would be consistent with some Franks being with the great army during the campaigning period. Perhaps a more plausible suggestion is that moneyers were invited to England by the Norse in the settlement period, being what migration theory refers to as career migrants, migrating for the sake of career and financial gain.²³⁹ Members of the great army may have had some direct involvement with minting in the 870s when the client kings of East Anglia and Mercia produced coins, but it cannot be known if they specifically ordered minting, and it is possible that the client kings were simply continuing the practices of their predecessors, with the approval of the great army. However four of the six known coins of Æthelred and Oswald use a Carolingian Temple design, based on the coins of Emperor Louis II (855-875), with only two using the design of the earlier East Anglian coinage of Edmund.²⁴⁰ The decision to use this design is an obvious break with continuity and could represent early Norse influence on the coinage. Once the Norse settled East Anglia it is likely that Guthrum wanted to rule as an Anglo-Saxon christian king, and the issuing of coins in his baptismal name was part of this role. There is an argument that however the numismatic evidence is read, it suggests that some of the great army had spent a significant time in northern Francia, particularly Frisia, before coming to England.

²³⁵ Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed., p. 101; Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 321.

²³⁶ M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York', in R.A. Hall, D.W. Rollason, M. Blackburn, D.N. Parsons, G. Fellows-Jensen, A.R. Hall, H.K. Kenward, T.P. O'Connor, D. Tweddle, A.J. Mainman & N.S.H. Rogers, *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, The Archaeology of York, 8 (Council For British Archaeology, York, 2004), pp. 330-1.

²³⁷ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 27.

²³⁸ Grueber & Francis Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, pp. xlv-xlv; Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', p. 89.

²³⁹ Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', p. 89; Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 32. For a discussion of a recent example of career migration see Katherine Stovel & Mike Savage, 'Mergers and Mobility: Organizational Growth and the Origins of Career Migration at Lloyds Bank', *American Journal of Sociology* 111:4 (2006), pp. 1080-1121.

²⁴⁰ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', pp. 24-5. This was the number of coins known in 2005.

Which mints produced the Carolingian coins found in England may provide some clues to the parts of Francia from which the great army and other early Norse settlers had arrived. If a number of Carolingian coins found in England came from a particular mint, it may be assumed that they were obtained in the general area of the mint.²⁴¹ In likely chronological order, the earliest hoard during the campaigning period of the great army, that found at Coney Street, York, is something of a dilemma. Although the hoard has a provisional dating of c. 865, the year before the Norse conquered York, it may represent coins brought to England by a member of the great army.²⁴² Indeed, an earlier review of Carolingian coins gave a date of c. 870 for the hoard.²⁴³ Along with Northumbrian stycas the hoard included at least four *denarii*, two each in the names of Louis the Pious (r. 806-840) and Lothar I (r. 840-855), although the coins may have been minted after their deaths.²⁴⁴ Both of Lothar's coins had badly blundered inscriptions and were minted at Dorestad, the trading centre he had granted to Roric in 850.²⁴⁵ It is not known how directly involved in minting the Norse were, but the dramatic fall in literacy rates apparent in coins produced at Dorestad whilst it was under Norse control has been attributed to their influence.²⁴⁶ It is possible that the Coney Street hoard was deposited by a member of the great army who had resided in Frisia.²⁴⁷ Unfortunately there are problems identifying the mints of the seven deniers in the Croydon hoard of c. 872, except that they and the fragments of a denier of Louis the Pious found in Talnotrie, Dunfries and Galloway, Scotland, are likely to have been minted north of the Alps.²⁴⁸ Another hoard that could relate to the great army that included deniers for which the mint is not known is the

²⁴¹ Blackburn attempted to apply this principle in Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard', pp. 22-3.

²⁴² Blackburn & Pagan, 'A revised check-list of coin hoards from the British Isles c. 500-1100', p. 293.

²⁴³ R.H.M. Dolley & K.F. Morrison, 'Finds of Carolingian Coins from Great Britain and Ireland', *British Numismatic Journal* 32 (1963), No. 6, p. 78.

²⁴⁴ Michael Dolley, 'New Light on the pre-1760 Coney Street (York) Find of Coins of the Duurstede Mint', *Jaarboek Voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 52/53 (1965-6), pp. 2 & 4.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', pp. 29-30; Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 96.

²⁴⁷ Dolley, 'New Light on the pre-1760 Coney Street (York) Find of Coins of the Duurstede Mint', p. 5.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 10, p. 79, & 85. The Talnotrie hoard also included included small pieces of Anglo-Saxon metal work, a weight with an Insular mount attached to the top, a gold ring, pennies of Burgred of Mercia, Northumbrian stycas including issues by Archbishop Wulfhere and Osberht, and two Arabic dirhems. It may have been associated with Haldan's raids on Strathclyde in 874-5. Although it is often not associated with Norse activity, Griffiths (*Vikings of the Irish Sea*, pp. 101-2) notes that if the hoard had been found in Ireland it would be. For the hoard see *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland*, 'Canmore' website, <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/63576/details/talnotrie/> [accessed August 31, 2009]; Dolley & Morrison, 'Finds of Carolingian Coins from Great Britain and Ireland', No. 7, p. 78.

Gravesend hoard of c. 871 on the coast of Kent.²⁴⁹ The hoard from Laxfield, Suffolk of c. 878 included six Carolingian coins, one from Rouen but the rest from further north, from Laon in Picardie, northern France, Quentovic, Nivelles, and Saint-Géry, the latter two in modern-day Belgium.²⁵⁰ The hoards above may be thought to include coins brought to England by members of the great army, and in this context it is important to note that most of the coins for which the mints are known came from northern Francia, primarily Frisia and the coastal area to its west.²⁵¹

There are also a number of single finds of coins that are pertinent to this discussion. Unlike coins deliberately hidden as part of a hoard, the loss of individual coins are more likely to result from trade and other peaceful means of exchange, rather than from activity directly related to Norse armies, and it is therefore not surprising that the single coin finds return a different outcome.²⁵² Of the Carolingian coins found in the Norse settlement areas minted prior to the arrival of the great army and for which the mints are known, a coin of Lothar I found at Wangford in Suffolk was minted at Dorestad, whilst another found at Settle, North Yorkshire, is described as being of Dorestad Temple type. Two pre-864 coins of Charles the Bald, found at York Minster and Ipswich, were minted at Quentovic.²⁵³ Other early coins of Charles not from northern Francia were those minted at Troyes found on Canvey Island, Essex, a coin from Orléans found at Tibenham, Norfolk, and a coin from Shotesham, Norfolk which was minted at Rouen.²⁵⁴ This data of single Carolingian coin losses provides a result of three coins from northern Francia, three from elsewhere, and one probably from northern Francia.

²⁴⁹ It included recent coins from East Anglia, Mercia, and Wessex, with a single denier of Louis the Pious, plus a silver pendant cross. As the coins had been bent it is thought that they had been tested for their silver content, and were probably deposited whilst the great army wintered in London in 870-1, James Graham-Campbell, 'The Dual Economy of the Danelaw. The Howard Linecar Memorial Lecture 2001', *The British Numismatic Journal* 71 (2002), p. 54 and references therein.

²⁵⁰ Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard', p. 22.

²⁵¹ For a map of the Carolingian mint locations see Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, maps 208-10, pp. 124-5.

²⁵² Story, *Carolingian Connections*, p. 250. As Story notes, the Norse could have also been part of the peaceful means of exchange.

²⁵³ These single finds are listed at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/search.php> [accessed November 16, 2009].

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Two coins found at South Pickenham, Norfolk, and Chigwell, Essex, were minted at Melle, but due to the difficulties of distinguishing these coins from those of Charlemagne also minted at Melle it is possible that they were not minted by Charles the Bald, *Ibid.* The coins of Charlemagne and Charles the Bald from Melle used the same mint name and KAROLVS monogram, Story, *Carolingian Connections*, fn. 160, p. 250.

The mints producing Carolingian coins that may be associated with the Norse appears to have changed after the Norse settled. Four specimens of post-Temple coinage were found in the Ashdon hoard of c. 895, and there is a concentration of this later Carolingian coinage in northern East Anglia centred on the hinterland of Norwich and probably lost there in the last quarter of the ninth century.²⁵⁵ As Blackburn notes, the sample from the Ashdon and Stamford, Lincolnshire, hoards [even with three additional single finds] is too small to argue strongly in favour of a link between them and the 890s army,²⁵⁶ and the same caution should be exercised with those associated with the great army. However that ten of the fourteen Carolingian coins minted before Norse settlement commenced for which the mint is known are from northern Francia suggest a connection.²⁵⁷

Of the places the Norse settled immediately prior to c. 880 and the start of the Norse coinage in England, Frisia is the only one that was producing coins. Norse groups were familiar with coinage from a number of areas, including Francia, England, and the Arab world, but they primarily used it as part of a bullion economy.²⁵⁸ However in Frisia official Frankish coins were being produced at Dorestad whilst it was under Norse control, perhaps as late as 855.²⁵⁹ Indeed, Norse finds including an oval brooch in debris layers within the settlement could suggest a settled Norse group at Dorestad.²⁶⁰ It would also appear that imitation coins, such as the *solidus* of Louis the Pious, were produced in Norse-controlled

²⁵⁵ Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard', p. 22; Story, *Carolingian Connections*, p. 253.

²⁵⁶ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/search.php> [accessed November 16, 2009]. The four coins of Charles the Bald in the Ashdon hoard (c. 895) have an origin in the area of Rouen and Paris, as does the one from the Stamford hoard (c. 890), Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard', p. 22. The two later single coin finds, of Odo and either Louis II or III, and found near Royston, Hertfordshire, and South Kyme, Lincolnshire, respectively, were both minted at Tours, west of Paris. The only single find of a coin minted by Charles the Bald after 864 for which the mint is known was found at Garboldisham, Norfolk, and came from the mint at St Denis, near Paris, as listed at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/search.php> [accessed November 16, 2009].

²⁵⁷ Only the coins with whose mint attribution appears certain have been included in this total. For example, the two probable coins of Charles the Bald from Melle have not been included.

²⁵⁸ See for example Märit Gaimster, 'Viking Economies: Evidence from the Silver Hoards', in J. Graham-Campbell & G. Williams, eds., *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, pp. 123-33. Williams also suggests that members of the great army were familiar with coinage through raiding Francia, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 196.

²⁵⁹ Besteman, 'Two Viking Hoards', p. 103; Simon Coupland, 'Trading Places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed', *Early Medieval Europe* 11:3 (2002), p. 226, reprinted in Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage and the Vikings*.

²⁶⁰ IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, pp. 73-4. There were also two silver arm-rings found in graves.

Frisia at an even later date.²⁶¹ Additionally, Coupland has suggested that other imitation coins of Louis the Pious, as well as Lothar I, found in Frisian hoards were minted by the Norse under Roric.²⁶² Furthermore an imitation coin in the Cuerdale hoard with the legend DORESTATVS could be another Frisian product.²⁶³ Thus Frisia is the only place in the Norse world in the mid-ninth century where a Norse group is likely to have had direct knowledge of both minting and moneyers. Even if the Norse in Frisia were not directly involved in minting, they are likely to have become familiar with using coinage in transactions there as Frisia was still part of the monetised economy of Francia.²⁶⁴ That Carolingian coins were available to the Norse in Frisia is demonstrated by the two Norse hoards found on the former island of Wieringen, dated to c. 850 and c. 880. Both included hacksilver and Arabic coins, but they also included Carolingian coins, with the proportion of coins to hacksilver greater in the later hoard. It is interesting to note that the dirhems had been tested, but not the Carolingian coins.²⁶⁵ This suggests a growing familiarity with and importance of coinage to the Norse, and perhaps an acceptance of the quality of Carolingian coins. The appearance of Carolingian coins in the later hoard, after production at the Dorestad mint had stopped, suggests that they continued to be available in Frisia.

The Norse in eastern England also attracted Frankish potters, another group that probably represent career migrants. Prior to Norse settlement Anglo-Saxon pottery, where it was used at all, was generally made using fifth-century technology, except at Ipswich where kilns and tournettes were in use.²⁶⁶ However, both the techniques used in ceramic

²⁶¹ For a brief review of the possible Norse involvement in minting in Frisia see Jens C. Moesgaard, 'Vikings on the Continent: The numismatic evidence', in I.S. Klæsøe, ed., *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe* (Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen, 2010), pp. 124-5.

²⁶² Simon Coupland, 'Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Hoards in Ninth-Century Frisia', in B. Cook & G. Williams, eds., *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. 500-1250. Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*. The Northern World, vol. 19 (Brill, Leiden, 2006), p. 255.

²⁶³ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 28. Blackburn notes that the coins weight makes a Continental origin likely. (Ibid). The legend appears to represent Dorestad, and as Dorestad was in Frisia a Frisian origin may be suggested.

²⁶⁴ However the volume of Carolingian coinage in Frisia dramatically decreased when the Dorestad mint stopped production, perhaps prompting the unofficial minting in Frisia, Coupland, 'Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea', pp. 252-5.

²⁶⁵ This could suggest that the Carolingian coins were trusted. For the testing see Besteman, 'Two Viking Hoards', pp. 99-100. For other silver finds from Wieringen see IJssennagger, *Friends, Vassals or Foes*, p. 70.

²⁶⁶ Alan Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques of Late 9th and 10th Century Wheelthrown Pottery in England and their Origins', in D. Piton, ed., *Travaux du Groupe de Recherches et d'Études sur la Céramique dans le Nord – Pas-de-Calais. Actes du colloque d'outreau (10-12 Avril 1992)*. Numéro hors-série de Nord-Ouest Archéologie (Groupe de Recherches et d'Études sur la Céramique dans le Nord, Pas-de-Calais et le Centre de Recherches Archéologiques et de Diffusion Culturelle, 1993), p. 154.

production and the appearance of the products changed dramatically in the areas of Norse settlement before 900, indicating an input of new ideas and almost certainly of personnel. The most important technical development was the use of a true potter's wheel (as opposed to the tournettes used at Ipswich), but the later ninth century also witnessed the use of glaze, paint, kilns (previously used only at Ipswich), and a wire to remove a pot from the wheel.²⁶⁷ Roller-stamping decoration was also used only by potters in the Norse settlement areas.²⁶⁸ It had been thought that the use of the potter's wheel had begun at Ipswich in the early ninth century and then spread elsewhere, but this is not supported by excavations. Instead Ipswich appears to have received the technology from other sites in England at a later date.²⁶⁹ Mainman suggests that the new York ware pottery could have been a local development once the potter's wheel had been adopted, but this position is not upheld by Alan Vince's review of pottery production.²⁷⁰ Instead, he posits that such a sudden improvement in technology and the competence with which it was executed is more likely to be due to 'the introduction of new technology by skilled craftsmen than... the adoption of techniques by natives'.²⁷¹ Although the introduction of the new techniques is dated 'Mid-late ninth century',²⁷² this is unlikely to have occurred before the arrival of the great army in 865, as the correlation between the pottery and Norse activities appears too close to be mere coincidence. As Sawyer suggests, the potters were probably under the protection of the Norse, and the Norse conquests allowed the conservatism of the established pottery industries to be overcome.²⁷³ Furthermore, archaeological evidence from Lincoln suggests that the new pottery industry there did not begin before the great army arrived in England.²⁷⁴ That the late ninth and early tenth-century pottery made by the arguably immigrant potters is generally of better quality than that produced from the mid-tenth century greatly strengthens this position.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; A.J. Mainman, *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from Coppergate*. The Archaeology of York: The Pottery 16/5 (York Archaeological Trust, York, 1990), pp. 408-9.

²⁷¹ Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques', p. 161.

²⁷² See for example *Ibid.*

²⁷³ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 180.

²⁷⁴ Jane Young & Alan Vince, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Lincoln*. Lincoln Archaeological Studies 7 (Oxbow, Oxford, 2005), p. 238.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47; Leigh A. Symonds, *Landscape and Social Practice: The production and consumption of pottery in 10th Century Lincolnshire*. BAR British Series 345 (B.A.R., Oxford, 2003), p. 68.

Significantly, the earliest places to begin using these new techniques in the mid to late ninth century were York, Lincoln, Stamford, and Torksey.²⁷⁶ These were all urban or proto-urban places within the early Norse settlement zone. From these places the new techniques first spread in the late ninth century to other centres within the areas of Norse settlement, for example Northampton and some sites producing East Anglian grey sandy wares, such as Thetford and Norwich, before then being adopted elsewhere in England from the early tenth century.²⁷⁷ In some instances it can be demonstrated that a potter from one area introduced the technique to another, for example at Northampton where someone from Stamford was probably responsible for the new pottery.²⁷⁸ But in other places the new techniques may have been adopted by the existing potters.²⁷⁹

The technology used to produce pottery in the Norse settlement areas in the latter ninth century had been available on the Continent for centuries, making its sudden appearance in areas of Norse settlement significant.²⁸⁰ By comparing the techniques used and the finished products Kathy Kilmurry demonstrated that the pottery industry at Stamford was established by potters probably from present-day northern France and southern Belgium.²⁸¹ This area is directly west along the coast from Frisia and included Quentovic, the origin of the official mint die used on Guthrum's coinage. This suggests that Frankish potters and moneyers were emigrating from the same area to Norse-controlled England.²⁸² This immigration need not have been large, with Kilmurry apparently suggesting that the earliest pottery at Stamford could have been the work of a single potter.²⁸³ The new technology could have been introduced by a small number of immigrants at York, Stamford, Lincoln and Torksey, or indeed by one or two very busy potters visiting all of those places.

²⁷⁶ Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques', p. 161; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 180; Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire, in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*, p. 27.

²⁷⁷ Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques', pp. 156 & 161.

²⁷⁸ Due to the close similarity of wasters found during excavations, *Ibid.*, p. 161.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 180.

²⁸¹ Kathy Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford, Lincs. c.A.D. 850-1250. Its Manufacture, Trade and Relationship with Continental Wares with a Classification and Chronology*. BAR British Series 84 (B.A.R., Oxford, 1980), pp. 177-95.

²⁸² Lauren Adams Gilmour does not posit a specific origin for potters introducing new techniques to Lincoln but does note that they were probably 'foreign', *Early Medieval Pottery from Flaxengate, Lincoln*. The Archaeology of Lincoln, Vol. XVII-2 (Council for British Archaeology, London, 1988), p. 177.

²⁸³ For example she refers to 'The Stamford potter', or 'the potter' four times on *Ibid.*, p. 192. That the earliest kiln was small may also suggest a single potter.

It is possible that some of these immigrant potters began producing goods in England after the arrival of the great army but before the Norse settlements recorded in the ASC. The new pottery types of York ware, Torksey-type ware, and York 'd' ware, were present at Coppergate in York from the beginning of Period 3, which is dated 850 to 900 and saw the reoccupation of the site for probably the first time since c. 400 AD.²⁸⁴ However these types were not present from Period 3 at Fishergate in York, a site that was 'unlikely to have been occupied long after the Viking capture of York in AD 866'.²⁸⁵ This suggests that the new pottery went into production in the late 860s at the earliest, and quite probably after the Norse conquest of York in late 866, if not after the recorded Norse settlement of Northumbria in 876. Torksey ware has also been found in stratified deposits at Flaxengate, Lincoln, dated to the second half of the ninth century, and it is possible that the industry at Torksey began with the winter camp of 872-3.²⁸⁶ Production at Stamford was present in the earliest levels of the Norse town, 'which could have been transitional between the period of Viking raids and their sharing out of the land', that is, between the arrival of the great army in 865 and the division of Mercia in 877.²⁸⁷ Stamford ware was also found in the earliest Anglo-Norse levels in Lincoln.²⁸⁸ The use of glaze on pottery, a new technique introduced to England, began in Lincoln before the earliest structures at Flaxengate, dated c. 870/80-900, were erected, whilst wasters of other Lincoln vessels were found under the first road surface at Flaxengate.²⁸⁹ These finds make it possible that foreign potters were active in Lincoln before the recorded settlement of eastern Mercia by members of the great army. Once the Norse had conquered a kingdom Frankish potters may have felt secure enough to establish themselves in the client kingdom, especially if some Norse remained.²⁹⁰ Although Torksey was in Lindsey, a part of Mercia, a kingdom not conquered until 873-4, Torksey

²⁸⁴ R.A. Hall, 'Archaeological Introduction', in A.J. Mainman, *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from Coppergate*, (York Archaeological Trust, York, 1990), p. 381; Mainman, *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from Coppergate*, pp. 487, 512.

²⁸⁵ A.J. Mainman, *Pottery from 46-54 Fishergate*. The Archaeology of York: The Pottery 16/6 (York Archaeological Trust, York, 1993), pp. 550, 650-1 (quote p. 550).

²⁸⁶ Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire, in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*, pp. 27 & 39; Young and Vince, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Lincoln*, p. 90.

²⁸⁷ Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford*, pp. 145, 176, 201-2.

²⁸⁸ Young and Vince, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Lincoln*, p. 71.

²⁸⁹ Adams Gilmour, *Early Medieval Pottery from Flaxengate, Lincoln*, pp. 58, 102 & 119; Young and Vince, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Lincoln*, p. 42.

²⁹⁰ For example some women, children and warriors. The client kings and kingdoms will be the focus of the following chapter.

and Lindsey presumably were in Norse control from 872-3, with the finds from Torksey suggesting a continuation of trading activity beyond the time of the winter camp.²⁹¹

Alan Vince favours an increase in population density at places like York, Lincoln and Stamford creating larger markets to explain the migration of potters from Francia, and makes little mention of the Norse conquests and settlement.²⁹² Yet this ignores the evidence from Stamford where pottery sherds, and indeed a kiln, were associated with the earliest phase of the Norse town, which may not have had an immediate precursor.²⁹³ Furthermore, the earliest kiln at Stamford is small, which may be due to the number of pots required also being small.²⁹⁴ This does not appear to support the notion of Continental potters arriving solely due to larger markets. Vince also notes that the technology spread out from the east and north-east coasts of England, 'whereas the Thames valley, East Anglia and the southeast of England were in closer contact with the Frankish empire in the early to mid 9th century'.²⁹⁵ Furthermore East Anglia and southeast England were also geographically closer, especially to the Stamford potter/s who had come from present-day northern France and southern Belgium, so if potters were acting on their own initiative it is surprising that they did not move to those areas. This again points to the actions of the Norse being the catalyst for the introduction of Continental potters and new pottery technologies in England. Hall acknowledges the Norse impetus to the pottery industry but suggests that they created favourable conditions for Continental potters to immigrate to England rather than the Norse being directly involved,²⁹⁶ but these possibilities are not mutually exclusive. That the potters appear to have come from northern Francia rather than other areas in Francia producing pottery, such as the Rhineland, suggests that the potters had already had some experience with the Norse based in those areas. Studies of migrations have demonstrated that migrants are most likely to move to areas about which they have information, and in this instance the information probably came from Norse groups who were already known to the potters through contact in northern Francia.

²⁹¹ Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*, p. 40.

²⁹² Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques', pp. 161-2.

²⁹³ Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford*, pp. 145, 176. Stamford first appears historically in Æthelweard's entry for 894, well after Norse settlement in the area, *Ibid.*, p. 146; Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 51.

²⁹⁴ Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford*, p. 192.

²⁹⁵ Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques', p. 162.

²⁹⁶ Richard Hall, *Viking Age York* (B.T. Batsford, London, 1994), p. 88.

Why Frankish-style pottery would suddenly be introduced to the areas settled by the Norse rather than, for example, during the eighth or earlier ninth century, is worthy of consideration. As with minting coinage, the Norse in Ireland and the Scandinavian homelands had no experience of producing the sophisticated pottery available in eastern England from the latter ninth century. Sawyer suggests that ‘Having become familiar with this high quality pottery during their campaigns in Francia, they apparently preferred it to English pottery and ensured a supply by importing potters who could make it’.²⁹⁷ Yet it is questionable how familiar the Norse on campaign, with the associated battles and relocations, would have become with pottery, and a settled group of Norse in Francia, like those in control of Frisia, may be thought to have become even more familiar with Frankish pottery. No glazed pottery was recovered from excavations at Dorestad, but it is possible that glazed pottery found on the island of Walcheren and elsewhere in Frisia is from the late Carolingian period.²⁹⁸ More certain is the presence of red painted Badorf-type ware in Dorestad during the ninth century, and indeed since the eighth century.²⁹⁹ This suggests that the Norse resident in Frisia were familiar with at least some of the types of pottery later introduced into eastern England.

There is evidence that the connection with northern Francia continued after the initial Norse had settled. The most immediate link was the two armies that arrived in England in 892. One is described as having come from the East Kingdom of Francia, the area including Saxony and parts of Frisia, before embarking from Boulogne, presumably modern-day Boulogne-sur-Mer in the Pas-de-Calais on the border with Belgium in north-eastern France.³⁰⁰ The location of the other army before arriving in England is not recorded, but its leader Hæsten had previously been at Amiens in Picardie on the River Somme, northern France.³⁰¹ It is not known if there was any specific connection between these armies and the earlier Norse settlers. They arrived in England almost thirty years after the great army and belonged to a later generation. Yet considering this, the assistance offered to

²⁹⁷ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 180.

²⁹⁸ Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford*, pp. 181 & 3. W.C. Braat, ‘Early Medieval Glazed Pottery in Holland’, *Medieval Archaeology* 15 (1971), pp. 112-4. Unfortunately the dating is not secure.

²⁹⁹ Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford*, p. 188.

³⁰⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 893 [892], p. 84.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, & fn. 7, p. 84; F. Amory, ‘The Viking Hasting in Franco-Scandinavian Legend’, in M.H. King & W.M. Stevens, eds., *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones* (Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1979), p. 271.

this later army was considerable and suggests a stronger connection than a shared culture and language.³⁰² The number of Carolingian coins discussed above that were found in the Norse settlement areas and postdate the arrival of the great army likewise suggest continued links with northern Francia.

There is also other archaeological evidence suggesting that a connection between the settled Norse in England and northern Francia was maintained. Finds from York are consistent with trade between the town and modern-day Germany and the Netherlands. Brooches and chevron and dyed cloths came from Frisia, whilst lava quernstones came from the Mayen region on the Rhine, an area from which Pingsdorf type and Badorf type pottery also came.³⁰³ Wine is also thought to have been imported from the Rhineland.³⁰⁴ Products from the Rhine area immediately south of Frisia are quite likely to have travelled through Frisia on their way to England. Indeed Hall suggests that Frisians may have also acted as middlemen in the trade between Scandinavia and York from the ninth to eleventh centuries.³⁰⁵ However the mention of Frisian traders in the vicinity of York in the *Life of St. Liudger*, and the Carolingian coins found at Torksey from a similar time indicate that the trade route had already flourished without Norse involvement, and they may not have been essential to it continuing.³⁰⁶

Although the evidence that some members of the great army had arrived in England from northern Francia is not as strong as it is for Norse involvement from Ireland, there is enough to suggest that it did occur. The information in Frankish annals about Norse fleets leaving the Seine in 866 makes it possible that some of them participated in the attack on York. However the earliest text that actually states that part of the great army came from Francia is from the eleventh century and it cannot be certain if this information was drawn from an earlier text or had survived as oral tradition, and indeed if the information is accurate. Yet the non-documentary evidence, including the import of Carolingian coins and the use of Frankish moneyers and potters supports the notion of early Norse settlers

³⁰² The 890s army appear to have had free access to the Norse settlement areas during the campaigns, and were also given military assistance. Swanton, *ASC*, 893-6, pp. 84-9.

³⁰³ Hall, *Viking Age York*, pp. 84-5; Mainman, *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from Coppergate*, p. 479. However it is not certain that the pottery was imported as early as the late ninth century.

³⁰⁴ Richard Hall, 'York', in S. Brink with N. Price, eds., *The Viking World*, p. 382.

³⁰⁵ Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes', p. 315.

³⁰⁶ See also Callmer, 'Scandinavia and the Continent', p. 440. Despite the possibility of Frisian traders residing in England, that Frankish potters appear at the same time as the Norse makes it unlikely that they were merely part of this trading community.

emigrating from Francia. Indeed, that both the moneyers and potters operating in the new Norse kingdoms immediately after settlement were from northern Francia is likely to be more than mere coincidence. There is also some support for the information from the *HSC* that some of them came from the Norse benefice of Frisia, especially in place-names and the mints from which the Carolingian coinage in hoards associated with the great army were struck.

Norse from the Scandinavian homelands

Whilst the evidence suggests that many members of the great army and early Norse settlers emigrated from Ireland and northern Francia, it is also possible that some arrived directly from Scandinavia. Perhaps the best indication of this is the cremation barrow cemetery at Heath Wood, which probably held at least sixty people.³⁰⁷ Despite some possible indications, there are currently no definite Norse cremations of humans known from Ireland, although some animal cremations from a Norse context are known, and certainly nothing to compare to a cremation barrow cemetery.³⁰⁸ Since archaeological evidence for the Norse in northern Francia is scant, it is perhaps no surprise that there are also no Norse cremations known there.³⁰⁹ It would be surprising however for Norse settlers in England to create a cremation barrow cemetery if they were not already familiar with the tradition. Although Richards suggests that the Anglo-Saxon weaponry indicate a warrior group, ‘but not one which had come straight from Scandinavia’, such objects could have easily been acquired during the campaigns in England.³¹⁰ This increases the possibility that those buried at Heath Wood had come directly from Scandinavia, probably northern Jutland, southern Sweden, or Norway, where there are parallels to the cremation cemetery, rather than Ireland or Francia, unless their stay at either of these places was short.³¹¹ Furthermore, one of the mounds at Heath Wood included a fragment of a silver-wire head-band that has

³⁰⁷ As suggested by Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood’, p. 107. Although this represents a not insignificant number of people, it may have still been only a small proportion of the great army if Roesdahl’s (*The Vikings*, p. 234) estimate of 2-3000 people is accepted.

³⁰⁸ Ó Floinn, ‘The Archaeology of the Early Viking Age in Ireland’, pp. 147-8. There is indirect evidence of cremation at Dublin in the ‘destroyed’ weapons (*Ibid.*, pp. 134-5) and also at Cloghmore Cave where a cremation site may have been found but without evidence of human remains, Connolly & Coyne, *Underworld*, p. 55.

³⁰⁹ Although cremations without barrows, or under destroyed ones, would be difficult to identify.

³¹⁰ Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood’, pp. 105-6, quote p. 105.

³¹¹ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 97, suggests Hiberno-Norse originating in Norway.

parallels in Sweden but not in the British Isles or Ireland.³¹² Yet it is important to note that the Heath Wood cemetery is the only known cremation cemetery in England, and it is thought that the cremations could have all taken place in a very short period of time, perhaps even just a single winter, but probably from 873-878.³¹³ If this was the case the direct involvement of people from the Scandinavian homelands may have been only of short duration. Additionally they may represent a single group of migrants.

As discussed above, the isotope analysis demonstrates that at least some of the Norse had spent their childhoods in the Scandinavian homelands, but this cannot be used as evidence that they had not lived elsewhere before arriving in England. The numismatic evidence for direct migration from the Scandinavian homelands is a single Danish coin minted c. 850 and found in a tenth-century residual context during the Coppergate excavations at York.³¹⁴ Other than the fragment of proto-type broadband arming possibly from Denmark found in the c. 872 Croydon hoard mentioned above, the Norse weights found in late ninth-century England suggest a possible connection with Sweden. At least fifteen of the weights found at Torksey are of the Scandinavian/Islamic type and are very similar to finds from Sweden, and there is also some correlation to a Swedish/Islamic weight standard.³¹⁵ However Sheehan has noted that most of the foreign material found in silver hoards in Ireland is from southern Scandinavia and the Baltic, suggesting that any perceived influence in England from this region is as likely to have come from Ireland as from Scandinavia directly.³¹⁶

As discussed in the previous chapter, some jewellery items found in the Norse settlement areas are likely to have been manufactured in Scandinavia, whilst others have a strong Norse influence and are likely to have been created by the Anglo-Norse community. However the object-forms and motifs employed were too common throughout the Norse world to pinpoint an origin, although it does not exclude the possibility that some of it came with people directly from Scandinavia. Cheaply produced jewellery is found in both the Borre and Jellinge styles. Whilst the Borre style was already current when the great army

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 102; Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', p. 44.

³¹³ Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood', pp. 102, 107.

³¹⁴ E.J.E. Pirie with M.M. Archibald & R.A. Hall, *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971-8*. The Archaeology of York 18 (Council for British Archaeology, London, 1986), coin 45, p. 55. However as minting in Denmark had ceased by 865 the lack of Norse coins is hardly surprising.

³¹⁵ Blackburn, 'Finds From the Anglo-Scandinavian site of Torksey', pp. 95, 98.

³¹⁶ Sheehan, 'Early Viking Age Silver Hoards in Ireland', pp. 184-8.

arrived in England in 865 the Jellinge style began in the late ninth century, so any items in this style would have arrived in England during the settlement period, possibly post 900. That both styles continued to be used until the late tenth century makes it difficult, if not impossible, to know how much of the jewellery can be dated to the period before 900.³¹⁷ For example, a clay mould for a trefoil brooch combining the Borre style with Anglo-Saxon animal motifs was found in York with pottery of the late tenth or early eleventh centuries.³¹⁸ By 2007 only eight artefacts in the Jellinge style have been found in Lindsey compared to fifty nine Borre objects.³¹⁹ This may indicate that much of this jewellery arrived with early settlers before the Jellinge style became popular, but this hypothesis cannot be tested. However a distribution map of Borre objects in England provides some support to the thesis as they are almost exclusively found in the areas of Norse settlement prior to 900, whereas later Ringerike/Urness-related objects have a wider distribution pattern.³²⁰ An example of an object that may have been imported by a member of the great army is a copper-alloy brooch with the gripping beast motif found at the Torksey site, but as it has no parallels it cannot be certain where it was made.³²¹ The discovery of a die for making Jellinge-style foils at Ketsby, Lincolnshire, and the use of Anglo-Saxon pin settings on many of the Norse brooches, cautions against the assumption that all of the Norse jewellery found in England was made in Scandinavia.³²²

There are a number of weapons from Scandinavia found in England that may have accompanied warriors prior to 900, but any attempt to use the origin of weapons as the origin of a migration chain are difficult to sustain. For example, the suggestion by Redmond that the discovery of Petersen Type M swords in Norse burials at Repton, Ormside, Westmoreland, and Rampside, Lancashire could suggest that those in these burials originated in north-east Norway where the sword type is most common should now

³¹⁷ Leahy, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, p. 167.

³¹⁸ Hall, *Viking Age York*, p. 110.

³¹⁹ Leahy, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, p. 167.

³²⁰ For the map see Richards & Naylor, 'The metal detector and the Viking Age in England', Fig. 32.5, p. 347, and p. 350 for discussion.

³²¹ Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2005/6, pp. 69-70, available at <http://www.finds.org.uk/documents/report06.pdf> [accessed March 10, 2010].

³²² For example, Borre-style convex disc brooches found in eastern England which 'are indistinguishable from their Scandinavian counterparts', except for the pin fitting, Kershaw, 'Culture and Gender in the Danelaw', p. 310. For the die see Leahy, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, p. 168.

be discounted after the isotope analysis of the Repton burial.³²³ As weapons could be gained through trade, gift exchange, and the spoils of battle, they cannot be used as a firm indication of the origin of their owner.

There is some evidence of contact between England and Scandinavia following Norse settlement. Metalwork found in England in the Ringerike (c. 980-1070) and Urnes (c. 1050-1100) styles demonstrate that people in eastern England kept up with the fashions in Scandinavia, suggesting that some form of contact was maintained.³²⁴ However by the times these styles were current it is more appropriate to speak of an Anglo-Norse than Norse population in England, and the contact maintained may have simply been through established trade routes. Alternatively, the Ringerike objects could have been brought to England by new Norse settlers following Knut's ascension to the throne in 1016. Indeed, as many of the items in the Ringerike style are harness fittings from stirrups and strap ends it is possible that they came to England with the armies of Knut's father Svein and then Knut himself.³²⁵ There are also some sculptures in England which incorporate the Ringerike style, most famously the early eleventh-century grave slab with a runic inscription found at St Paul's churchyard, London. But examples are also known from Gloucestershire and West Yorkshire, whilst a sculpture at the church of Jevington in East Sussex has elements in the Urnes style. There is also an eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript, possibly from Gloucestershire, that has a single initial letter 'D' in the Ringerike style.³²⁶ That much of this evidence is outside of the area of pre-900 Norse settlement is consistent with the influence being introduced by Norse associated with Knut, rather than the established Anglo-Norse population.³²⁷

Along with the possible importation of Borre-style jewellery, including trefoil brooches which were probably introduced to England by the Norse, there are also other possible indications of continued trade contact between the Norse settlers and the

³²³ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 112. The isotope analysis suggests that the Repton warrior came from Denmark, Budd, Millard, Chenery, Lucy, & Roberts, 'Investigating population movement by stable isotope analysis', p. 137.

³²⁴ Leahy, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, pp. 167-8.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168. For an overview of Svein and Knut's campaigns see Keynes, 'The Vikings in England', pp. 75-82.

³²⁶ James Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World*, New edn. (Francis Lincoln, London, 2001), p. 152.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

Scandinavian homelands.³²⁸ Excavations at York have recovered amber which probably came from the Baltic via Scandinavia, schist sharpening-stones from the Telemark region of southern Norway, walrus ivory from northern Scandinavia or Norse settlements in the Atlantic, and the plant clubmoss, probably used to fix dye to textiles.³²⁹ The latter in particular suggests immigrants from Scandinavia, perhaps textile workers who continued to use a product with which they were familiar.

With the possible exception of the Heath Wood cemetery serving a group for a short time, and perhaps some Norse textile workers in York, the evidence for Norse immigrants direct from the Scandinavian homelands prior to 900 is underwhelming. There is textual evidence for migration from Ireland,³³⁰ but little textual evidence for migration from Scandinavia except for the use of the term ‘Dane’. There is also strong evidence for the migration of moneyers and potters from northern Francia to areas of Norse settlement. Instead the available evidence strongly supports the notion that the migrants arrived from the Norse settlement at Dublin, and from northern Francia.

Motivation for migration

Previous discussion of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors for Norse migration to England have been unsatisfactory as they have concentrated on perceived conditions in Scandinavia for which there is a vacuum of evidence.³³¹ However, if the likely origins of the early Norse settlers argued above are accepted then such conditions were not necessarily of immediate importance. Furthermore, motivations for emigration from either Ireland or northern Francia may be examined as these areas had a rich chronicle tradition that regularly reported on Norse activities.

Beginning with Ireland, the *AU* gives quite detailed information on the different Norse groups operating there in the second half of the ninth century, often providing details of where the group was based and who their leader was. The *AU* also reports on factional disputes in Dublin, demonstrating the detailed information that the chronicler possessed. Although any possible ‘push’ causing some of the Norse in Ireland to move to England

³²⁸ Hall, *Viking Age York*, p. 110.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85; Hall, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes’, p. 316.

³³⁰ And a later textual tradition for migration from Frisia.

³³¹ Possible factors suggested include a population increase, political changes leading to an increase in royal power, and the increase in trade in the Baltic and North Seas. For example Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 16-20; Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 23-5.

may have gone unrecorded by a chronicler, considering that such information was provided about the Norse emigration from Dublin in 902, this is unlikely if it was a major event.³³²

Rather than searching for something that may have ‘pushed’ some of the Norse from Ireland to England, it may be more profitable to consider probable ‘pulls’. The details provided in Irish chronicles along with the identification of Ímhar and Albann of Ireland with Ivar and Halfdan in England has led some scholars to propose that the Norse leaders of Dublin were attempting to create something akin to an Irish Sea empire. As well as controlling Dublin, Ivar and Halfdan conquered parts of England, whilst Olaf, Ivar and Halfdan are all known to have campaigned against the Picts and Strathclyde Britain’s. Olaf in particular was active in northern Britain in at least 866, 870-1, and was probably killed there in either 872 or 874.³³³ Indeed, Downham suggests that the Dublin Norse were campaigning in northern Britain from the early 860s and then ‘their ambitions extended to control of Northumbria’.³³⁴ Furthermore the *Annales Cambriae* records an attack by ‘dark gentiles’, those associated with Ivar, on Môn (Anglesey) in northern Wales in 853, whilst the *AU* record that Ormr, a leader of the ‘dark gentiles’, was killed by the Welsh king of Gwynedd, Rhodri Mawr in 856.³³⁵ The attacks presumably resumed at some point as in 877 the *AU* report that Rhodri had fled to Ireland to escape the ‘dark gentiles’.³³⁶ Later Asser records that a Norse group associated with Ivar and Halfdan attacked Devon in 878 from Dyfed in southern Wales.³³⁷ He also reports an alliance between Rhodri’s sons ruling the northern half of Wales and Norse Northumbria following Rhodri’s death.³³⁸ Dumville has argued that an event such as the four-month siege of Dumbarton, Strathclyde, in 870 would not have been undertaken merely to collect booty and then leave again. Instead, he has suggested that the Norse controlled not only Dublin and parts of England, but also Strathclyde and northern Wales, whilst Downham and Valante entertain the notion that parts of Pictland were subject to Olaf.³³⁹ Indeed Dumville suggests that in the early months

³³² For the expulsion from Dublin see Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 902.2, p. 353.

³³³ For Olaf’s activities in northern Britain see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 139-44; Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 106-13.

³³⁴ Downham, ‘Vikings in England’, p. 342.

³³⁵ Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 853, pp. 12-3; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 856.6, p. 315.

³³⁶ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 877.3, p. 333.

³³⁷ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 54, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 83.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. 80, p. 96.

³³⁹ Dumville, ‘Old Dubliners and New Dubliners’, pp. 85-6; David Dumville, ‘The Vikings in the British Isles: A Question of Sources’, in J. Jesch, ed., *The Scandinavians From the Vandal Period to the Tenth*

of 878 before Alfred's victory at Edington this Norse group were the dominant political force in Britain.³⁴⁰

Regardless of whether scholarly consensus will come to agree with Dumville, the evidence of activity linking Dublin and eastern England with northern Britain and Wales does suggest some form of coordinated strategy by the Norse.³⁴¹ Bearing this in mind, those who emigrated from Ireland to settle in England are likely to have been part of a planned migration rather than refugees forced out of Dublin, particularly for any migrants who arrived after the initial settlement by members of the great army. Even those in the great army are likely to have chosen to settle in England considering the amount of time that had elapsed between the army's arrival in England in late 865 and the first recorded settlement, of Northumbria, in 876. The interim, including at least four visits to Northumbria, had provided ample opportunity for potential settlers in the army to assess the merits of eastern England as a new homeland.³⁴²

Another indication that the Norse wanted to live in England is provided by the later career of Halfdan. As the settlement of Northumbria in 876 was conducted under the leadership of Halfdan it is likely to have been primarily of the Norse from Ireland. Halfdan's reign as the new king of Northumbria was brief as he died in battle off the coast of Ireland in 877.³⁴³ The *ASC* fails to mention Halfdan's departure from Northumbria but later northern sources provide an account that fits the particulars of his death recorded in the *AU*. The earliest of the northern sources, the *HSC*, reports that, after suffering the wrath of God and St Cuthbert, Halfdan was driven away by his followers far across the sea.³⁴⁴

Century. An Ethnographic Perspective (Boydell, Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 226-7; Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 142-3; Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 73-4, who does not accept the connection with England. The successful siege of Dumbarton is recorded in Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 870.6, p. 327; & Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 871, pp. 12-3.

³⁴⁰ Dumville, 'The Vikings in the British Isles: A Question of Sources', pp. 91-2. The Isle of Man does not feature in Dumville's considerations, and indeed the Norse may not have settled the island until the tenth century, Graham-Campbell, 'The Early Viking Age in the Irish Sea Area', pp. 116-20. The notion of Norse hegemony across a large area of Britain and Ireland is also proposed in Barbara E. Crawford, 'The Vikings', in W. Davies, ed., *From the Vikings to the Normans* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003), pp. 55-6.

³⁴¹ The connection between Dublin and eastern England in particular are the basis for the works by Smyth and Downham cited in fn. 19.

³⁴² The great army were in Northumbria in 866-7, 868-9, 872, and 874-5, Swanton, *ASC*, 867, 869, 873, 875, pp. 68, 70, 72, 74.

³⁴³ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 877.5, p. 333.

³⁴⁴ Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 12, p. 53. The actions of the Norse who drove Halfdan away are explained by God and St Cuthbert causing Halfdan to go mad and smell.

Similar information is provided in the *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* and *LDE*, whilst the latter adds that Halfdan was forced to leave with only three ships, and that he and all his followers died soon after this.³⁴⁵ The destination appears to have been Ireland and having only enough followers to fill three ships accords well with the *AU* describing the battle in which they perished as a skirmish. Consequently, and despite the stories of divine retribution, madness, and bad body odour, the northern sources appear to preserve a genuine account of the events surrounding Halfdan's departure from Northumbria. Halfdan and his part of the great army, following years of campaigning in England, had spent 874-5 based on the River Tyne campaigning against the Picts and Strathclyde Britons, before settling Northumbria in 876.³⁴⁶ An alternative and highly plausible theory to Halfdan being driven away because he smelt is that he wanted his recently settled army to help him emulate Ivar by winning power in Dublin, and that the majority of them, weary of battle, refused.³⁴⁷ That Halfdan had so little support that he left his kingdom with only three ships strongly suggests that the Norse who had settled Northumbria wanted to remain there. It is possible that those Norse who did not want to settle in England accompanied Halfdan back to Ireland.³⁴⁸

The available evidence suggests that most of the Norse from Ireland were willing participants in the immigration process, which in turn supports the notion that they were not 'pushed' from Ireland but 'pulled' to England. But what attracted the majority of the settlers, as opposed to the possible empire building ambitions of their leaders? It has been noted that among the primary motivations for migration, especially of those that actively choose to migrate, is the chance of advancement, especially economic and in terms of social status.³⁴⁹ The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were wealthy, providing a prime economic motive for the migration. The wealth of England at the time of the Norse migrations may be deduced from such things as the number of hoards recovered containing ninth-century

³⁴⁵ *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, as reconstructed in Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', lines 21-4, p. 524; Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 13, pp. 121-3.

³⁴⁶ Swanton, *ASC*, 875, 876, pp. 72 & 74; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 875.3, p. 331.

³⁴⁷ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 260.

³⁴⁸ Of course there could have been other, or additional, reasons for them joining Halfdan.

³⁴⁹ See for example Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', p. 54; Burmeister, 'Archaeology and Migration', pp. 546-7; Anthony, 'Prehistoric Migration as Social Process', p. 22. Some historical examples of migration for social prestige are given by Anthony, *Ibid.*, on p. 23.

Anglo-Saxon coins,³⁵⁰ and by the agricultural surplus that can be inferred from the hidage system.³⁵¹ The affluence of Wessex is commented upon by Asser who considered it a possible explanation for disrespect that many contemporaries had for a monastic life.³⁵² It was probably this prosperity that had attracted earlier Norse raiders to England, and with conquest and settlement potential Norse migrants may have hoped to access the wealth on a more permanent basis.

Wealth in the form of land may have been a highly important motivation if, as seems likely by the time settlement commenced, the Norse were seeking permanent power in England. Land was an essential source of power in contemporary society. In the Scandinavian homelands land was a fundamental element of political power for the aristocracy, with large farms being divided and leased out or farmed by tenant farmers. However there were also instances of smaller, independent farmers.³⁵³ Although the best evidence for the importance of land ownership in Scandinavia is in the earliest laws, most likely written down from the eleventh century, and some runic inscriptions from that century, there are indications that the system also existed in an earlier period.³⁵⁴ The inherited landed property of a family was known as *odal*, a term related to the words *adel* (nobility) and *ädel* (noble), and known as *allod* in some early Germanic languages.³⁵⁵ *Odal* appears to have been connected to ancestor cult, with a *högodalsman* being a person whose ancestor was buried in a mound on the family farm.³⁵⁶ This connection may be apparent archaeologically in the reuse, and sometimes enlarging, of earlier burial mounds for secondary burials from c. 800-1000, which could be evidence of people emphasizing their

³⁵⁰ The coin hoards can be found in Blackburn & Pagan, 'A revised check-list of coin hoards', pp. 291-313.

³⁵¹ For a discussion of the hidage system up to the reign of Alfred see H.R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087* (Edward Arnold, London, 1984), pp. 34-40. For considerations on the wealth of King Alfred and Wessex see J.R. Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', *Past & Present* 123 (1989), pp. 3-51.

³⁵² Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 93, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 103.

³⁵³ Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, pp. 56-7; Peter Foote & David M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement: the society and culture of early medieval Scandinavia* (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1970), pp. 49-51, 79-90, 127.

³⁵⁴ Torun Zachrisson, 'The Odal and its Manifestation in the Landscape', *Current Swedish Archaeology* 2 (1994), pp. 220, 222-3. The earliest written laws are thought to preserve elements from earlier laws. For this in terms of *odal* see Knut Robberstad, 'Udal Law', in D.J. Withrington, ed., *Shetlands and the Outside World 1469-1969* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983), pp. 49-50.

³⁵⁵ Zachrisson, 'The Odal and its Manifestation in the Landscape', pp. 219-20. For *allod* see the entries for 'allod' and 'allodium' in the *OED Online* [accessed November 20, 2009]. The word *odal* occurred in Old Norse, Gothic, Frisian, and Old English, see Robberstad, 'Udal Law', p. 49.

³⁵⁶ Zachrisson, 'The Odal and its Manifestation in the Landscape', pp. 220-2, 226-8.

odal rights.³⁵⁷ In two of the early Norse laws, of the Gulathing and Frostathing, *odal* men ‘appear as a distinct social class’ and their *wergild* (price according to rank) if killed in Gulathing law was twice that of other freemen and half the amount of a baron, suggesting that someone with *odal* rights was ‘half way to being a nobleman’.³⁵⁸ It is thus likely that landed wealth would have been more important to most of the potential Norse settlers than moveable wealth. Indeed, the *ASC* annal on the end of the campaign of the 890s army suggests that moveable wealth was used to acquire landed wealth.³⁵⁹ Additionally, all three references to the earlier Norse settlements by members of the great army specifically refer to the land being ‘divided up’.³⁶⁰ The area of land controlled by Norse groups in Ireland, such as the hinterland of Dublin, is still a matter of debate, but it is unlikely to have been as extensive as the area settled by the Norse in eastern England.³⁶¹ Consequently, many of the Norse in Ireland may have been forced to look elsewhere if they desired landed wealth. Indeed, the appeal of land ownership is also demonstrated by the Norse migration to Iceland at a similar time to the settlement of England, with many of the settlers of Iceland also migrating from the Irish Sea region.³⁶²

The motivations for the Norse in northern Francia to migrate to England may have been a combination of ‘pushes’ and ‘pulls’. Frankish annals provide detailed information on Norse activities within Francia but often little information on where Norse groups had arrived from or where they went after leaving Francia.³⁶³ Fortunately the *ASC* does provide this information for the 890s army, indicating that both parts of the army moved to England due to adverse conditions in Francia. The Norse leader Hæsten had been in famine-ravaged Picardie before embarking for England in 892, whilst the army from East Francia had

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-31.

³⁵⁸ Robberstad, ‘Udal Law’, p. 50. For *wergild* see Bosworth & Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 1206.

³⁵⁹ The entry reports that those with enough money remained in Norse-settled England, Swanton, *ASC*, 896, p. 89.

³⁶⁰ *gedelde/gedeldon*, Bately, *ASC*, 876, 877, 880, pp. 50-1.

³⁶¹ This is not to suggest that the Norse settled all of the land that they controlled, or necessarily controlled all of the land in the Norse settlement areas. For recent work on Norse rural settlement and the control of hinterlands in Ireland see Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 45-7, 140-4.

³⁶² Byock, *Viking Age Iceland*, p. 9. For the genetic evidence see A. Helgason, C. Lalueza-Fox, S. Ghosh, S. Sigurðardóttir, M.L. Sampietro, E. Gigli, A. Baker, J. Bertranpetit, L. Árnadóttir, U. Þorsteinsdóttir, K. Stefánsson, ‘Sequences From First Settlers Reveal Rapid Evolution in Icelandic mtDNA Pool’, *PLoS Genetics* 5 (1): e1000343. doi:10.1371/journal.pgen.1000343 (2009), available at <http://www.plosgenetics.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pgen.1000343> [accessed November 18, 2009].

³⁶³ For example the group that sailed from the Seine in 866 that did not go to Frisia presumably did not go elsewhere in Francia as no destination is provided, Nelson, *AB*, 866, p. 131.

suffered military defeats.³⁶⁴ These circumstances, and the arrival of the women and children mentioned in the *ASC* with these armies, suggest that they came to England wanting to settle as they had been ‘pushed’ from Francia. A similar motivation may be attributed to the army that was paid to leave Francia in 866, both the part that initially went to Frisia and the part for which a destination is not provided, if either or both of them joined the great army in 866.³⁶⁵

There are also entries in the annals suggesting that potential members of the great army from Frisia may have been motivated to move to England due to adverse conditions in Frisia. The first was the brief expulsion of the Norse leader Roric from Frisia in 867, as it may be expected that many of his followers would have also been expelled.³⁶⁶ Roric is last mentioned in the *Annales Xantenses* visiting Louis the German in Aachen in 873, but no notice of his death is recorded.³⁶⁷ Godfrid was granted Frisia in 882 so Roric must have died in the interim.³⁶⁸ No information is provided on what happened to the Norse who had been with Roric in Frisia, but their leader’s death may have encouraged, or forced, some of them to leave. It is often thought that the three kings of the great army that are first recorded in 874-5, Guthrum, Oscytel, and Anund, had arrived with the great summer ship-army of 871.³⁶⁹ Yet despite Smyth’s belief that Guthrum ‘had certainly been active in England before his appearance with Hálfðan at Repton’, there is no evidence for this.³⁷⁰ The designation of this fleet as a summer fleet may suggest that it was in England only for the summer, taking part in the battle of Wilton and sharing in any tribute obtained as part of the peace treaty with Wessex, before leaving.³⁷¹ Instead, some or all of the three kings, with

³⁶⁴ Swanton, *ASC*, 893, & fn. 7, p. 84; Amory, ‘The Viking Hasting in Franco-Scandinavian Legend’, p. 271. For the defeats of the other army see Reuter, *AF*, 891, pp. 121-3; and Swanton, *ASC*, 891, p. 82.

³⁶⁵ Nelson, *AB*, 866, p. 131

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 867, pp. 139-40.

³⁶⁷ B. de Simson, ed., *The Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini* MGH SRG, (Hannoverae Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, Hanover, 1909), 873, p. 32.

³⁶⁸ Nelson, *AB*, 882, pp. 224-5.

³⁶⁹ Swanton, *ASC*, 875, p. 74.

³⁷⁰ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 243. This suggestion is often now given as a fact, eg. B.A.R. Yorke, ‘Guthrum’ in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, & D. Scragg, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1999), p. 223; Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood’, pp. 99-100; Katherine Holman, *Historical Dictionary of the Vikings* (Scarecrow Press, Lanham MD, 2003), p. 114. See also Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 134.

³⁷¹ *micel sumorlida*, Bately, *ASC*, 871, p. 48; Swanton, *ASC*, 871, p. 72. The suggestion that this group did not remain in England is found in Swanton, *Ibid.*, fn. 2, and Charles Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles, Parallel: with supplementary extracts from the others* II (Clarendon, Oxford, 1892), p. 88.

followers, may have arrived in England from Frisia following Roric's death.³⁷² Another possible origin for these kings are those Norse who refused to convert to christianity under conditions arranged by Charles the Bald, and instead had to leave western Francia in 873.³⁷³ Alternatively, both the numismatic evidence and the notice in the *HSC* suggest that people from Frisia had been part of the great army since 865, and Guthrum may have arrived then.

Positive motivations for migration that may have 'pulled' Norse groups from Francia to England are likely to be largely the same as for the Norse from Ireland, the chance of economic and social advancement, but perhaps without the possible empire building notions of the leaders from Ireland. Smyth's suggestion of war-weary veterans wanting to settle would be equally applicable to those from Francia.³⁷⁴ The opportunity to own land may have also been appealing. Any groups that had been campaigning in Francia are unlikely to have had land there, whilst those in Frisia may have had land but as Roric held Frisia only as a benefice, or fief, from Carolingian leaders their tenure may not have been secure.³⁷⁵ Indeed, Roric held Frisia in return for performing services for the king, with *feodum* in early texts used to mean a temporary possession 'granted in requital of service', and technically his possession could be revoked, as appears to have happened briefly in 855.³⁷⁶ By contrast Guthrum became king of East Anglia in his own right, so any land that he granted to his followers would have been assured, at least for as long as they remained in Guthrum's favour. Those granted land by Roric in Frisia probably risked losing it if Roric earned the displeasure of his Carolingian overlord. Similarly, some Norse land-holders in Frisia may have lost their land after Roric died sometime after 873. It is possible also that unlike Norse from Ireland who presumably could return as Norse groups remained in control of parts of Ireland, those from Frisia may not have had this option if Roric was dead before the Norse began to settle England from 876.

³⁷² As they are first recorded in Mercia rather than Wessex increases the possibility that they could have arrived there in 873 or 874 without comment in the *ASC*.

³⁷³ Nelson, *AB*, 873, p. 185. Where those who did not convert went is not recorded.

³⁷⁴ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 260.

³⁷⁵ 'Benefice' is the obvious translation of the Latin *beneficio*, used to describe Roric's possession in 860. See Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 97.

³⁷⁶ 'Fee, n.2', *OED Online* [accessed February 12, 2010]. Feodum is first recorded in a charter of Charles the Fat in 884. Indeed, in early records feodum is 'often opposed to alodis', ie. *odal* inheritance. For Roric's brief expulsion from his fief see Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 95.

This examination of the possible motivations of the Norse migrants to England suggests that whilst both push and pull factors may have been present, those migrating from Ireland are more likely to have settled in England due to positive ‘pulls’ than those from northern Francia who probably experienced some ‘pushes’. In both cases the allure of migrating to England may have been primarily the possibility of settling and controlling the lands conquered by the great army and thus gaining a powerful position in society.

This chapter has reviewed the likely origin of the members of the great army and other early settlers when they embarked for England. Whilst the focus of this chapter has been on the settlers who arrived in England as members of the great army and 890s army, studies of other migrations suggest that migrants tend to follow established routes. Hence any other undocumented Norse migrants following in the wake of the great army would probably have come from similar areas. Also in line with migration theory, many Norse appear to have migrated previously. The balance of evidence suggests that more of the immigrants to eastern England arrived from Ireland and northern Francia than from Scandinavia. The input of the Norse from Ireland has been assessed and found that when the archaeological evidence is included the connection between England and Ireland suggested by the written evidence becomes even more apparent. The actions of the great army established a migration chain between Dublin and York that continued to at least the mid-tenth century. A strong link can also be established between the Norse and northern Francia, especially in the immediate post-settlement period when Franks with specialised skills migrated to Norse-administered England. It is probable that the Norse from Frisia were involved in some capacity.

This chapter changes our understanding of the Norse migration, and of the possible motivations for the migration. It also changes the questions that need to be asked about acculturation. Knowing where the Norse migrants embarked from is essential in determining their cultural background, an important but strangely neglected aspect of commentary on the acculturation process. It has been noted that the Norse appear to have quickly adopted Anglo-Saxon cultural forms and, as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6, this may in part be due to the majority of the migrants arriving not directly from the Scandinavian homelands but from elsewhere in western Europe. Furthermore, the origins of

the migrants may have determined where different members of the great army settled. This aspect of the acculturation process will be explored in chapter 5.

Now that the origins and migration of the Norse settlers have been discussed, an aspect of the campaigns of the great army will be analysed: the decision by the Norse leaders to use client kings rather than immediately rule conquered kingdoms themselves. The inspiration to use client kings may have been a product of the political experiences gained by the Norse prior to arriving in England.

Chapter 4: The role of client kings

Between 866 and 874 the great army conquered three Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in England, yet Norse in significant numbers did not begin to settle permanently in these kingdoms until 876. In the interim these conquered kingdoms were ruled by Anglo-Saxon client kings apparently chosen by the Norse. Despite bands of Norse warriors being successful in conquering and/or settling other parts of Europe, the use of client kings to initially rule on their behalf in Anglo-Saxon England was unique amongst ninth-century Norse groups. It is however possible that the use of client kings may have been inspired by Norse experiences elsewhere, which would make it an important example of the immigrants being influenced by the culture of their former place of residence.

The role of these client kings is rarely considered in any detail in works dealing with this period. This omission is somewhat surprising, as the decision by the leaders of the great army to use them raises many important questions, and a closer examination of this unusual arrangement is likely to provide clues about the conquest and settlement of parts of England.¹ The questions raised include: what objectives that the great army may have had in the early stages of its campaign in England? What advantages may have been gained by using client kings instead of the Norse ruling directly? Why did the client kings comply? What do the arrangements indicate about relations between the Norse and Anglo-Saxons, and perhaps between Wessex and Mercia? What inspired the decision?

There are a number of instances from elsewhere in the Norse world where the Norse either conquered or were granted an area and then established some form of permanent presence there and proceeded to rule over the local population. Perhaps the most famous

¹ For example, in works dealing exclusively with Britain and Ireland published this millennium, Richards, *Viking Age England* (revised 2000 edition), has a single mention of Ceolwulf II; this same client king is mentioned twice in Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, and Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*. Neither of the two edited volumes on the Norse in England, *Vikings and the Danelaw* (2001) and *Cultures in Contact* (2000) have an article considering the issue. There is some brief discussion in Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (1998), Hadley, *The Vikings in England* (2006), and Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms* (1990) where at least client rulers other than Ceolwulf are mentioned. The issuing of coins by Ceolwulf II and two otherwise unknown East Anglian client kings, Æthelræd and Oswald, has resulted in the coinages of these kings, especially Ceolwulf, being discussed by numismatists, best exemplified by the relevant articles in Blackburn & Dumville, eds., *Kings, Currency and Alliances*. Another exception is Ian W. Walker, *Mercia and the Making of England* (Sutton, Stroud, 2000), which contains a consideration of the status of Ceolwulf II. Lesley Abrams also deals with the issue briefly in 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', in N.J. Higham, & D.H. Hill, eds., *Edward the Elder 899-924* (Routledge, London, 2001), pp. 128-43. However the advantages for the Norse of using client kings have not been fully considered, and those advantages will be considered here.

example was the granting of an area of northern Francia to Rollo in c. 911, leading to the establishment of the dukedom of Normandy.² Earlier, Frankish kings had granted control of Frisia to Norse leaders on more than one occasion.³ The Norse were also successful in establishing themselves in Eastern Europe, probably by force rather than invitation as claimed by a later written source.⁴ The Norse forcibly took control of Brittany for a time,⁵ as well as coastal areas of Ireland though they were probably never successful in establishing permanent control over a substantial hinterland.⁶ However Norse groups were successful in this respect in Orkney and Shetland, the Western Isles of Scotland and the north-west mainland,⁷ as well as on the Isle of Man.⁸ In all of these examples the Norse appear to have personally ruled their newly acquired territory immediately. Contemporary annals from Francia indicate that once Norse leaders were granted Frisia and Normandy they ruled them themselves and did not leave their territory for prolonged periods. Similarly after the Norse established military and trade bases in Ireland they appear to have ruled them directly except in instances where they were expelled by the Irish.⁹ It is less clear how other Continental areas conquered by Norse groups were ruled, but there is no indication that client kings were used.¹⁰

Yet the Scandinavian kingdoms in England appear to have been established in a completely different way, with Anglo-Saxon client kings appointed to rule in the great army's absence. The decision by a Norse army to establish client kings in England instead of taking control of its new territory immediately suggests that the aims of the great army

² David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (Longman, Harlow, 1982), p. 2.

³ J.L. Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', in P. Sawyer, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History Of The Vikings* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997), p. 41.

⁴ The *Russian Primary Chronicle* claims that Rurik and his brothers were invited by the local Slav population in the ninth century to rule over them, G. Vernadsky, ed., *A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917*, Vol 1 (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1972), p. 15. This entry in the eleventh century chronicle is clearly a fable written to legitimise the rule of the Viking Rus.

⁵ See Neil S. Price, *The Vikings in Brittany* (Viking Society for Northern Research, London, 1989).

⁶ For an overview of the place name evidence see Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles and Normandy', p. 141.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-140; Barbara E. Crawford, 'Alba: The Kingdom of Scotland in the year 1000', in P. Urbańczyk, ed., *Europe Around the Year 1000* (Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa, 2001), pp. 272-4.

⁸ See generally D.M. Wilson, *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man: the archaeological evidence* (Odense University Press, Odense, 1974).

⁹ The best documented Norse enclave in Ireland was Dublin, from which they were expelled in 902 before returning in 917. Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, pp. 26-32; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, eds. *AU*, 902.2 & 917.4, pp. 353 & 367. For the suggestion that it was just the elite that were expelled see Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 27.

¹⁰ Aspects of Norse rule outside of England will be discussed later in this chapter.

were different from those of the Norse who conquered and/or settled other territories. This is intriguing as it was demonstrated in chapter 3 that there is evidence that members of the great army had campaigned elsewhere before descending upon England.

Establishing a client king presumably took a reasonable amount of time and would have involved negotiations between the leaders of the great army and the client king and other members of the aristocracy of the conquered kingdom. That the great army's leadership considered it worthwhile to pursue the policy suggests that they considered it to be advantageous. This is further supported by the arrangement being consistently employed, even when a client king had to be replaced. So what advantages were there for the Norse? Immediate logistical advantages may have included the supply of food, a safe area to store valuables and anchor the fleet, safe havens to retreat to, military assistance, somewhere for non-combatants to stay, and the desire to stabilise a conquered kingdom with minimal military investment, allowing the great army to continue campaigning elsewhere. The long-term advantage to the Norse of using client kings is likely to be a desire eventually to return to the conquered kingdoms and settle them, as mentioned in the *ASC* with regards to the agreement made with the client king Ceolwulf.¹¹ Each of these issues will be discussed below.

There was an Anglo-Saxon precedent for using client kings, but it was unlikely to have influenced the Norse policy. During the eighth century Mercia had had a number of satellite sub-kingdoms but most had been incorporated into greater Mercia by the end of Offa's reign (d. 796), with rulers of such areas being termed *ealdormen* rather than king as they had been earlier.¹² Although there were examples in the ninth century of Kent being ruled separately by a son of the West Saxon king until 860 when it was fully incorporated into Wessex, such a family arrangement is quite different from the Norse use of client kings.¹³ For example the sub-kings do not appear to have issued their own coinage and

¹¹ For the text of the agreement see Swanton, *ASC*, E, 874, p. 73. The intention to settle the conquered kingdoms will be discussed in chapter 5.

¹² Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 114, 120-1; T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Wales and Mercia, 613-918', in M.P. Brown & C.A. Farr, eds., *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*. Studies in the Early History of Europe (Leicester University Press, 2001/Continuum, London, 2005), pp. 94-5; Peter Featherstone, 'The Tribal Hidage and the Ealdormen of Mercia', in M.P. Brown & C.A. Farr, *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (Leicester University Press, 2001/Continuum, London, 2005), p. 30.

¹³ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 148.

instead the Kent mints issued coins for the king of Wessex.¹⁴ East Anglia was at times controlled by Mercia in the earlier ninth century, but sub-kings do not appear to have been used.¹⁵ It could be argued that the great army acted as a mobile *bretwalda*, or over-king, but as the last king assigned the title in the *ASC* was Egbert of Wessex in 829 it is unlikely that Norse leaders were aware of or emulated this practice.¹⁶ Instead, the experiences of members of the great army before they arrived in England are likely to have provided examples.

Although previous Norse groups may not have utilised client kings in their conquered territories, this does not mean that the leaders of the great army were unaware of the concept. Indeed sub kings were used in at least two of the regions in which the Norse had settlements at the time the great army arrived in England in late 865. Contemporary Ireland had a number of competing sub kings nominally ruled over by a high king,¹⁷ and a similar structure may have existed in Pictland.¹⁸ On the continent the Kiev Rus may have initially been sub kings of the Khazars,¹⁹ while parts of Frisia were held by the Norse as client kings of the Franks.²⁰ Importantly, it was demonstrated in chapter 3 that it was from two of these areas, Ireland and Frisia, that the great army's leaders are likely to have embarked from for England. In Ireland a complex system of alliances between high kings and kings, including the Norse, existed. However the system, in which Ivar, and probably other members of the great army, were personally involved, appears to have been largely based on marriage and fostering, and little resembles the use of client kings by the great

¹⁴ For an overview of the output of the Kent mints at this time see Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 289-92.

¹⁵ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 64.

¹⁶ Swanton, *ASC*, 827 [829], p. 60. For an overview of the terminology see Barbara Yorke, 'The Vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon Overlordship', in D. Brown, J. Campbell, & S.C. Hawkes, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 2* (B.A.R., Oxford, 1981), pp. 171-200. Indeed the entry for 829 in the *ASC*, written in the late ninth century, is the earliest use of the term *bretwalda*.

¹⁷ Ó Corráin, 'Viking Ireland – Afterthoughts', pp. 425-7.

¹⁸ Sally M. Foster, 'Before Alba: Pictish and Dál Riata power centres from the fifth to late ninth centuries AD', in S. Foster, A. MacInnes, & R. MacInnes, eds., *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 1998), pp. 1-31. It has also been suggested that only Fortriu in Pictland had a monarchy, and that they ruled over a loose tribal hegemony, Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 11-2.

¹⁹ Noonan, 'Scandinavians in European Russia', p. 148. If this was the case then it may have been the Rus dynasty that preceded the Rurikids, who probably did not conquer Kiev until c. 900, Petro Tolochko, 'Kievan Rus Around the Year 1000', in P. Urbańczyk, ed., *Europe Around the Year 1000* (Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa, 2001), p. 131.

²⁰ Nelson, *AB*, 850-882, pp. 69-225 (the annals end in 882 so record the granting of Frisia to Godfrid but not his demise in 885); Reuter, *AF*, 850-885, pp. 30-111.

army.²¹ Perhaps the chief difference is that in Ireland lesser kings do not appear to have held their territory on behalf of the high king. It is more probable that the Carolingian use of Norse leaders as client rulers of Frisia may have been the inspiration for the Norse practice in England, especially as Roric was ruling Frisia as a client ruler of Lothar I, Lothar II, Charles the Bald, and Louis the German, prior to and for most or all of the campaigning period of the great army.²² Consequently it may be expected that the leaders of the great army were well acquainted with the notion of client kingship when they arrived in England. Indeed, the Norse who had perhaps experienced being part of a sub kingdom managed to become the group in ultimate power.

The establishment of client kings

Northumbria fell to the great army following the capture of York on All Saints day in 866.²³ Following an unsuccessful attempt by the Northumbrians to re-take York in March 867²⁴ the great army then harried Northumbria as far north as the river Tyne before moving to Nottingham in Mercia.²⁵ Although the *ASC* gives no indication of who governed Northumbria after the great army left, other sources indicate that an Anglo-Saxon by the name of Egbert was installed as client king.²⁶ It is important to note here that the northern sources suggest that Egbert may have ruled only Northumbria north of the Tyne. The *LDE* records that ‘the Danes set up Egberht as a king over the surviving Northumbrians, but he ruled only over those who lived to the north of the river Tyne, and that under the authority of the Danes’.²⁷ The geographic limit of Egbert’s rule is also seen in the *HR*’s statement that ‘Egbert then reigned after this for six years over the Northumbrians beyond the

²¹ For an overview of the alliances between the Norse and Irish kings in the second half of the ninth century see Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 91-4.

²² These four Carolingian rulers were Roric’s overlords at different times during the control of his Frisian benefice from 850. Roric died sometime between 873 and 882, Coupland, ‘From poachers to gamekeepers’, pp. 99-100. The possible inspiration of the Frisian experience will be examined further below.

²³ November 1. The date is given in Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 96-7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ii.6, pp. 96-9.

²⁵ The harrying of Northumbria is reported in *Ibid.*, ii. 6, pp. 96-7. The move from York to Nottingham is given in all sources, including the *ASC* (Swanton, *ASC*, 868, p. 68.).

²⁶ Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 99; Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 106.

²⁷ *regem Northumbris qui supererant Ecgbertum Dani constituerunt, qui eis tantum qui ad septentrionalem plagam fluminis Tini habitabant sub eorum dominio imperaret.* Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 98-9.

Tyne'.²⁸ If these reports are accurate it suggests that Egbert ruled the area between the Tyne and the Scottish border, but not Northumbria between the rivers Humber and Tyne. Redmond has suggested that a Norse king or council ruled southern Northumbria, but there is no indication of this in the sources, a surprising omission if a Norse king ruled.²⁹ Instead this region appears to have been left in the control of Wulfhere, archbishop of York, who managed to keep his position despite the conquest of the kingdom.³⁰ A letter about the archbishops of York thought to have been composed by Symeon of Durham sometime between 1130 and 1132,³¹ records that Wulfhere initially took refuge at his estate at Addingham west of York when the great army conquered York in 866.³² Hadley suggests that the archbishop was at Addingham awaiting the outcome of the events at York before committing to either side.³³ Indeed the events of 872, when both Wulfhere and the client king Egbert were expelled from Northumbria,³⁴ suggests that either before the great army left Northumbria in 867 or again in 869 Wulfhere's position was secure, so some form of arrangement was presumably made between himself and the Norse leaders. That he was

²⁸ *Ecgbertus vero regnavit post hæc super Northumbros ultra Tine vi annis*, Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 106. Translation from Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, No. 3, p. 251.

²⁹ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 63. However, as discussed below, some form of Norse presence in Northumbria, though not a king, from 866 is likely.

³⁰ Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 63; David Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandinavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources', in R.A. Hall, D.W. Rollason, M. Blackburn, D.N. Parsons, G. Fellows-Jensen, A.R. Hall, H.K. Kenward, T.P. O'Connor, D. Tweddle, A.J. Mainman, and N.S.H. Rogers, *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York* (Council for British Archaeology, York, 2004), p. 313.

³¹ The text is available as 'Incipit Epistola Simeonis monachi ecclesie Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi ad Hugonem decanum Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboraci', in T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* I (Kraus Reprint, Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 222-8; the provenance of the work is given in Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 26.

³² *Reliquis qui superfuert, paganiprafecerunt sub domino suo regem Ecgbertum, reconciliatis ab eis hostibus. Inter has strages remotius se agebat episcopus Wulferius apud Addingeham, in occidentali parte Eboraci, in valle quæ vocatur Hwerverdale, super ripam fluminis Hwerf, inter Oteleiam et castellum de Scipetun*, Symeon of Durham, 'De archiepiscopis Eboraci', in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* I, p. 225. 'The pagans, those who survived the rest, set in place under their lord the king Egbert, enemies having been reconciled by them. Among these turmoils, Bishop Wulfhere was pursuing his course far away, in the west part of York, in the valley called Hwerverdale, on the banks of the river Hwerf, between Oteliam [Otle] and the castle of Scipetun'. My translation. For information on an excavation of the cemetery at Addingham see Max Adams, 'Excavations of a pre-Conquest Cemetery at Addingham, West Yorkshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (1996), pp. 151-91.

³³ Dawn Hadley, 'In search of the vikings: the problems and the possibilities of interdisciplinary approaches', in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), pp. 21-2.

³⁴ Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 99.

collaborating with the great army appears certain from the incident in 872 whereby he was expelled along with the known collaborator Egbert I.³⁵

Following this expulsion of Wulfhere and Egbert by the Northumbrians the great army returned to Northumbria, presumably to restore its rule. When it left in late 872 a new king, Ricsige, was in power,³⁶ and *HR* records that ‘Wulfhere was re-instated (*receptus*) in his archbishopric’.³⁷ This presumably happened under the direction of the governing authority. As the great army were in Northumbria at the time it is reasonable to assume that it was the Norse that re-instated Archbishop Wulfhere. It is unclear if the new king Ricsige ruled over all of Northumbria or just the part north of the river Tyne. The latter is preferred by Rollason based on the end Ricsige’s three year reign³⁸ coinciding with the appointment of Egbert II in 876, a king who is recorded to have only ruled north of the Tyne.³⁹ That Ricsige is reported as having been set up as king by the Northumbrians is another possible indication that Ricsige only ruled north of the Tyne,⁴⁰ as it would be surprising if the person in charge of southern Northumbria when the army left was allowed to be chosen by the Northumbrians rather than the Norse. Consequently it is likely that Wulfhere was effectively in charge of Northumbria between the rivers Tyne and Humber from 867 until Halfdan and members of the great army returned to settle the area in 876.

The use of Wulfhere suggests that the leaders of the great army considered him to be of similar status to a king. Wulfhere became archbishop of York in 854⁴¹ so he was well established by the time the great army conquered York in late 866. Indeed, Archbishop Wulfhere had issued his own coinage in the mid-ninth century, prior to the arrival to the

³⁵ This will be discussed below.

³⁶ The reign of Ricsige is given in Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 99; and Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 110.

³⁷ Whitelock, *EHD*, No. 3, p. 251. *Wlfere in suum archiepiscopatum receptus est*, Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 110.

³⁸ Ricsige’s reign is given in the *HR* as ‘he reigned three years’, Whitelock, *EHD*, No. 3, p. 251. *qui regnavit tribus annis*, Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 110. However 876 is also the year that the ASC records that Halfdan and members of the great army settled in Northumbria, an event which is likely to have seen a client king of southern Northumbria deposed in favour of a Norse king. As will be discussed in chapter 5, this settlement was primarily south of the Tyne.

³⁹ Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 111. Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 98-9.

⁴¹ Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 101. Wulfhere’s appointment is also noted in the earlier section of the *HR*, *Burhtferth’s Northumbrian Chronicle*, Hart, ed. & trans., p. 189. Hart does not present the information as a later interpolation. However Dumville (‘Textual archaeology’, pp. 52-3) thinks it is later.

great army.⁴² With both of the Northumbrian kings dead in early 867, Wulfhere may have appeared an obvious choice to rule on behalf of the great army.⁴³ Additionally, by using the archbishop as ruler the Norse leaders had a candidate with established authority in the area, and it effectively left the throne vacant until they were ready to return and settle. Wulfhere evidently had an effective working relationship with the Norse as he was not only recalled to York following the rebellion of 872, but he remained archbishop during the first decades of direct Norse rule south of the Tyne from 876, probably remaining in office until his death in 900.⁴⁴

A similar policy of using client kings was adopted in Mercia and East Anglia. Following the seizure of Repton in Mercia in 873 and the flight of its king, Burgred, the great army established Ceolwulf II as king, described in the *ASC* as a ‘foolish king’s thegn’.⁴⁵ Based on the likelihood of Ceolwulf belonging to a rival dynasty to Burgred it has been suggested that it was the Mercians rather than the Norse who chose Ceolwulf as king, but this is not supported by any documentary evidence.⁴⁶ The description of Ceowulf as a ‘king’s thegn’ suggests that he may have been an existing member of the Mercian aristocracy, while the derogatory adjective ‘foolish’ is likely to represent the opinion of the Wessex based scribe, and perhaps of the Wessex court.

Written sources fail to name any Anglo-Saxon kings of East Anglia following the death of king Edmund in 869 at the hands of the great army,⁴⁷ but coin issues suggest that he was succeeded by Æthelræd and then Oswald.⁴⁸ Considering the use of client kings in

⁴² Blackburn, ‘The coinage of Scandinavian York’, p. 325.

⁴³ David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), p. 228.

⁴⁴ Symeon of Durham, ‘De archiepiscopis Eboraci’, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* I, p. 225. Æthelweard records that his successor was consecrated in 900, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 52. However both sets of *HR* annals for 888-957 record that Wulfhere died in 892, Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, pp. 92 & 119. Whichever date is correct, Wulfhere remained in office long after the Norse had taken direct control of York.

⁴⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 874, p. 72. *unwisum cyninges þegne*, Bately, *ASC*, 874, p. 49. All *ASC* texts, as well as Asser, name Ceolwulf except ‘A’.

⁴⁶ The suggestion is made in Walker, *Mercia*, p. 60. Although it is possible that it was the Mercians who deposed Burgred and chose Ceolwulf, this does not tally with the only written account, the *ASC*, which states that the great army ‘granted’ (*sealdon*) Ceolwulf the kingdom. Bately, *ASC*, 874, p. 49. The rival dynasties will be discussed below.

⁴⁷ Swanton, *ASC*, 870, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1’, pp. 24-5. See also Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin*, p. 16. This position is also followed in Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 64; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 11; Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West*

Northumbria and Mercia and the apparent ease with which Guthrum and his followers took control and settled in East Anglia in 880,⁴⁹ it is unlikely that Æthelræd and Oswald ruled East Anglia as independent kings.⁵⁰ Instead it would appear that they succeeded each other as client kings of the kingdom on behalf of the great army between 870 and 880.

Despite Ceolwulf II being named as the first client king of Mercia, it is possible that his predecessor Burgred had also come to some form of accommodation with the great army, and that this caused a breakdown in Mercia's relations with Wessex.⁵¹ After the inconclusive siege at Nottingham in 867/8, when Mercia called upon the help of Wessex to combat the great army but no battle ensued,⁵² the great army appears to have been able to access Mercia without hindrance. The great army apparently crossed Mercian territory without opposition to attack East Anglia in 869,⁵³ and then wintered in Mercian territory at London in 871/2 and Torksey in 872/3 without having to face either a battle or siege from a Mercian army. Instead, on both occasions the *ASC* reports that the Mercians made peace with the great army.⁵⁴

Following the aforementioned siege at Nottingham in 868 the Mercians had made peace with the great army, and it is possible that this peace treaty included an agreement from Burgred to allow the great army to freely traverse Mercia, as they did the following year to reach East Anglia.⁵⁵ Even when the great army chose to winter in Mercia it appears to have had little difficulty in establishing a new treaty to allow it to remain unmolested, suggesting that whatever understanding was reached in 868 was still valid. It is interesting

Saxon and East Anglian Cults. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988), pp. 221-2.

⁴⁹ The *ASC* makes no mention of any resistance to Norse settlement in East Anglia, Swanton, *ASC*, 880, p. 76.

⁵⁰ The suggestion that these kings may not have been client kings was made in Mark Blackburn, 'Expansion and control: aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian minting south of the Humber', in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), p. 127. Blackburn later amended his position to view these kings as client kings in Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 35.

⁵¹ Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 120, mentions this possibility but it is not developed.

⁵² Swanton, *ASC*, 868, pp. 68-70.

⁵³ 'Here the raiding-army rode across Mercia into East Anglia', *Ibid.*, 870, p. 70. *Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan Eastengle*, Bately, *ASC*, 870, p. 47.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 872 & 873, p. 72. Both entries simply state that the army took winter quarters and that the Mercians made peace with them. It would be unlikely that the *ASC* would fail to record an attack on London. Roger of Wendover adds that 'the Mercians gave them presents and made peace with them' in 873, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, Giles, p. 207.

⁵⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 870, p. 70.

to note that when the great army occupied Repton in 873/4 there is no indication of any battles before Burgred fled his kingdom for Rome, which may mean that he was unsuccessful in agreeing to a new treaty with the army, or that the great army's requirements had changed. The latter is especially likely if the Norse leaders stated their intent to settle Mercia and directly rule the kingdom at a later date. Gaimar claims that some Mercians, along with Northumbrians, accompanied the great army when they attacked East Anglia in 869,⁵⁶ presumably joining the great army as it crossed Mercia. Although it is possible that the conquered Northumbrians were forced to supply some troops, it would be surprising if the supposedly unconquered Mercians did. If this was the case it supports the idea that the treaty made the previous year was active for longer than just the period that the great army remained in Nottingham, and that the agreement included more than simply allowing the great army to remain unmolested in Nottingham. An alleged incident involving Archbishop Wulfhere and the client king Egbert I of Northumbria in 872 also suggests an ongoing agreement. Roger of Wendover records that after being expelled 'they went to Burgred, king of the Mercians, and were honourably received by him'.⁵⁷ It has been suggested that Burgred accepted the two exiles as he was trying to 'curry favour' with the Norse who were an increasing threat to his kingdom.⁵⁸ In contrast, Sawyer suggested that Egbert and Wulfhere were rebelling against the Norse and that they went to Burgred as he was also opposing the Norse.⁵⁹ Yet the subsequent rehabilitation of Wulfhere following the great army's visit to Northumbria, and the continual treaties concluded with Burgred without having to engage in battle makes this scenario unlikely. Instead, the incident may be an indication that Burgred had already come to an arrangement with the great army, which would explain why Egbert and Wulfhere sought refuge with him following their expulsion.

Some form of agreement between Burgred and the great army may also explain why Mercia did not reciprocate the military assistance offered at Nottingham by sending an

⁵⁶ Gaimar, *Lestorie Des Engles*, lines 2861-6, p. 92. Smyth sees no difficulty in both Northumbria and Mercian levies accompanying the great army in its attack on East Anglia, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 201.

⁵⁷ Roger of Wendover in Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, No. 4, p. 256. The expulsion of Egbert and Wulfhere, but not their destination, is recorded in Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 98-9; Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 110; and the letter 'De archiepiscopis Eboraci', in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* I, p. 225. The ASC only reports that the army went to Northumbria, Swanton, *ASC*, 873, p. 72.

⁵⁸ Walker, *Mercia*, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 93.

army to help Wessex when it was invaded in 871. The relationship between Wessex and Mercia appears to have been close earlier, resulting in the military alliance at Nottingham in 868. The kingdoms had previously formed a military alliance to campaign against the Welsh in 853 and later that year Burgred married the daughter of King Æthelwulf of Wessex.⁶⁰ In the 860s the similar coinages of Burgred and King Æthelred suggests a monetary alliance.⁶¹ Finally, in 868 *ætheling* (later king) Alfred of Wessex was married to Ealhswith, daughter of the Mercian ealdorman Mucil.⁶² Consequently the failure of Mercia to assist Wessex in 871 is surprising. During that year Wessex was severely tested by the great army, fighting nine battles, losing a number of them, and suffering casualties that included an ealdorman and a bishop.⁶³ The Wessex king Æthelred also died during the year, possibly from injuries sustained whilst fighting the Norse.⁶⁴ Considering that Wessex had helped Burgred in 868 it is perhaps not surprising that the *ASC* fails to mention any ongoing agreement between Burgred and the great army. As the *ASC* originated in Wessex the scribe may not have wanted to highlight Anglo-Saxon divisions and possible collusion with the Norse. The chronicler is also unlikely to have wanted to show that a king related to the Wessex dynasty by marriage assisted the great army, on the other hand Ceolwulf, ‘a foolish kings thane’ was fair game for the chronicler. The breach which I suggest may have developed between Burgred and Wessex over relations with the great army is also hinted at by Burgred’s choice of Rome to flee to instead of Wessex where his wife’s nephew Alfred ruled.

The client kings used by the great army suggest that it was using the domestic politics of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to help to secure its rule. The *ASC* records that Northumbria had two rival kings when the great army arrived in late 866.⁶⁵ Although it is not known if these kings were from rival dynasties,⁶⁶ Northumbria had been formed by

⁶⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 853, pp. 64-6.

⁶¹ Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 311.

⁶² Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 29, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 77, & n. 58, p. 241.

⁶³ Swanton, *ASC*, 871, pp. 70-2. Ealdorman Æthelwulf was killed in the attack on the Norse camp at Reading, and Bishop Heahmund appears to have been killed while taking part in the battle of Merton.

⁶⁴ The *ASC* fails to record how Æthelred died but it happened soon after he fought and lost the battle of Merton.

⁶⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 867, p. 68.

⁶⁶ The *ASC* reports that the Northumbrians had deposed Osberht and accepted Ælle as king, *Ibid*, 867, p. 68. Asser adds that Ælle did not belong to the royal line, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 27, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 76. However an early 11th century northern source claims that they were brothers: Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 10, p. 51.

uniting the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira in the seventh century and the eighth and ninth centuries saw a large number of rival claimants to the throne.⁶⁷ The two Northumbrian kings survived the loss of York to the great army and later united before being killed in a combined attack on York in March 867.⁶⁸ The history of rivalry in Northumbria makes it possible that the first client king, Egbert I, was a member of one of the families vying for the throne. It would have no doubt been of benefit to the Norse if their client king had some legitimate dynastic claim to his position.

It has also been plausibly suggested that the client king Ceolwulf II was from a rival Mercian dynasty to that of King Burgred. In Mercia following the death of Offa in 796 there were often a quick succession of kings which appear to have belonged to two rival factions, one usually having kings with a 'C' name (Coenwulf (r. 796-821), Ceolwulf I (821-823), Ceolwulf II) and the other with 'B' names (Beornwulf (823-825), Berhtwulf (840-852), Burgred).⁶⁹ If these two rival royal families did exist in Mercia then Ceolwulf II would have been viewed as a legitimate king in terms of lineage, at least by his own faction. The desire to reclaim his family's right to the throne may also help to explain his agreement to become client king.

Not enough is known of East Anglia at this time to know if either of the client kings Æthelræd or Oswald were of a rival faction to Edmund, but Hadley notes that the similarity of the client king Æthelræd's name to Edmund's two immediate predecessors, kings Æthelstan and Æthelweard, suggests that Æthelræd may have been descended from that regime.⁷⁰ As will be discussed below, it is likely that the great army would not have had too many problems finding a willing nobleman to rule in its absence.

⁶⁷ The last independent king of Deira was Oswine, murdered by Oswiu of Bernicia in 851, from which time Northumbria was united until the Norse conquest. Yet feuding between rival families claiming the kingship resulted in 20 kings reigning between 706 and 866, many of whom were murdered or deposed, and five of whom had two reigns. See Philip Holdsworth, 'Northumbria', in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, & D. Scragg, eds., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2001), pp. 334-5; Simon Keynes, 'Appendix: Rulers of the English, c.450-1066', in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, & D. Scragg, eds., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2001), pp. 502-4; & Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, pp. 51-7.

⁶⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 867, p. 68.

⁶⁹ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 12; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 119. For a detailed discussion see Walker, *Mercia*, pp. 22-42. Barbara Yorke also proposes a third 'wig' dynasty, often linked to the 'B' dynasty, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 118-20.

⁷⁰ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 12.

The importance of these conquered kingdoms to the great army is indicated by the speed with which it responded to the challenge to its rule in Northumbria in 872 when the client king Egbert I and Archbishop Wulfhere were expelled by the Northumbrians.⁷¹ Considering that the evidence discussed above suggests that Egbert and Wulfhere ruled over different parts of Northumbria on behalf of the great army, their expulsion indicates a substantial revolt that encompassed both the north and south of the kingdom. This revolt against its authority prompted the great army to make the long journey from London to York to suppress it, presumably delaying any plans to attempt the conquest of Wessex or Mercia. The journey from London to York is approximately 340 kilometres. Estimating that a horse carrying a rider on a journey of more than one day could travel only 50 kilometres per day, the great army would have taken at least one week to reach York, and much longer for any on foot, a substantial undertaking.⁷² Having installed Ricsige as a new client king and recalling Archbishop Wulfhere, the great army then moved to Torksey, which was near enough to York to keep a close watch on developments and respond to any further rebellion. Presumably York was considered to be secure before the army later moved onto Repton. Similarly, after Ceolwulf became king of Mercia the great army wintered at Cambridge, on the border of Mercia and close enough to respond quickly to any challenges to its authority. It is significant that the Northumbrian rebellion is the only one recorded, although the existence of the two client kings for East Anglia indicates that the initial one was replaced, so it is possible that some form of unrest also occurred there. No explanation is provided for the death of the first Northumbrian client king Egbert I,⁷³ but it could be more than mere coincidence that he died having recently failed as the Norse client king. However Archbishop Wulfhere's survival suggests that either his position within Northumbria was still tenable despite his recent expulsion, or the great army found his role indispensable and he was harder to replace.

⁷¹ Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, p. 99.

⁷² For these calculations see Carroll Gillmor, 'War on the Rivers: Viking Numbers and Mobility on the Seine and Loire, 841-886', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 19 (1988), p. 105.

⁷³ Egbert's death is recorded in Symeon of Durham, *HR*, in Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 110.

The advantages of using client kings

The Norse were not the first group of conquerors to use client kings in England. During the earliest phase of the Roman conquest of and rule over Britain after 43 AD a number of client kings were used, as their use made the transition to Roman rule easier. Although far removed in time and not a direct source of inspiration to the Norse, some of the advantages that Rome found in using local kings are likely to also apply to the Norse example. It is thought that Rome used client kings in Britain to help ‘stabilize regions by exploiting existing hierarchies and loyalties’,⁷⁴ and this may also have been one of the reasons for their use by the leaders of the great army. If the client kings were members of the local aristocracy, possibly claimants from rival dynasties to the recently removed incumbent, this would have had the advantage of lending the client king some degree of legitimacy, as well as providing allies for the new king in the form of his factional supporters. Members of the aristocracy uneasy about supporting the great army directly may have still been able to back the client king as part of a network of personal loyalties, perhaps conveniently overlooking whom the client king really served. Furthermore, those who supported the Norse and the client king are likely to have been rewarded in some way.⁷⁵

In speaking of the Norse use of client kings Lesley Abrams asks ‘Was such a policy adopted in order to ensure continuity of government, or to harness existing arrangements to new purposes under new leadership?’⁷⁶ I would argue that it was for both of these reasons. From the evidence that has been preserved, it seems that part of the reason the great army used client kings was that it was happy for the conquered kingdoms to continue functioning under the existing Anglo-Saxon administrative system, and the use of client kings provided the smooth transition necessary to allow this system to continue. The advantages to the Norse of maintaining the administrative systems existing in the conquered kingdoms were substantial, not least of which would have been allowing them to access the food and other supplies the great army would have required to remain on campaign.

A good example of the continuity of Anglo-Saxon administrative systems is that the client kings of Mercia and East Anglia issued their own coinage, as their legitimate

⁷⁴ Guy De La Bédoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History* (Thames & Hudson, London, 2006), p. 79.

⁷⁵ As the Norse who later submitted to Edward the Elder were later rewarded by being allowed to keep their land, see Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, II:25, p. 121.

⁷⁶ Abrams, ‘Edward the Elder’s Danelaw’, p. 134.

predecessors had done.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the coinage of the first East Anglian client king Æthelred employed the same style and moneyer as his predecessor King Edmund,⁷⁸ while the client king Ceolwulf II of Mercia used a moneyer of the deposed King Burgred.⁷⁹ This continuity in the coinage supports the idea of relatively easy progression between the reigns of the legitimate kings and the Norse appointees, which is also suggested by the charters issued by Ceolwulf II.⁸⁰ The signatures on the charters demonstrate that Mercian bishops and nobles survived the transfer of power and worked with the new client king. Bishops Wærferð/Werfryth of Worcester and Eadberht/Eadberhtus of Lichfield signed both of the known Ceolwulf charters, while Bishop Deorlaf of Hereford signed one of the charters.⁸¹ The use of these bishops and various nobles, some of whom are given the title *dux*, suggest that a Mercian court continued to operate under Ceolwulf, and that he had the authority to grant estates to the church and laymen, and to grant exemptions to the church from royal rights.⁸² This suggests that the great army's leaders were happy for the conquered kingdoms to continue to function as they had previously.

There is no indication of what arrangements were made in Northumbria after its conquest, but that the Norse left not only an Anglo-Saxon king but also Archbishop Wulfhere in power when they departed suggests that the Anglo-Saxon administrative apparatus carried on despite the conquest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. The use of Wulfhere would have no doubt benefitted the great army as the archbishop would have commanded the clerics essential to the Northumbrian administration, and is likely also to

⁷⁷ No coins were issued in what had been Northumbria until c. 895, Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 23.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁹ Mark Blackburn, 'The London Mint in the Reign of Alfred', in M.A.S. Blackburn & D.N. Dumville, eds., *King, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 113, 116-20.

⁸⁰ There are two known charters of Ceolwulf II, both dated 875. S216 is commonly thought to be spurious (although Ceolwulf, collaborator with the Norse, would seem to be a curious choice of king for a later monastic community to claim legitimacy from, and Simon Keynes considers it spurious but reflecting the existence of an authentic charter, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in M.A.S. Blackburn & D.N. Dumville, eds., *Kings, Currency and Alliances* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1998), fn. 46, p. 12. S215 however is considered to be genuine and is translated in Whitelock, ed., *EHD*, no. 95, p. 491. A third charter, S361, from the reign of Edward the Elder refers to a grant previously made by Ceolwulf. Comments on the charters are found in Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 125 & 160. The full Latin texts of the charters are available through the British Academy/Royal Historical Society, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: New Regesta Regum Anglorum*, at <http://www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/?do=show&page=Charters> [accessed July 3, 2010].

⁸¹ S215 and S216. For the charter signatories see the British Academy/Royal Historical Society website: <http://www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/?do=show&page=Charters> [accessed July 3, 2010].

⁸² Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', p. 12.

have had strong links with local secular powers. The proposed desire to maintain the existing system appears even more apparent when one considers that after the great army had restored its rule in 872 following the Northumbrian rebellion, it not only installed a new Anglo-Saxon client king, but also recalled archbishop Wulfhere, thereby ensuring the continuation of both the secular and ecclesiastical administration of Northumbria.

For Mercia and East Anglia there is some indication of what the great army demanded of its client kings. The *ASC* entry for 874 says that the great army granted the kingdom of Mercia to be held by Ceolwulf, a foolish king's thegn, and he swore them oaths and granted hostages, that it should be ready for them whichever day they might want it, and he himself should be ready with all who would follow him, at the service of the raiding-army.⁸³

Although there is no indication of what to 'be ready with all who would follow him, at the service of the raiding-army' entailed, it is likely that it could have included military service, which may have also occurred earlier if Gaimar's claim of Northumbrians and Mercians joining the great army in its attack on East Anglia is accurate.⁸⁴ David Dumville has also suggested that the military obligations of the client kings to the Norse may have continued after members of the great army had settled and divided the former kingdoms.⁸⁵ The *AU* entry for 878 records that the Welsh king Rhodri Mawr was killed by Saxons.⁸⁶ As Wessex was busy fighting the great army in 877 and 878, western Mercia ruled by Ceolwulf is the most likely candidate for this group of Saxons. In this battle Dumville considers that Ceolwulf and the Mercians were acting on behalf of their Norse overlords.⁸⁷

⁸³ Swanton, *ASC*, E, 874, p. 73. *þy ilcan geara hi sealdon Ceolwulfe anum unwisum cynges þegne Myrcena rice to healdenne, 7 he him aðas swor 7 gislas sealde þet hit him georo wære swa hwilce dæge swa hi hit habban woldon 7 he geara wære mid him sylfum 7 mid eallum þam þe him gelæstan wolden to þæs heres þærfe*, Irvine, *ASC*, E, 874, pp. 49-50.

⁸⁴ Gaimar, *Lestorie Des Engles*, line 2861-6, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Dumville, 'Vikings in the British Isles: A Question of Sources', p. 220.

⁸⁶ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 878.1, p. 333.

⁸⁷ Although this is possible, it is equally likely that Ceolwulf was acting as a 'normal' Mercian king by attacking the Welsh across his western border. Such an act may have been especially important to a king who had recently been granted his kingdom by the Norse. In these circumstances Ceolwulf is likely to have wanted to demonstrate his martial characteristics and his continuity with the actions of previous Mercian kings, by ordering a raid against one of Mercia's traditional enemies. Even if Ceolwulf did instigate the raid, it could still have been approved by the Norse.

Abbo of Fleury provides further details of what the great army expected of its client kings in relation to East Anglia. The details provided by Abbo clearly indicate that the Norse leaders were negotiating with its king Edmund to make him their client king. Abbo reports that when the great army returned to East Anglia in 869, its leader Ivar sent a message to Edmund in which he ‘commands you [Edmund] to share with him [Ivar] your ancient treasures, and your hereditary wealth, and to reign in future under him’.⁸⁸ Although the speeches were no doubt added by Abbo,⁸⁹ this does not presuppose that the demands made of Edmund were not real. Considering that client kings were also established in Northumbria and Mercia, and that the *ASC* records an agreement made between Ceolwulf and the great army, the demands of Ivar as claimed by Abbo are in no way unrealistic. There is a discrepancy between Abbo’s work and the *ASC* over whether a battle took place before Edmund’s death.⁹⁰ Abbo’s information would thus appear to come from a source independent of the *ASC*,⁹¹ making his report of the great army wanting to establish a client king in East Anglia significant, especially as there is evidence that the Norse were successful in this regard. The coin issues of Æthelræd and Oswald suggest that the Norse found others more willing than Edmund to fill the role of client king. Presumably these successors of Edmund as well as Ceolwulf and the Northumbrian client kings would have also had to share the wealth and treasures of their kingdoms. However, although the great army may have taken much portable wealth from its conquered kingdoms, this would not be a reason for installing client kings as presumably it could have been taken easily without the compliance of those kingdoms. This suggests that client kings were used to provide additional advantages to the great army.

One such advantage may have been the hereditary wealth that Ivar is also supposed to have asked Edmund to share. Whilst there is no indication of what this wealth was,

⁸⁸ *mandat ut cum eo antiquas thesauros et paternas divitias sub eo regnaturus dividat*, Abbo of Fleury, *The Passion of Saint Edmund*, ch. 7, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, pp. 24-5. Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 11, & D.N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar*. *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* 3 (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1992), p. 6, n. 28, both note that the implication of Abbo’s account is that Edmund was killed as he was not prepared to become a client king.

⁸⁹ Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints*, p. 5.

⁹⁰ The *ASC* reports that Edmund was killed after being defeated in battle with the great army (Swanton, *ASC*, 870, p. 70), but Abbo makes no mention of a battle (*The Passion of Saint Edmund*, ch. 5 & 6, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, pp. 21, 23.)

⁹¹ The origin of Abbo’s information is discussed in chapter 1, p. 39.

Smyth has suggested that it included the landed wealth of the king,⁹² no doubt an important resource when the Norse settled.⁹³ During the campaigning period the great army may have had access to the proceeds of these lands, but ‘hereditary wealth’ presumably also included the king’s right to taxation, often in the form of *feorm* (food rent).⁹⁴ One of the most important concerns of an army regularly campaigning in hostile territory would be having easy access to food, and this logistical necessity is likely to be a primary part of the reason that client kings were installed. There are reports in Frankish annals of Norse armies in Francia obtaining food as part of peace treaties and this practice is also likely to have been followed by the great army in England.⁹⁵ But the establishment of client kings may have provided another source of food to the great army. There is no indication that the collection of *feorm* stopped when a client king was installed, and this food is likely to have been collected on behalf of the great army as a form of tribute. Considering their need to feed an army, it would be surprising if the Norse leaders were not extracting as much food from their client kingdoms as possible. The most immediate advantage to the great army of taking the time to negotiate terms with client kings was the practical issue of obtaining provisions. Anglo-Saxon kings had developed an efficient way of collecting food, and by installing new Anglo-Saxon kings the great army were now able to access this food itself.⁹⁶ The ability to gain food from client kingdoms would appear to be a good example of the great army harnessing ‘existing arrangements to new purposes under new leadership’,⁹⁷ by maintaining continuity of the administrative system through its client kings. Similarly, church estates were also a collection point for food produced at church farms and owed to

⁹² Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, p. 207.

⁹³ The estates held by Edmund are not known, but for those of Alfred, based on his will, see Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, map 148, p. 84.

⁹⁴ The *feorm* (food rent) was the amount in kind owed by landowners for the support of the royal household, and this produce was delivered to the local royal estate. For example it is known that Chippenham was a collection point for *feorm* by the time of *Domesday Book*, Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087*, p. 95. For the amount of *feorm* demanded of the estate of Westbury during the reign of Offa of Mercia, see Whitelock, *EHD*, no. 78, p. 467. It is surely not coincidental that the great army attacked a number of royal and ecclesiastical estates shortly after harvest during its campaign. For more on *feorm* see Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 162-3.

⁹⁵ For some examples of food and/or wine being included in the terms of peace treaties with Norse armies in Francia see Nelson, *AB*, 866 & 869, pp. 130 & 164.

⁹⁶ For a further discussion of the issue of feeding the great army see Shane McLeod, ‘Feeding the micel here in England c.865-878’, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 2 (2006), pp. 141-156.

⁹⁷ Abrams, ‘Edward the Elder’s Danelaw’, p. 134.

the church as tithes,⁹⁸ so Archbishop Wulfhere, whom the Norse leaders had left in place at York, is also likely to have been providing food to the great army when required. The discovery of the Norse silver hoard at an estate of the archbishop of Canterbury at Croydon may provide further evidence as Nicholas Brooks has suggested that members of the army were visiting Croydon to access food and money,⁹⁹ perhaps from the collection of *feorm*.

For the notion of continued collection of taxation by a client king the possible experience of some members of the great army in Frisia may have provided the inspiration. When Lothar granted Frisia to Roric in 850 he expected the Norse leader to collect taxes and handle other matters concerning the benefice on Lothar's behalf, clearly stating that although Roric was in charge of Frisia it was on behalf of the Frankish king.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps making use of the existing royal rights to taxes, the demands made of Edmund according to Abbo suggest that the leaders of the great army expected a similar arrangement with their client kings in England. It is likely that the Norse expectations of their client kings was based on their knowledge of the arrangement in Frisia. Furthermore, the use of Norse client rulers in Frisia allowed Carolingian kings to direct their attention elsewhere, and for the great army campaigning in England this benefit was no doubt also highly useful.¹⁰¹

By establishing client kings the great army not only allowed the existing administrative features to continue for its benefit, but it also provided itself with safe havens to retreat to. A need to recuperate along with easy food supplies may explain the return to York after the siege at Nottingham in 867,¹⁰² as well as the move to Gloucester, Mercia, in 877¹⁰³ after the army left Wessex following the loss of a Norse fleet.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, it is likely that the great army moved to Cambridge on the East Anglian border in 874 after the departure of Halfdan with part of the army for Northumbria,¹⁰⁵ as Cambridge

⁹⁸ John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005), pp. 252-61.

⁹⁹ As cited in Graham-Campbell, 'The Archaeology of the 'Great Army' (865-79)', p. 40. The suggestion was originally made in Brooks & Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on the Viking-age silver hoard', in M.A.S. Blackburn, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, pp. 91-111. The suggestion is followed in Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁰ Reuter, *AF*, 850, p. 30.

¹⁰¹ The best example of this is Lothar's use of Harald Klak whom he had granted a fief in north Frisia, see Lund, 'Allies of God or Man?', pp. 48-9.

¹⁰² Swanton, *ASC*, 868 & 869, pp. 68 & 70.

¹⁰³ Æthelweard names Gloucester as the base, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ It is reported that a fleet of 120 ships (likely to be an exaggeration) was lost in a storm off the southern coast of Wessex: Swanton, *ASC*, 877, p. 74. As will be discussed in chapter 5, part of the army that moved to Gloucester remained in Mercia to settle.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 875, pp. 72 & 4.

was in a conquered kingdom, allowing the army to regroup and collect food in a non-hostile location. As such the conquered kingdoms provided the opportunity for some respite from campaigning, and following a season's rest and recuperation the army would then leave the previously conquered kingdom and attempt the conquest of another.

The long-term advantage to the members of the great army of creating client kings was having a kingdom waiting for them to settle, including the royal estates, when they decided to stop campaigning, as is evident from their agreement with Ceolwulf. Now that it can be demonstrated that there were Norse women with the great army during the campaigning period, the likelihood that the great army had arrived with the intention of conquering land to settle is increased. The agreement with Ceolwulf means that there can be no doubt that this was their intention by 873-4, but the earlier use of client kings by the great army suggests that this intention had been formed previously. Indeed, that a client king was installed in Northumbria in early 867, probably within eighteen months of the great army reaching England, is consistent with members of the army arriving with the intention of later settling, or of coming to this decision soon after disembarking. It was posited in the previous chapter that there could have been a number of inducements for the Norse to settle in England, especially owning land in their own right, and that the leaders from Ireland may have wanted to link the trading centres of Dublin and York.

Returning to conquered kingdoms during the campaigning period gave members of the great army the opportunity to deposit any precious goods obtained during the recent campaigns. In every year that the army campaigned it succeeded in gaining tribute, either by forcing an Anglo-Saxon kingdom into agreeing to a treaty, or by conquering a kingdom. As argued above, much of this tribute would have presumably been food but some would have been in the form of coins and precious objects. For example in 872 the Mercian bishop Wærferth of Worcester gave the lease of land to the *thegn* Eanwulf in return for the money necessary to pay the required tribute to the great army at its winter camp.¹⁰⁶ Like modern armed forces on shore leave it may be expected that much of this money would have been spent on various past-times. However some of this money would have been

¹⁰⁶ Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, p. 77. Wærferth would later witness the two charters of Ceolwulf in 875. See above, fn. 80, p. 195. The tribute in question would have been paid to the army either in early 872 in London or later that year at Torksey. In both instances the Mercians made peace with the army: Swanton, *ASC*, 871 & 872, p. 72.

saved by at least some members of the army for future use.¹⁰⁷ The ASC records that when a later Norse army campaigned against Anglo-Saxon controlled England in the 890s its members secured their money in Norse controlled East Anglia,¹⁰⁸ and returning to a captured kingdom may have provided earlier Norse warriors similar opportunities between 866 and 877.¹⁰⁹ Ninth-century coin hoard deposits in England peaked during the great army's campaign, in particular between 865-875,¹¹⁰ and some of these, particularly those including hack silver or foreign coins, appear to reflect deposits made by the Norse.¹¹¹ Whilst hoards can be difficult to date precisely, there are some of a late ninth-century provenance that may be directly linked with the great army, and of these there are some within the areas of Norse settlement that could indicate a deposit made by a member of the great army prior to settlement, with the intention of recovery.¹¹² These include a number of hoards at Torksey,¹¹³ one at Dunsforth near York deposited in c.873-5,¹¹⁴ plus a hoard deposited in c. 875-900 at Ainsbrook,¹¹⁵ and a likely hoard at Lincoln.¹¹⁶ Of course as members of the great army eventually returned to these areas as settlers it is only hoards buried by those who died on campaign that would remain buried, as any other hoards would have presumably been retrieved by the new Norse settlers.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁷ As noted in chapter 2 (pp. 114-7) there is little evidence of Anglo-Saxon material being taken out of England by the Norse between 865 and 900.

¹⁰⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 894, p. 88.

¹⁰⁹ This is particularly the case if some of the Norse intended to return to the conquered kingdoms to settle.

¹¹⁰ Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain*, p. 57; Graham-Campbell, 'The Archaeology of the 'Great Army' (865-79)', p. 37, & Fig. 3, p. 36.

¹¹¹ The use of foreign coins and hack silver is attributed to the Norse and a barter economy. Deposits of exclusively unpecked Anglo-Saxon coins are more likely to have been deposited by Anglo-Saxons than the Norse. See Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 31-2.

¹¹² As such, coin hoards accompanying burials, as at Repton, are discounted.

¹¹³ Graham-Campbell, 'The Archaeology of the 'Great Army' (865-79)', pp. 40-1. A full list of finds and a discussion can be found in Brown, *Torksey, Lincolnshire in the Anglo-Scandinavian Period*.

¹¹⁴ Blackburn, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York', p. 347.

¹¹⁵ Until a full report is released it remains unclear if the Ainsbrook hoard is part of a Norse burial or not. The brief original reports are in: *Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2003/04*, p. 55; & *Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2004/05*, p. 59. See also Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 102.

¹¹⁶ The objects found at Lincoln are likely to have been a hoard, but it cannot be proved. Alan Vince, 'Lincoln in the Viking Age', in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), pp. 159-60.

¹¹⁷ As suggested for some hoards in Scandinavia, it is also possible that some of those deposited in England included a ritual element and were not intended to be retrieved. For a discussion see Mateusz Bogucki, 'Reasons for hiding Viking Age hack silver hoards', in C. Alfaro, C. Marcos, & P. Otero, eds., *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid 2003, Actas: Proceedings: Actes II* (Ministerio De Cultura, Madrid, 2005), pp. 1151-8. For an attempt to identify Norse votive offerings in Scotland see K.J. Niven, *Viking-Age Hoards in Scotland: A GIS-based Investigation of their Landscape Context and Interpretation*. Unpublished MSc thesis (Department of Archaeology, University of York, 2003).

The women and children with the great army could have also remained in the conquered kingdoms, and may have been an additional reason for the quick response to the rebellion in York in 872. The isotope results combined with osteological sexing presented in chapter 2 (table 1 and 3) indicate that Norse women, children and teenagers were in England during the campaigning period. Not only could women and children have remained in the conquered kingdoms, but valuables and the Norse fleet could in this way have been kept safe. The ASC annal for 877 makes a specific reference to ‘the raiding ship-army’,¹¹⁸ whilst the entries for 871, 875 and 878 also mention the use of a fleet by the great army.¹¹⁹ These entries, as well as other reports of Norse ships by Abbo of Fleury and Geoffrei Gaimar,¹²⁰ clearly suggest that the great army maintained a fleet in England.¹²¹ The coasts and river systems of the conquered kingdoms, for example the island of Flegg on the coast of East Anglia and the port of Harwich, Essex, would have provided the fleet the opportunity to moor safe from attack.¹²²

Two important methods used by the great army to ensure that its client kings remained compliant are hinted at in the surviving sources. Firstly, it is possible that when the great army left Northumbria in 867 and 869 a Norse garrison remained behind, perhaps both to ensure the compliance of the client king Egbert and Archbishop Wulfhere, and to stop others from trying to replace them. The ASC and Asser make no mention of Norse garrisons remaining in the conquered kingdoms, which is not surprising considering the Wessex bias of these works, but two later sources mention a garrison in Northumbria. Gaimar reports that a Norse garrison was left in York when the great army moved to Nottingham in 867.¹²³ Similarly, the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* says that when the Norse leader Ivar left York in 869 for East Anglia, Ubba remained behind.¹²⁴ As it is highly

¹¹⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 877, p. 74. *se sciphære*, Bately, *ASC*, 877, p. 50.

¹¹⁹ Swanton, *ASC*, 871, p. 72, mentions the arrival of the summer-fleet; *Ibid.*, 875, p. 74, records a sea battle with seven ships; and *Ibid.*, 878, pp. 74-6, reports a fleet of 23 ships landing in Devon.

¹²⁰ Gaimar describes ships being involved in the great army’s move from East Anglia to York in 866, Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles*, ln. 2582-90, p. 84; Abbo says that ships were used in the invasion of East Anglia in 869, *Life of St Edmund*, ch. 5, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 21.

¹²¹ Lund suggests that there was a ship army operating in England, ‘The settlers’, pp. 152-3.

¹²² Flegg has a high concentration of Norse place-names – see below. Harwich, OE *here-wic*, army settlement, is a possibility as *here* is consistently used in the *ASC* to describe Norse armies.

¹²³ ‘When they had put a garrison there

They went to Mercia’, Gaimar, *Lestorie Des Engles*, ln 2839-40, p. 91.

¹²⁴ Abbo of Fleury, *The Passion of Saint Edmund*, ch. 5, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 21. Although a hagiographical intent from both Abbo and Dunstan is likely, and is especially evident in the account of

unlikely that one of the leaders of the great army would have remained on his own in a recently conquered kingdom, it would appear that a not insignificant number of troops remained in Northumbria to help run this newly won possession. Such a policy is also likely to have been employed in East Anglia and Mercia.¹²⁵ There has been a suggestion that the high concentration of *-by* place-names on the coastal region of Flegg in modern Norfolk may represent an undocumented Norse settlement of the early or mid-ninth century.¹²⁶ I suggest that another perhaps more plausible possibility is that the settlement was instigated at a slightly later date by the leaders of the great army, either when they first arrived in East Anglia in 865, or when they conquered the kingdom in 869-70. Flegg was of strategic importance, including the Roman fort at Caister-on-Sea, which controlled major rivers leading into East Anglia. It was also opposite potential markets in Europe, and Frisia.¹²⁷ The existence of possible garrisons in the conquered kingdoms, and perhaps Norse non-combatants, would have been a palpable reminder to the client king and his court of the absent great army.

Another strong incentive for client kings to remain compliant is that the great army demanded hostages from the new kings. The *ASC* reports that on becoming the client king of Mercia in 874 Ceolwulf ‘granted hostages’ to the great army and it is probable that this policy was also adopted with the other client kings.¹²⁸ Such hostages are likely to have been the key component to maintaining the army’s control of a client kingdom as at any sign of insubordination by a client king these hostages could be executed. Obviously the policy of hostage-taking would have been meaningless if those taken hostage were not of great importance to the client king, perhaps including close family members. If the threat of harming hostages was not enough to ensure compliance, there was also the prospect of the great army returning, and client kings would have been aware of the military capability of the army. Ultimately if a client king did rebel or was overthrown by his subjects the great

events following Edmund’s martyrdom, there is no apparent reason to invent the story of Ubba remaining in Northumbria.

¹²⁵ Any Norse ships being kept in the conquered kingdoms would have also been accompanied by their crews.

¹²⁶ Campbell, ‘What is not known about the reign of Edward the Elder’, pp. 18-21. It has been discussed further in Abrams & Parsons, ‘Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England’, pp. 415-22.

¹²⁷ Abrams & Parsons, ‘Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England’, pp. 418-9.

¹²⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 874, p. 72. *gislas salde*, Bately, *ASC*, 874, p. 49.

army could return and replace him, as possibly happened in Northumbria and East Anglia.¹²⁹

The process of choosing a client king is the only remaining indication of the negotiations and interactions that must have taken place between the Norse and the local Anglo-Saxon population within the conquered kingdoms. Even the brief reference about the terms of the agreement with Ceolwulf II of Mercia provided in the *ASC* indicates that these negotiations must have been quite involved. As we have seen, Ceolwulf had to provide hostages to the great army, he would be ready and at the service of the great army, and was to hand Mercia to the Norse when they demanded it.¹³⁰ However the events of 877, when the great army divided Mercia and ‘granted’ part of it to Ceolwulf,¹³¹ makes it a possibility that the terms of the agreement with Ceolwulf may have been more detailed than what is recorded in the *ASC*, and it is possible that this division of the kingdom was discussed with Ceolwulf at the time of his appointment in 874. That Ceolwulf ‘swore them oaths’ is an indication that face-to-face negotiation between the Norse and Ceolwulf took place, and possibly some form of ceremony to seal the arrangement.¹³² Not only the selection of the client king, but also these agreements suggest a process of negotiation between the leaders of the great army and its client kings, as well as the administrators of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The career of Archbishop Wulfhere of York, and the bishops recorded in the charters of Ceolwulf, indicates that the leading churchmen of the conquered kingdoms are also likely to have taken part in the negotiations. Furthermore, the work of Abbo of Fleury suggests that these negotiations were more involved than what is recorded in the *ASC*, with the great army also demanding that the client kings share their hereditary wealth and treasures.¹³³

A primary reason why the great army may have decided not to settle and administer a kingdom as soon as one was conquered is that it did not have the manpower required to settle one kingdom and still conquer others. Whilst some Norse were probably left in the conquered kingdoms this would have entailed far fewer people than would have been

¹²⁹ As suggested by the coin issues of the two East Anglian kings Æthelræd and Oswald, and the appointment of Ricsige following the expulsion and death of Egbert of Northumbria.

¹³⁰ Swanton, *ASC.*, 874, p. 72. As discussed above, the agreement may have included military obligations.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 877, p. 74.

¹³² *Ibid.* It is likely that the granting of Frisia to Roric also involved the swearing of oaths, Reuter, *AF*, 850, p. 30.

¹³³ Abbo of Fleury, *The Passion of Saint Edmund*, ch. 7, in Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 25.

needed to take over the administration and to settle the rural areas. As with the early Roman conquest of Britain, the use of client kings by the Norse helped to stabilise a territory without a heavy military presence, allowing the army to continue its campaigns elsewhere. This in itself is significant as it suggests that the leaders of the great army wanted to conquer more than one kingdom rather than ending the campaign and settling the conquered kingdom immediately. Furthermore, the Norse leaders were evidently military leaders who needed to remain with the great army to help continue its success. Once established, the client kingdoms appear to have functioned according to the wishes of the great army leadership, except for the rebellion of the Northumbrians in 872.¹³⁴ As such the army did not have to spend much time in the conquered kingdoms, with the exception of the possible garrisons, allowing it to continue its campaign. For example the great army appears to have been absent from Northumbria between 870 and 872, and then from 872 to 874. It was absent from East Anglia from 870 and 874, and 875 and 879,¹³⁵ and from Mercia between 874 and 877.

It is likely that the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy would have been somewhat reassured by the great army's non-intrusive approach even if they had lost overall control of their kingdom, and much of the kingdom's surplus wealth was now going to the conquerors. The aristocracy probably accepted, albeit grudgingly, a known client king supported by the church, whilst no doubt hoping that the great army would be defeated somewhere and would not return to enforce its direct rule and settlement. It is interesting to note that the rebellion in Northumbria occurred whilst the great army was in London, which is almost as far from York as it could have possibly been. The Northumbrians presumably hoped that either news of the rebellion would not reach the great army, or that they would not be able to travel back to York to restore its rule.

Norse rule outside of England

As the leaders of the great army were the only Norse known to have used client kings in conquered territories during the ninth century it is pertinent to ask why this was policy was employed in England and not in other areas where the Norse ruled over an indigenous population, where instead they settled and administered the territory immediately. This

¹³⁴ And the possibility of a rebellion in East Anglia as an explanation of the existence of two client kings.

¹³⁵ Allowing for a visit to East Anglia from the 874/5 winter camp at nearby Cambridge.

different policy may have been due to the great army conquering parts of England instead of being granted them by treaty, and possibly also the bureaucratic differences and the difference in size between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and other territories that the Norse conquered. Yet equally possible is that the great army's leaders simply recognised the potential advantages of using client kings in England as they had experience of the policy elsewhere, and acted accordingly.

Norse groups controlled territory in Frisia during the ninth century and Normandy from the early tenth century, with these areas being granted to the Norse by Frankish kings. These circumstances would have made the use of a local client king by the Norse in these areas untenable, as the Frankish kings were extremely unlikely to grant an area to the Norse if the Norse involved were not going to rule it themselves. Instead, these areas along the coastal peripheries of Francia were being granted to the Norse so that the newly settled Norse warriors could protect the Frankish heartlands against attacks by other Norse warriors, and consequently the continued presence of the Norse settlers would have been expected. In effect, the Franks were granting land to the Norse to create a buffer area, a tactic which appears to have also been used by the Norse once they settled in England.¹³⁶ There is little information available for Frisia but, as with Normandy, the annals indicate that the Norse largely remained within their territories,¹³⁷ rather than leaving for years at a time as the great army did in England. Indeed, on one of the two occasions when the annals do record the Norse leader of Frisia, Roric, leaving the territory he did so only after gaining the permission of his Frankish lord.¹³⁸ If the Norse had not remained and defended the territories granted to them by the Franks the grants would have no doubt been annulled, with the prospect of a Frankish army reclaiming the area.

Of course Norse warriors were successful in conquering territory in places other than England. An important difference between the conquests of the great army and other Norse groups is that in England whole kingdoms were conquered rather than smaller administrative regions. This meant that as well as conquering the territory of the kingdom, the great army also gained access to the administration within each kingdom. The use of

¹³⁶ This will be examined in chapter 5.

¹³⁷ Nelson, *AB*, 850-872, pp. 69-180; Reuter, *AF*, 850-873, pp. 30-70. The entry in the former for 872, in which Emperor Charles the Bald rewards Roric, the Norse leader in charge of Frisia, for his loyalty, is particularly enlightening about use of the Norse in Frisia to Francia.

¹³⁸ Reuter, *AF*, 857, p. 39.

client kings was an important factor in this process. The existence of client kings, as well as evidence of some churchmen and nobles working with them,¹³⁹ indicates that finding willing collaborators to maintain the administration may not have been especially difficult. The areas conquered by the Norse elsewhere were either parts of kingdoms which therefore may not have had an independent administrative system that could be continued for the benefit of the Norse, or else had little to compare to the sophisticated administration to be found in Anglo-Saxon England. It has been claimed that during the ninth century Ireland had over one hundred and fifty small kingdoms, and that this effectively limited the success of Norse attempts to conquer more substantial areas.¹⁴⁰ At the other end of the scale was Francia. Even after being split into three kingdoms in 843 by the Treaty of Verdun, any of these three parts of Francia was probably too large an area to be conquered by the Norse.¹⁴¹

Smaller areas within Francia, like the region that became Normandy, do appear to have maintained their administrative systems under Norse rule, but this is most likely due to such areas technically remaining within the Frankish realm. Consequently Rollo appears to have personally continued the administrative systems after gaining Normandy in 911.¹⁴² Norse groups conquered Brittany and ruled for approximately two decades in the early tenth century, but it is unclear how they ruled. In contrast to eastern England the Norse in Brittany did not issue a coinage, there is no textual or archaeological evidence of the Norse establishing or expanding trading centres, and there is little place-name evidence suggesting permanent settlement.¹⁴³ Unlike other regions within Francia Brittany appears to have been semi-independent: Frankish procedures and institutions had little real influence,¹⁴⁴ and at times its rulers are described as kings.¹⁴⁵ Regardless of the status of Brittany it appears to have had a sophisticated administration system, including tax collection¹⁴⁶ and local

¹³⁹ For example those named on Ceolwulf's charters, as well as Wulfhere, archbishop of York.

¹⁴⁰ Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland*, p. 12.

¹⁴¹ For a contemporary account of the Treaty of Verdun see Nelson, *AB*, 843, p. 56.

¹⁴² Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴³ Price, 'Western Europe', p. 146; Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', p. 34.

¹⁴⁴ Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (Duckworth, London, 1988), pp. 209-10.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-2. In this respect the change made in the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius's History to exclude Brittany from the description of Francia is thought to represent Anglo-Saxon understanding of the situation in the late ninth century, Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, fn. 113, pp. 517-8. Similarly, Asser lists both Franks and Bretons amongst the group of foreigners to be found at Alfred's court, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 76, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁶ At times the tax collected went to the Carolingians and at other times to the Breton ruler, Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 207.

judicial courts.¹⁴⁷ However most of the Breton nobles and clergy fled to England to the court of King Æthelstan and elsewhere,¹⁴⁸ so it is possible that the expertise did not exist for the administrative system to be continued for the benefit of the Norse.

The areas that the Norse conquered and settled within Scotland and European Russia¹⁴⁹ are unlikely to have had a sophisticated administration system that could be utilised by the Norse.¹⁵⁰ A lack of documentary evidence of the early medieval period from what is now Scotland makes it impossible to know what form of administration existed in Scotland when the Norse arrived and conquered its northern regions.¹⁵¹ It has been suggested that a centralised administrative system was developing in Pictish regions before the Norse settled,¹⁵² but this proposed system did not necessarily incorporate all of the areas conquered and settled by the Norse. Indeed Orkney may have been part of a Pictish polity only for a short time,¹⁵³ while Shetland, the Outer Hebrides, Skye, and the north-west mainland may never have been part of it, and there is some doubt that the populations in these areas were part of the same language group.¹⁵⁴ As it was these areas that were conquered and settled by the Norse, areas for which there is virtually no written evidence and no mention of ruling dynasties,¹⁵⁵ it is unlikely that the Norse encountered a sophisticated administrative system.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-9.

¹⁴⁸ Price, *The Vikings in Brittany*, pp. 42-3.

¹⁴⁹ The term used to define 'the entire area between the Arctic and Black seas and between Poland and the Urals', Noonan, 'Scandinavians in European Russia', p. 41.

¹⁵⁰ An indication of this may be the lack of contemporary local documentary sources for these areas, in contrast to Francia, Ireland and England.

¹⁵¹ The existence of a list of Pictish kings has led to speculation that Pictish documents did exist, but probably failed to survive when the kings of Scotland embraced the culture and language of the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Writing', in W. Davies, ed., *From the Vikings to the Normans*. The short Oxford history of the British Isles (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003), pp. 177-9.

¹⁵² For some opinions on the extent of the power and administration of kingdoms in early medieval Scotland see: Foster, 'Before Alba', pp. 1-31; Stephen T. Driscoll, 'Formalising the mechanisms of state power: early Scottish lordship from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries', in S. Foster, A. MacInnes & R. MacInnes, eds., *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 1988), pp. 32-58; Alexander Grant, 'The Construction of the Early Scottish State', in J.R. Maddicott & D.M. Palliser, eds., *The Medieval State. Essays Presented to James Campbell* (Hambledon Press, London, 2000), pp. 47-71; and Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 789-1070.

¹⁵³ Foster, 'Before Alba', p. 18.

¹⁵⁴ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵⁵ There is only 'the occasional passing notice of Orkney' in Irish annals, while, with the possible exception of Orkney, 'these regions did not contain kings or highly developed chiefdoms', *Ibid.* For a map of the probable extent of Pictish power see Sally M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots: Early Historic Scotland*. Historic Scotland, New Edn, (B.T. Batsford, London, 2004), Fig. 1c, p. 8.

In European Russia it is likely that the Norse were dealing with tribal groups rather than kingdoms,¹⁵⁶ as indicated by the report by the mid tenth-century Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *De administrando imperii* of all of the Norse of Kiev leaving the city in winter to stay with and collect tribute from the local Slavic tribes.¹⁵⁷ Despite numerous trade routes being used by the Norse in European Russia it was in Kiev that a 'viable political organism' was created.¹⁵⁸ Indeed it is proposed by Wladyslaw Duczko that the Kiev Rus 'created the first state of the East Slavs',¹⁵⁹ whilst Oleksiy Tolochko describes the Kiev Rus as 'a family owned company, equipped with its own administration, military forces, laws, and its own aborigines to exploit', comparing them to European colonial companies.¹⁶⁰ It appears that the Kiev Rus supplanted the Khazars as the local rulers, perhaps initially acknowledging the Khazars as overlords.¹⁶¹ This suggests that for the local Slav tribes, one foreign overlord had simply been replaced by another, and in either case the tribes are unlikely to have developed an independent sophisticated administrative system.

That the Norse conquerors used client kings in England suggests that there were significant advantages of this policy to the great army, and the most important of these is likely to have been the continuation of the local administrative system at the service of the army, and the ability to control a territory without a large military investment. Furthermore, the process of choosing suitable client kings and outlining the conditions under which they were to rule suggests high level interaction and negotiations between the leaders of the great army and factions of the local aristocracy. That client kings were not used by Norse armies in other

¹⁵⁶ Noonan, 'Scandinavians in European Russia', p. 135. Noonan suggests that the Norse also had to establish trade centres to market the goods gained from the local tribes, *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁷ The tribute would then be sold in summer at the markets of Constantinople, Oleksiy P. Tolochko, 'Kievan Rus' Around the Year 1000', in P. Urbańczyk, ed., *Europe Around the Year 1000* (Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa, 2001), p. 128. Most scholars now accept that the early hierarchy of the Rus were Norse. For a discussion of the ethnicity of the Rus see Oleksiy P. Tolochko, 'The Primary Chronicle's 'Ethnography' Revisited: Slavs and Varangians in the Middle Dnieper Region and the Origin of the Rus' State', in I. Garipzanov, P. Geary, & P. Urbańczyk, eds., *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*. *Cursor Mundi* v. 5 (Brepols, Turnhout, 2008), pp. 169-88.

¹⁵⁸ Tolochko, 'Kievan Rus Around the Year 1000', p. 128.

¹⁵⁹ Wladyslaw Duczko, *Viking Rus: Studies on the presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe. The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic c. 400-1700 AD*. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, v. 12 (Brill, Leiden, 2004), p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Tolochko, 'Kievan Rus' Around the Year 1000', p. 131.

¹⁶¹ Noonan, 'Scandinavians in European Russia', p. 148. In which case during the tenth century the Kiev Rus went from being client kings to high kings.

areas suggests that the leaders of the great army may have had different objectives, which included conquering a large area, and returning to settle and rule the conquered territories after further campaigns.

Any members of the great army who had arrived from Frisia would have seen the benefits of client kingship first-hand, and it is their experience that may have led to the adoption of the policy in England from 867. Those Norse arriving from Ireland would have witnessed a slightly different arrangement of competing sub-kings and a high king. It is interesting to note that if the suggestion by Dumville, Downham and Valante that parts of Wales, Pictland, and all of Strathclyde may have been subject to the Norse of Dublin in the last third of the ninth century is correct,¹⁶² then it is possible that there were also client kings of the Norse in those regions.¹⁶³ Although there is no documentary evidence to support the claim, the actions of the great army in establishing client kings in England could suggest that there was a conscious attempt by its leaders to elevate themselves to a higher level of kingship, such as the high king of Ireland and the Frankish overlord of the Norse benefice in Frisia.¹⁶⁴

When the Norse returned to settle the conquered kingdoms they continued the policy of using client kings, allowing them to rule the portion of Northumbria and Mercia not settled by the Norse. This and the new boundaries created by the Norse will be amongst the number of Norse innovations discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁶² Each author has a slightly different theory on the subject, see ch 3, p. 171.

¹⁶³ Unfortunately the lack of documentary evidence from these regions makes it difficult to know if the Norse used client kings.

¹⁶⁴ As will be discussed in the following chapter, the Norse were quick to emulate other aspects of west European kingship when they settled.

Chapter 5: Political and economic innovation and acculturation: Norse rule in the early stages of settlement.

Acculturation is an often-used concept in a number of disciplines, which perhaps led John W. Berry to note that ‘the term *acculturation* can mean anything one wants’.¹ At its most simple acculturation is defined as ‘culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems’, or in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘The transfer and assimilation of an alien culture’.² For the Norse and Anglo-Saxons the ‘alien culture’ was unlikely to have been completely alien to either since, as has been demonstrated in chapter 2, there is evidence of previous contact stretching back centuries.³ However the transfer and assimilation of Anglo-Saxon culture by the Norse can be envisaged as becoming more intense once the two communities began to live in the same areas and interact on a regular basis, probably soon becoming a mixed Anglo-Norse community.⁴ Although scholars often speak of the acculturation of the Norse, it was a two-way process that involved the assimilation of cultural ideas by both groups.⁵ The immigrants brought with them their own sets of cultural experiences, and consequently introduced some new ideas to Anglo-Saxon England, which will be termed ‘innovations’ in this chapter.

The perception of the Norse impact on England underwent a radical change amongst scholars during the twentieth century. The earlier position was perhaps most clearly expressed in Stenton’s *Anglo-Saxon England*, wherein it was suggested that the Norse settlements affected virtually all aspects of life in the settlement areas.⁶ By the close of the century this notion had largely been rejected. Most of the Norse innovations envisaged by Stenton, including estate structure, social organisation, and the parochial

¹ John W. Berry, ‘Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation’, in K.M. Chun, P.B. Organista, & G. Marín, eds., *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, and Applied Research* (American Psychological Association, Washington, 2003), p. 19.

² *The Social Science Research Council*, ‘Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation’, *American Anthropologist* 56 (1954), p. 974; *Oxford English Dictionary: OED Online* (Oxford University Press) [accessed March 10, 2010]. The latter defines ‘assimilation’ as ‘The action of making or becoming like’.

³ See chapter 2, pp. 66-77.

⁴ For a convincing rebuttal of the notion that the Norse and Anglo-Saxon communities were able to maintain separate ethnic identities see Matthew Innes, ‘Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Political Allegiance’, in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), pp. 65-88; and Hadley, ‘‘And They Proceeded to Plough and to Support Themselves’’, pp. 82-93.

⁵ To be discussed below.

⁶ Stenton envisioned the changes including the legal system, estate structure, and status of the peasantry, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 502-525.

system are now thought to have originated before 865,⁷ whilst the Norse contribution to English law was largely one of terminology.⁸ Scholars speak of the Norse settlers rapidly assimilating into Anglo-Saxon culture, but although this may have been the case, the impact of the immigrants should not be dismissed, and there remain clear instances of the Norse introducing cultural innovations into the areas which they settled.⁹ Additionally, as discussed above, the introduction of wheel-thrown pottery production in England occurred under Norse rule even if the potters themselves were probably Frankish.¹⁰ It has been posited that aspects of lordship are likely to have been instrumental in the assimilation of the Norse elite, as they adopted local cultural forms to help secure their rule in the conquered territories.¹¹ While I agree with this suggestion, another possible contributing factor for the occurrence of both assimilation and innovation that has not been adequately explored is the cultural knowledge that the Norse had by the time they settled, not only of Anglo-Saxon culture but also of those areas outside of Scandinavia from which the immigrants are likely to have originated.

Unfortunately any detailed investigation into the political situation in the Norse kingdoms is hampered by a lack of available information not only on the kingdoms under Norse rule, but also on the period prior to their conquest. In particular, once Norse rule commenced the *ASC* largely remains silent, and documents did not survive from those areas during their rule.¹² Similarly, the new Anglo-Saxon regions that were created with the division of Northumbria and Mercia also produced no surviving documents that suggest how the division of the kingdoms had proceeded. The absence of charters and detailed narrative sources for much of the ninth century for all of the conquered kingdoms makes commentary on most aspects of Norse administration all but impossible. Indeed, the

⁷ Hadley, ‘‘And They Proceeded to Plough and to Support Themselves’’, pp. 69-71, 75-82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5; Holman, ‘Defining the Danelaw’, pp. 3-4.

⁹ Hadley, ‘‘And They Proceeded to Plough and to Support Themselves’’, p. 75. For the rapid assimilation of the Norse, often involving conversion, see Logan, *Vikings in History*, pp. 152-3; Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, p. 143.

¹⁰ See chapter 3, pp. 159-64.

¹¹ For the Norse elite and lordship see in particular Dawn M. Hadley, ‘‘Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark’’: Lordship in the Danelaw, c. 860-954’, in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), pp. 107-32.

¹² For this problem for Norse Northumbria in particular see Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, p. 219. For this problem south of the Humber see Hart, *The Danelaw*, pp. 4-5. For a discussion of the lack of documentation for Northumbria, Mercia and East Anglia both prior to and during Norse rule see Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 58-9, 72-4, 95-6, 100-101.

paucity of detailed documentary evidence makes it difficult for many arguments about acculturation to appear as anything more than opinions with a negligible evidential base. Consequently the discussion below will be limited to those aspects of culture contact for which evidence exists.

Norse/Anglo-Saxon acculturation was a two-way process that can be thought to have happened at roughly two levels, on the personal level and in the structure of the Norse kingdoms, although most aspects of the process would have operated at both levels. Virtually all features of life for the immigrants and local populations would have been affected, making it too large a subject to be tackled in its entirety in this thesis. This chapter will therefore deal with some select aspects of acculturation, as well as innovations introduced by the Norse, at the macro-level only: those aspects of Norse rule that operated throughout a kingdom and affected its relations with neighbouring kingdoms.¹³ Some of the economic and political decisions made by the Norse leaders will be examined, seeking to assess to what degree these decisions were a continuation of Anglo-Saxon practices or were instead innovations. The treaty between Alfred and Guthrum and the boundaries of the new Norse kingdoms will be examined, as will the basic economic structures of the kingdoms. Finally, some comment will be made on the suggestion of Rollason's that the Norse were not responsible for the changes which occurred in York following Norse settlement. It will be argued that both acculturation and innovation were at work, and that the origins of the migrants affected their decisions.

Political innovation and acculturation: boundaries and neighbours

Perhaps the best documented opportunity for acculturation during the campaigning period was the twelve days spent by Guthrum and thirty of his leading followers with Alfred after the Norse defeat at Edington in 878.¹⁴ The stay was part of the events attached to the baptism of that group of Norse, an aspect of the treaty reached following Alfred's victory. The ceremonies presumably included significant meetings between leading churchmen and the Norse as part of the baptism process, allowing the Norse to become more familiar with christianity. Alfred also honoured the Norse with riches.¹⁵ During this time it may be

¹³ The following chapter will investigate an aspect of acculturation that operated on both the macro and micro-level, that of religious conversion and burial customs.

¹⁴ Swanton, *ASC*, 878, p. 76.

¹⁵ *Ibid*; Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 56, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 85.

expected that the Norse involved had ample opportunity to observe various aspects of Anglo-Saxon kingship and culture.

However the acculturation process was under way before this. Indeed, when the likely age of the migrants presented in Table 1¹⁶ is considered, many of the Norse had spent much of their adult lives in England by the time the great army began to settle, providing them ample opportunity to become accustomed to Anglo-Saxon culture.¹⁷ The first tangible sign of the political acculturation of the great army's leaders was their decision to establish client kings. As I have shown, client kingship itself was more a Continental than Anglo-Saxon concept in the ninth century and in this respect the Norse were innovators in the Anglo-Saxon political field.¹⁸ The use of client kings brought the Norse into direct contact with the local political sphere and notions of lordship, some aspects of which the Norse leaders appear to have adopted and in some instances adapted in the settlement areas by c. 900.¹⁹ Whatever knowledge the Norse leaders had of the conquered kingdoms before a client king was installed, and for all of the kingdoms other than possibly Northumbria it is likely to have been considerable, it must have been enhanced through negotiations with the client kings and subsequent observation. There were no doubt many other opportunities for the Norse of varying ranks to become accustomed to Anglo-Saxon norms. Those for which evidence exists include the likely market at Torksey during the great army's wintering of 873-4, an occasion that probably attracted some of the local population; as well as the peace treaties concluded between the great army and various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.²⁰

Through their use of client kings it would be expected that by the time the great army began to settle and govern directly Norse leaders would have had a reasonable understanding of how their particular kingdom had been administered. The appointment of client kings demonstrates that the Norse had relied on local support in the conquered kingdoms during the campaigns of the great army, and this is unlikely to have changed upon settlement.²¹ One probability is that many of the Anglo-Saxons who had helped to

¹⁶ Chapter 2, p. 95.

¹⁷ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 64.

¹⁸ See chapter 4, pp. 184-5.

¹⁹ For lordship see in particular Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark'.

²⁰ These are recorded in the *ASC* for almost every year during the campaign of the great army. For the likelihood of a market at Torksey in 873-4 see Blackburn, 'Finds From the Anglo-Scandinavian site of Torksey', p. 100.

²¹ Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark', p. 112.

administer the client kingdoms continued to do so following Norse settlement. Indeed, Hadley makes the important point that, from what can be discerned from the patchy evidence, ‘the basic institutions of the [settlement] region survived’, representing significant continuity through the period of Norse rule.²² For example, assembly sites and administrative units in the Norse settlement areas appear to have largely continued the existing Anglo-Saxon system, suggested in part by most assembly sites having OE names, with few ON *thing* names.²³

The only existing document that provides an indication of how one of the Norse kingdoms was administered is the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum that was concluded sometime between 879-80 when Guthrum settled East Anglia and 890 when he died.²⁴ The treaty shows evidence of both acculturation and Norse innovation, and it is possible that members of the great army who had previously been in northern Francia may have had an influence on the document.

The treaty’s prologue records that along with the two kings the treaty was agreed to by the ‘councillors of all the English nation’ and ‘all the people who dwell in East Anglia’, suggesting that it was accepted that Guthrum was king of both Anglo-Saxons and Norse, and that he ruled by some form of consensus.²⁵ Although the OE term *witan* was not used to describe this arrangement as it is for Alfred, it seems likely that a similar institution may have been meant. The existence of a written treaty involving Guthrum, suggests that he, and by extension the Norse settlers he ruled, were being accommodated within the political, legal, social and economic norms of Anglo-Saxon Wessex.²⁶ Indeed, the provisions of the

²² Hadley, ‘‘And They Proceeded to Plough and to Support Themselves’’, p. 75.

²³ There is also proposed archaeological evidence. See Sam Turner, ‘Aspects of the development of public assembly in the Danelaw’, *Assemblage 5* (2000), available at <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/assemblage/html/5/index.html> [accessed July 13, 2010]. The continuation of the Anglo-Saxon system may have been due to its similarities to the one the Norse were familiar with.

²⁴ ‘Alfred and Guthrum’, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 98-101. For a slightly different translation see ‘The treaty between Alfred and Guthrum’, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 171-2. For Guthrum’s death see Swanton, *ASC*, 890, p. 82.

²⁵ *Angelcynnes witan and eal seo ðeod ðe on Eastænglum*, ‘Alfred and Guthrum’, prologue, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 98-9.

²⁶ Paul Kershaw, ‘The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty: scripting accommodation and interaction in Viking Age England’, in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), p. 48. For the possible importance of bringing the Norse settlers into the legal provisions of the Anglo-Saxon *wergild* system see Lavelle, ‘Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking’, p. 50.

treaty all had precedents in earlier Anglo-Saxon legal texts.²⁷ This in turn demonstrates that acculturation at a diplomatic level was well under way before 890. The text may also indicate that Guthrum recognized the importance of the written word in England.²⁸ Although the text includes some Norse terminology, namely the social class *liesengum* and the amount *healfmearcum*,²⁹ it was written in OE, probably by a member of Alfred's court.³⁰ The use of two ON words in an official West Saxon document is a good example of both acculturation at work and an innovation in terminology introduced by the Norse, as well as an important indication of how quickly ON terminology began to be adopted into OE. The treaty clearly demonstrates that Guthrum was acting like an established Anglo-Saxon christian king, issuing written laws for his subjects.³¹ Furthermore, the treaty also provides legal recognition of Norse rule, and indeed of West Saxon rule over western Mercia, and that the treaty was intended to hold 'both for living and unborn' suggests that, at least officially, both leaders expected Norse rule to continue.³²

However it may be wrong to emphasize the cultural assimilation of Guthrum and his settlers in this document and there may be more indications of Norse innovation than the use of two ON words. By the ninth century the Anglo-Saxons had a centuries-old tradition of issuing written laws and charter bounds, but the Alfred-Guthrum treaty is the first written treaty to have survived.³³ Furthermore, although there are likely to have been earlier agreements involving Anglo-Saxon kings negotiating territorial boundaries, there is no explicit reference in sources such as Bede or the *ASC* to any earlier written treaties.³⁴ Consequently, although the notion of recording estate boundaries in written texts was long established amongst the Anglo-Saxons, it does not appear that recording political

²⁷ Niels Lund, 'Peace and Non-Peace in the Viking Age – Ottar in Biarmaland, the Rus in Byzantium, and Danes and Norwegians in England', in J.E. Knirk, ed., *Proceedings of the 10th Viking Congress: Larkollen, Norway, 1985* (Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter, Oslo, 1987), pp. 261-2. This does not deny that the Norse may have also experienced similar laws, either in the Scandinavian homelands or if they had been settled in Ireland or northern Francia.

²⁸ Lavelle, 'Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking', p. 52.

²⁹ 'Alfred and Guthrum', clause 2, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 98.

³⁰ Kershaw, 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty', p. 51.

³¹ A reference to God is made in, 'Alfred and Guthrum', prologue, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 98, 99.

³² *ge for geborene ge for ungeborene*, *Ibid.*; Kershaw, 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty', p. 48.

³³ The earliest written law code was issued by Æthelberht of Kent, in the late sixth or early seventh century. For the text and translation see 'Æthelberht', in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 4-17. For a selection of Anglo-Saxon laws and charters, dating from before 880, see Whitelock, *EHD*.

³⁴ For example written treaties may have existed between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, or with the neighbouring Celtic-speaking areas.

boundaries was. It may therefore be wrong to assume that it was only Alfred, who may have welcomed the opportunity to contain Norse rule within agreed boundaries, who wanted his agreement with Guthrum recorded in writing.

The Alfred-Guthrum treaty is actually called a *frið* (peace) in the text, the same word used in the *ASC* for agreements between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the great army, suggesting that it was considered a continuation of earlier peace deals made between Alfred and Guthrum in 871, 876, 877, and 878.³⁵ However there is no indication that these earlier peace deals were put down in writing.³⁶ It is therefore at least possible that the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum was the first to have been written down, which would help to explain its survival. Indeed the treaty may have inaugurated a new convention of written treaties as Æthelweard indicates that there may have been a written agreement between Alfred and the 890s army, while Edward the Elder's Exeter Law Code refers to a lost written text about legal procedures in the Norse settlement areas.³⁷ An early tenth-century treaty, probably from the reign of Æthelstan, also survives that involves a border region between the Anglo-Saxons and Welsh, known as the 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*'.³⁸

Whilst there are no known Anglo-Saxon precedents for a written peace treaty in the ninth century, there are a number from Francia which were possibly known to the Norse and are therefore pertinent to this discussion. The text of the Treaty of Verdun in 843 which divided the Carolingian Empire between the three sons of Louis the Pious, does not survive, but the details preserved in the *AB* suggests that it was a written agreement.³⁹ As with the accord between Alfred and Guthrum, this earlier treaty stipulated the boundaries between the new kingdoms. The text is preserved of a later agreement that stipulated a boundary, the Treaty of Meerssen between Charles the Bald and Louis the German dividing

³⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 871, 876, 877, 878, pp. 72, 74, 76. 'Alfred and Guthrum', prologue, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 98.

³⁶ Niels Lund, 'Peace and Non-Peace in the Viking Age', p. 257.

³⁷ For Æthelweard see *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 49; Lavelle, 'Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking', p. 52. For Edward see 'II Edward (At Exeter)', clause 5 §2, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 121; Kershaw, 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty', p. 44.

³⁸ Lavelle, 'Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking', pp. 49, 53; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1982), pp. 204-5. A translation of the 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*' can be found in Frank Noble, *Offa's Dyke Reviewed*, M. Gelling, ed. (B.A.R., Oxford, 1983), pp. 105-9.

³⁹ Nelson, *AB*, 843, p. 56, & fn. 4 for commentary.

their brother Lothar's kingdom in 870.⁴⁰ Indeed the detailed geographic description of the boundary is reminiscent of the record of the border in 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty'. However such landscape features had a long history as boundary markers in Anglo-Saxon charters and Alfred and his court would have been familiar with using them, so it is not surprising to find them in an Anglo-Saxon text.⁴¹

Some Norse may however have also been aware of boundary features being part of written treaties. The Treaty of Meerssen divided Frisia between Charles and Louis and consequently would have impacted upon the Norse in Frisia, with Roric ruling areas now belonging to the rival brothers. Indeed Charles had met Roric and concluded a separate treaty with him, by which he became Roric's new overlord, before concluding the agreement with Louis.⁴² More important in relation to the Norse is an agreement recorded in the *AF* between Charles the Bald and the Norse leader Godfrid in 852-3 by which Godfrid and his men were granted some land.⁴³ Charles apparently had a list compiled at an assembly at Soissons of what had been granted to the Norse.⁴⁴ It is not known if a copy of the list was given to the Norse, but in any case it represents an agreement with the Norse that was committed to writing. Godfrid was the son of King Harald of Denmark and had been baptized with the rest of his family at the court of Louis the Pious in 826.⁴⁵ He was also an associate of Roric, ruler of Frisia, and the two campaigned together in Denmark in 855.⁴⁶ Indeed, the two were apparently both living in Frisia before they departed for Denmark in 855.⁴⁷ As Lothar's agreement with Roric granting him Frisia involved Roric collecting taxes and attending to other administrative duties, this agreement may have also

⁴⁰ A. Boretius & V. Krause, eds., *Capitularia regum francorum II, Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover, Hahn, 1898, reprint 1980), no. 251, pp. 193-5. See also the description of the boundary in Nelson, *AB*, 870, pp. 168-9.

⁴¹ See for example 'King Alfred's charter of 892 for Ealdorman Æthelhelm' in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 179-81, which uses a river, fords, a hill, road and wood to mark the boundary.

⁴² Nelson, *AB*, 870, p. 165; Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 99.

⁴³ Reuter, *AF*, 850, p. 30, which provides the wrong date (fn. 3, pp. 30-1); Nelson, *AB*, 852, 853, p. 75, which does not record a land grant. For commentary see Reuter, *AF*, 850, pp. 30-1, fn. 3, who argues that land was granted, and Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', pp. 94-5, who argues contra Reuter.

⁴⁴ Reuter, *AF*, 850, pp. 30-1, fn. 3.

⁴⁵ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 826, in Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Walters, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (The University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 1970), p. 119.

⁴⁶ Nelson, *AB*, 855, pp. 80-1

⁴⁷ Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 95. For the argument that Roric and Godfrid had also campaigned together in 850 see *Ibid.*, p. 94.

been written down.⁴⁸ Consequently it is possible that some of the Norse present at the negotiations for the Alfred-Guthrum treaty were familiar with the notion of such treaties being written.

Another innovative aspect of the Alfred-Guthrum treaty is that it was the first known Anglo-Saxon legal document to be issued jointly by two kings, something else which had recent Carolingian precedent.⁴⁹ Of course these Carolingian precedents could have been known and emulated by Alfred's court, or Alfred-Guthrum may have been written down due to the uniqueness of the situation. Yet considering the probable involvement of Norse from Frisia in the great army, it is possible that they arrived in England expecting any major treaty involving boundaries to take written form. In short, it is not impossible that Guthrum wanted his treaty committed to writing at least as much as Alfred may have, and it was this that led to the earliest known written Anglo-Saxon treaty.

Another area that displays evidence of possible acculturation but especially innovation for which some information is obtainable is that of the boundaries established in the Norse settlement areas. The *ASC* describes what appear to be three well-organised settlements by the great army, presumably accompanied by any non-combatants.⁵⁰ The descriptions of the initial Norse settlements in the three kingdoms refer to the land being 'divided up'.⁵¹ But as well as supervising the division of land between the Norse settlers, and presumably of the local Anglo-Saxon populations, the Norse leaders must also have determined the boundaries of their new kingdoms. Although historic borders can be difficult to define as they were subject to fluctuation, there is enough evidence to suggest where the borders of the Norse settlement zone were in the period 876 to 900. The borders indicate that despite settling in existing kingdoms the Norse leaders often acted in innovative ways. They were probably both dealing with the logistical realities of their settlement, but also taking advantage of the opportunities available.

⁴⁸ Reuter, *AF*, 850, p. 30.

⁴⁹ The treaty between Charles the Bald and Louis the German was issued jointly in 870, and one between Louis the Stammerer and Louis III was issued jointly in 878, Kershaw, 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty', pp. 51-2.

⁵⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 876, 877, 880, pp. 74 & 76. Considering that it would have been to the advantage of Wessex to record any serious problems or atrocities that occurred during the settlements of their recent foes it can be presumed that neither the chronicler nor Asser were aware of any.

⁵¹ *gedelde/gedeldon*, Bately, *ASC*, 876, 877, 880, pp. 50-1; Swanton, *ASC*, 876, 877, 880, pp. 74 & 76.

The divisions of Northumbria and Mercia into an area of Norse settlement and another retained by Anglo-Saxons are clearly discernible on a map of Scandinavian place-name elements in England, thereby largely confirming the chronicle accounts and the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum.⁵² Although no individual place-name can be assumed to have been coined before 900, the correlation between the place-names, archaeological finds, and the information in the *ASC* about Mercia and in later written sources for Northumbria, cannot be dismissed. This increases the likelihood that the written sources are rather accurate in their reports of the settlements and divisions of land, despite often being removed in time and place.

Following the conquest of Mercia the great army split in 874, with part of it moving to Northumbria with Halfdan, basing itself on the river Tyne.⁵³ The following year the *ASC* reports: ‘And that year Halfdan divided up the land of Northumbria; and they were ploughing and providing for themselves’,⁵⁴ marking the beginning of Norse settlement in England. Although the *ASC* says nothing further about this settlement, the northern sources record that the kingdom was divided in two as ‘Egbert II ruled over Northumbria beyond the river Tyne’.⁵⁵ This division at the river Tyne is also suggested by the *HSC*, which reports that when Eadred, abbot of Carlisle, went to negotiate with the Norse in the 880s he had to cross the Tyne.⁵⁶ The kingdom was divided by the convenient natural barrier of the river Tyne, and this division effectively returned Northumbria to its original Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, with Deira south of the Tyne being controlled by the Norse and eventually becoming the kingdom of York, and Bernicia to its north becoming an Anglo-Saxon earldom centred on Bamburgh.⁵⁷ As discussed in chapter 4, in reality the great army had split Northumbria in two in 867 by installing a client king north of the Tyne, long before they returned to settle in 876, with Egbert I, ruling the north and probably archbishop Wulfhere the south. The division of the kingdom could be attributed to Anglo-Saxon

⁵² See Map. 4, p. 224.

⁵³ Swanton, *ASC*, 875, pp. 72-4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 876, p. 74. *þy geare Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedēlde 7 ergende wæron 7 hiera tilgende*, Bately, *ASC*, 876, p. 50.

⁵⁵ *secundus Ecbertus regnat super Northumbros ultra amnem Tynæ*, *HR*, Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 111.

⁵⁶ Johnson-South, *HSC*, ch. 13, p. 53.

⁵⁷ For Bamburgh see Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 53. See also Graeme Young, *Bamburgh Castle: The Archaeology of the Fortress of Bamburgh AD 500 to 1500* (The Bamburgh Research Project, Alnwick, 2003), pp. 5-21. In 913 Eadwulf of Bamburgh was referred to as ‘king of the Saxons of the North’ in Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 913.1, pp. 360-1.

tradition, especially if rival dynasties of Deira and Bernicia continued to exist and exert influence. However, as we shall see, the traditional division of Northumbria at the Tyne does not appear to represent the reality of Norse settlement up to 900.

It has been suggested that Egbert's successor Ricsige also ruled only north of the Tyne, but unlike Egbert I he was not installed by the Norse.⁵⁸ This approach appears to have ended when Halfdan based himself on the Tyne. Ricsige is reported to have died in 876, and even if he was not directly deposed by the Norse, there is a strong suggestion that his successor was installed by them.⁵⁹ That Egbert II shared his name with the king recorded as having been a client king implies that they may have been from the same family, perhaps father and son. This suggestion increases the probability that Egbert II was installed by the Norse.⁶⁰ This probability is further strengthened by Egbert II beginning his reign in 876, the same year that Halfdan and part of the great army settled. As Halfdan had based his army on the Tyne and campaigned further north during the year before settlement, it clearly demonstrates that the Norse were involved in the affairs of their neighbours. It seems likely that they had installed Egbert II immediately prior to moving south in time to divide the land and commence 'ploughing and providing for themselves'.⁶¹ As the *ASC* records in regard to Ceolwulf of Mercia, it is likely that the Norse established the ruler of the newly created territory with which they would share a border, no doubt choosing someone they thought would be compliant.⁶² In such instances it would be expected that the northern Northumbrians would have been subservient to the Norse, at least initially, especially following Halfdan's campaign against them in 874-5.⁶³

The place-name evidence shows quite a few Norse-derived place-names as far north as the river Wear, especially up to the Tees, but hardly any above this. Those place-names north of the Tees may mainly relate to the documented activity of Ragnall granting land to

⁵⁸ See chapter 4, p. 187.

⁵⁹ According to Roger of Wendover (*Flowers of History*, Giles, ed., & trans., p. 209), Ricsig died of a broken heart when Halfdan settled. *HR* merely records that he died: *Rex Ricsig Northanhymbrorum moritur*, Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* II, p. 111.

⁶⁰ For Egbert I see Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii. 6, pp. 98-9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 876, p. 74. *ergende wæron 7 hiera tilgende*, Bately, *ASC*, 876, p. 50.

⁶² The division of Mercia with Ceolwulf will be discussed below.

⁶³ The *ASC* records that Halfdan conquered Northumbria, an entry that would make little sense in relation to the kingdom south of the Tyne as there is no evidence that the Norse had ever lost control of it, Swanton, *ASC*, 875, pp. 72-4. This inference is made explicit in the *LDE* which claims that after wintering on the Tyne the army 'devastated the whole region north of that river', *totam ad aquilonalem plagem predicti fluminis prouinciam... peracta hieme depopulaturus*, Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, Rollason, ii.6, pp. 100-1.

his followers after successful campaigns in the area in the early tenth century.⁶⁴ This is supported by the number of high ranking people with Norse names recorded in *Domesday Book* between the Humber and the Tees. Although these people may not have been descended from the early Norse settlers it clearly demonstrates the influence of Norse-naming practices in the area.⁶⁵ However the king of southern Northumbria apparently still controlled all the area up to the Tyne. Sometime after his ascension to the throne in 883 Guthfrith the king of Norse Northumbria granted the community of St Cuthbert a large amount of land between the Tyne and Wear. The grant may be seen as a form of continuity with the past as Guthfrith was effectively returning land that had been taken from the community by the Northumbrian kings Osbert and Ælla in the 860s.⁶⁶ The land grant can thus be viewed as a political statement by the new king that he recognised the ancient rights of the Church, unlike his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. As the community of St Cuthbert had apparently backed Guthfrith's accession to the throne this may have been part of the deal struck with his allies.⁶⁷ Even if the direct involvement of the community in Guthfrith's rise to power is discounted, that they settled at Chester-le-Street, south of the Tyne and closer to the Norse power centre of York suggests that some form of accommodation had been reached between the two parties.⁶⁸ In addition to this grant of land to the community, the *HSC* also records that the community purchased a number of estates from Guthfrith.⁶⁹ In conjunction with the estates between the Tees and Wear that the community had owned since the early ninth century, this effectively placed them in control of most of the land between the Tees and Tyne.⁷⁰ But there are further implications of Guthfrith granting land to the community beyond the probability that it was within the king of Norse Northumbria's power to do so. It may be instructive that there were no known grants of

⁶⁴ For a map of Norse place-names see *Britain Before the Norman Conquest*. For few Norse place-names north of the Tees see Victor Watts, 'Northumberland and Durham: the place-name evidence', in B.E. Crawford, ed., *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain* (Leicester University Press, London, 1995), pp. 206-13. For Ragnall's land grants in the area see Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 23, pp. 60-3.

⁶⁵ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, p. 236.

⁶⁶ Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 10 & 13, pp. 50-3.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 13, pp. 52-3. The community's involvement in Guthfrith's election is also recorded in the other eleventh-century northern source, the *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, see Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', pp. 523-4.

⁶⁸ That York was the centre of Norse power may be inferred by the burial of Guthfrith there according to Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 51.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, ch. 19a, pp. 58-9.

⁷⁰ For the earlier acquisition of estates between the Tees and Wear see Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 9, pp. 49-51; Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, p. 246. See map 4 below.

land between the rivers Humber and Wear to churches by the early Norse kings, as it is in these lands that the place-name evidence suggests the Norse settled. It is quite possible that Guthfrith was prepared to grant this land to the community of St Cuthbert as it was unlikely to alienate any of the Norse settlers as few appear to have settled so far north, and it may have pleased his Anglo-Saxon subjects. Seven years after the initial 'sharing out the land' it may have been decided that the area between Tyne and Wear was not required for Norse settlers.

By granting land to the Cuthbertine community Guthfrith was also establishing good relations and political loyalty from a no doubt grateful and wealthy new neighbour, as well as demonstrating meaningful support for the Church, rather than risking a rival lord or the Bamburgh earldom conquering the land at the frontier of Norse settlement and effective political control. The land grant effectively established a buffer zone, with an apparently co-operative ecclesiastical organization in possession, between the northern extent of Norse settlement and the Anglo-Saxon earldom north of the Tyne. It is not known how relations between the Kingdom of York and Bamburgh progressed after the division of Northumbria in 876, but by 883 a buffer zone between these areas could have been desirable. There is no record of a Norse king of southern Northumbria between the departure of Halfdan in 877 and the election of Guthfrith in c. 883, and indeed the narrative of the *HSC* makes it appear that Guthfrith's reign followed soon after Halfdan's, suggesting that the Norse had little impact on the community during the interim.⁷¹ The *ASC* also makes no mention of Northumbria during this period, suggesting that the Norse there did not trouble Wessex or western Mercia. Whatever may have been happening in Norse Northumbria during those six years, perhaps a period of internal consolidation, it may have enabled Egbert II to increase his independence.

⁷¹ Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 12 & 13, pp. 50-3.



- Mercia/ Bamburgh** Buffer states created by the great army
- Cuthbert** Post settlement Norse land grant, probable buffer state
- ? Uncertain status
-  Probable greater Norse Northumbria
-  Probable greater East Anglia
-  Alfred-Guthrum border
-  Watling Street

Map 4: Boundaries created by the Norse

In Norse Northumbria choosing a landmark to divide the north of the kingdom was very simple, as a convenient physical boundary with a history as a border, the River Tyne, existed. It is possible that in this decision the Norse leaders were following earlier Northumbrian precedent,⁷² and David Rollason sees the division as evidence of ‘a

⁷² In this instance it may be presumed that they were acting on local advice, perhaps from Archbishop Wulfhere.

continuation of what had come before'.⁷³ However in reality another river, the Tees, appears to have marked the limit of heavy Norse settlement, and perhaps the effective limit of Norse control once land north of the that river had been granted to the community of St Cuthbert. Whatever the reason for the decision by the Norse to control only the land up to the Tees, in the recorded history of Northumbria it marked a new political boundary. The establishment of buffer zones, initially north of the Tyne and then augmented by another north of the Tees, was another Norse innovation in Northumbria.⁷⁴

There is little indication of how far west Norse rule in Northumbria may have extended and whether the Norse created a new western boundary. In this regard place-names are of little help as new, or renewed, Norse migration to north-west England occurred in the early tenth century, coinciding with the Norse expulsion from Dublin in 902. Hence the Norse place-names in the area, regardless of whether scholars consider them to be 'Danish' or 'Norwegian', could have first been coined by migrants in either the late ninth or early tenth centuries, or indeed later. The *ASC* records that Edward of Wessex sent an army to 'Manchester in Northumbria' in 919, which may indicate that it had previously been part of Norse Northumbria, but this may have been a post 900 development.⁷⁵ However Asser reported that the sons of Rhodri Mawr, who ruled the northern half of Wales, sought an alliance with Alfred after abandoning an unfruitful alliance with the Northumbrians, which is thought to be a reference to Norse Northumbria.⁷⁶ For such an alliance to exist it may be expected that Norse Northumbria controlled some territory bordering northern Wales. If this was the case it suggests that Norse Northumbria continued to stretch west of the Pennines as the Anglo-Saxon kingdom had done.

The next kingdom to be settled was Mercia. Like Northumbria, it was also divided with a great army-appointed ruler placed in control of the portion not settled by the Norse. The client king Ceolwulf II was left in control of western Mercia, which was 'principally

⁷³ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, p. 244.

⁷⁴ The use of buffer zones will be further discussed below.

⁷⁵ *Mameceaster on Norþhymbrum*, Batley, *ASC*, 919, p. 69; Swanton, *ASC*, 923 [919], p. 104; Downham, 'Vikings in England', p. 343.

⁷⁶ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 80, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 96. For commentary see Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, n. 183, pp. 262-3; Dumville, 'The Vikings in the British Isles', pp. 219-20.

the diocese of Worcester'.⁷⁷ The initial agreement with Ceolwulf in 874 as reported in the *ASC* makes no mention of dividing the kingdom, only that the great army demanded that it should be ready for their return.⁷⁸ That happened in 877 when 'the raiding-army went into the land of Mercia, and some of it they divided up and some they granted to Ceolwulf'.⁷⁹ Æthelweard adds that the great army ravaged the kingdom before settling at Gloucester.⁸⁰ Similar to Halfdan's subduing of northern Northumbria, the ravaging of Mercia is likely to have been of western Mercia which Ceolwulf was to be left with, rather than the area about to be settled. It would make little sense for the great army to ravage the region it was about to settle, with the likely effect such an action would have on the area's food supplies and surplus, especially as eastern Mercia appears to have been compliant.⁸¹ As with Halfdan's raids against northern Northumbria, the Picts and Strathclyde Britons, the great army probably wanted to subdue any likely opposition in the part of Mercia it was not settling, weakening its soon-to-be Anglo-Saxon-ruled neighbour.

The boundary dividing Mercia is not described in full in any written source but may be reconstructed with some degree of certainty through the use of place-names and the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum. The first clause of this treaty defines the border between the two kings, stipulating that Guthrum controlled the land roughly to the east of Bedford. From Bedford the border followed the river Ouse to where it reached the old Roman road Watling Street, approximately at Stoney Stratford in Buckinghamshire.⁸² This document is useful for determining the border dividing the southern half of Mercia but it provides no information for the rest of the kingdom. As the treaty boundary ends at Watling Street many scholars have reasonably assumed that the road then became the boundary, perhaps as far as Chester, effectively dividing Mercia diagonally between east and west.⁸³

⁷⁷ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 123.

⁷⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 874, p. 72.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 877, p. 74.

⁸⁰ Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 42.

⁸¹ Geographically Wessex was in a good position to know of any resistance to Norse settlement in eastern Mercia so the silence of the *ASC* on this suggests that none was known to the chronicler.

⁸² 'The treaty between Alfred and Guthrum', in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 171. See Map 4.

⁸³ For maps marking Watling Street as a continuation of the boundary see Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, Map 3, p. 61; Keynes, 'The Vikings in England, c. 790-1016', pp. 53, 65; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 56; Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, Fig. 8, reproduced from A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956). For a concise discussion of the problem with this interpretation see Dawn M. Hadley, 'The Creation of the Danelaw', in S. Brink with N. Price, eds., *The Viking World* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2008), pp. 376-7.

Although this may indeed have been the case the place-name evidence suggests that Watling Street could have been the border as far as Tamworth, but after that the place names do not continue further west and instead run north, initially along the River Trent.⁸⁴ Of course, as with southern Northumbria between the Tees and Tyne, the Norse could have nominally held land that saw little Norse settlement. It is impossible to know if the boundary in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum represents the division of Mercia between the Norse and Ceolwulf in 877, or if the treaty boundary remained in place up to 900. Such boundaries may often be transient due to the ebb and flow of military campaigns, especially when not marked by a significant natural barrier like a river.⁸⁵ It is also not known how many, if any, of the place-names in eastern Mercia were in use by 900, or how representative they may be of early Norse settlement patterns. Yet despite these concerns, the treaty must date to before 900, the *ASC* clearly records the division of Mercia in 877 and Norse settlement in its eastern half, and the place-names are likely to represent in broad outline those settlement patterns.

The division of Mercia represents a political innovation by the Norse, apparently without Anglo-Saxon precedent. Mercia could be naturally divided into north and south by the use of the river Trent. Indeed Mercia had been temporarily divided into north and south at the Trent in the mid seventh century following the death of king Penda.⁸⁶ However using this obvious natural boundary would have cut the Norse settlers off from either the already-settled Norse kingdom of York, or the soon to be settled Norse kingdom of East Anglia. Assuming that the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum and the Norse place-names represents something close to the original division of Mercia, then it is interesting to note that the Norse burial sites of Heath Wood and Repton are 29 and 26 kilometres from Watling Street respectively, and also close to the extent of Norse place-names in the area.⁸⁷ There was no natural east-west boundary available to help divide Mercia, in which case the Roman road of Watling Street would have been a clearly discernible and known feature,

⁸⁴ See *Britain Before the Norman Conquest*.

⁸⁵ For example it is known that the Norse must have moved west of the boundary to Buckingham prior to 914 when it was conquered by Edward of Wessex, Swanton, *ASC*, 918 [914], p. 100. For more on the transience of the boundary see Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier', pp. 803-10.

⁸⁶ Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, III.24, p. 185.

⁸⁷ Approximate distances in a direct line. Although not particularly close for a pre-modern society, the distances were still easily covered in a day even by foot. For place names see Richards, 'Boundaries and cult centres', p. 99.

even if it was only the boundary as far as the River Trent. The practicality of using Watling Street as a boundary is demonstrated by Svein gaining submission of all those living to its north in 1013.⁸⁸ Roger of Wendover also records that England was divided at Watling Street following an agreement between Edmund and Anlaf, king of Norse Northumbria, in 940.⁸⁹

The probable decision to divide part of Mercia along Watling Street and close to Repton and Heath Wood may have been both a practical and symbolic decision. Repton and Heath Wood were probably both visible from the river Trent, the main waterborne entry from Anglo-Saxon Mercia into Norse Mercia, and could have then become additional boundary ‘signposts’. The site of Repton was at the edge of the former course of the river, whilst the Heath Wood barrows are on raised ground just over 1 km from the same river.⁹⁰ The suggestion of the most recent excavator of Heath Wood is that the cemetery began during the winter of 873-4 when the great army was based at Repton and perhaps continued in use until the end of its campaigns in 878.⁹¹ If this were correct then the use of the cemetery would have ended soon after the division and settlement of Mercia in 877, perhaps becoming a symbolic boundary marker. Griffiths suggests that burial is ‘as much a social and political statement intended for the living as a religious statement for the dead’, whilst Guy Halsall has noted that ‘burial mounds attempt to create a permanently readable ‘text’, perhaps aimed at a wider community’, and for Repton and Heath Wood the wider community may have been those in both Anglo-Saxon and Norse administered Mercia.⁹² Heath Wood and particularly the Repton mass burial required a significant investment of time and effort, and there is no reason to suppose that such a grand political statement was meant to be valid only for only a single event. Indeed the visible Norse burials may have acted in a similar way to barrow burials in Germany, which were ‘used as territorial

⁸⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, E, 1013, p. 143.

⁸⁹ Roger of Wendover, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, Giles, ed., & trans, p. 251. Binns, ‘The York Viking Kingdom’, pp. 185-6.

⁹⁰ Biddle, & Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘Repton and the ‘great heathen army’, 873-4’, pp. 45-7; Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire’, pp. 23-4.

⁹¹ Richards, ‘Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire’, p. 107.

⁹² Griffiths, ‘Settlement and Acculturation in the Irish Sea Region’, p. 127; Halsall, ‘The Viking Presence in England?’, p. 271.

markers where other prominent features were lacking'.⁹³ Once the kingdom was divided Repton and Ingleby became prominent and no doubt symbolic markers in the peripheral area between Norse and Anglo-Saxon Mercia.

After the partition of Mercia there is little information on the relationship between its former halves, but it seems that the Norse were dominant. The *ASC* makes it clear that Ceolwulf was granted western Mercia by the Norse having previously been their client king, and in such circumstances he would inevitably have been initially subservient. Furthermore, if the great army ravaged the portion of the former kingdom about to be left to the Anglo-Saxons, it would have been weakened militarily. Like the areas north of the Tees and Tyne, western Mercia may have initially acted as a buffer zone between Norse territory and Wessex. There are no further reports of Ceolwulf, but he is given a reign of five years in the regnal list preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript from Worcester, which would take his reign to 879 if counted from when he became client king of Mercia.⁹⁴ After the demise of Ceolwulf II the next named leader of western Mercia is described in most sources as an *ealdorman* rather than king. The first document to mention Æthelred is a charter of 883 which gives him this title, in comparison to King Alfred whom it also names.⁹⁵ Asser also makes the subservient relationship of Æthelred to Alfred explicit by saying that Æthelred had subjected himself to Alfred's lordship.⁹⁶ At some point between the division of Mercia in 877 and the first record of Æthelred as the Mercian leader in 883 the subservience of western Mercia to the Norse had evidently been broken and Æthelred had become an ally of Alfred of Wessex.⁹⁷

The creation of western Mercia and northern Northumbria as initially weak buffer states, with the community of St Cuthbert later becoming an additional buffer area between the Tyne and Tees, was another instance of political innovation by the Norse, especially for the ninth century.⁹⁸ Although the pre-Norse Anglo-Saxon kingdoms shared boundaries with at least one Anglo-Saxon neighbour, and all but East Anglia also shared a boundary with

⁹³ Eva S. Thäte, *Monuments and Minds: Monument Re-use in Scandinavia in the Second Half of the First Millennium AD*, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 4° No. 27 (Wallin & Dalholm, Lund, 2007), p. 157 and references therein.

⁹⁴ Walker, *Mercia*, p. 74.

⁹⁵ The charter (S 218) is translated in Whitelock, *EHD*, no. 99, p. 498.

⁹⁶ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 80, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 96.

⁹⁷ This alliance was strengthened when Æthelred married Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd, *Ibid.*, ch. 75, p. 90.

⁹⁸ For a map of these buffer zones see Map 4.

areas under British control, there is no evidence that they used buffer zones with semi-independent rulers on the eve of the arrival of the great army. The border between the Welsh and Mercia was Offa's Dyke, while the land up to the Firth of Forth probably had the same status between the Northumbrians and Picts, but there is nothing to indicate that these frontier areas were not under the direct control of the relevant kings.⁹⁹ Instead, as with the use of client kings, Norse experience on the Continent may have been the inspiration for the decision. Again, Norse-administered Frisia is the obvious candidate for the immediate example. The *AF* report that when Lothar granted Roric Frisia in 850 part of the agreement was that Roric would resist attacks by other Norse groups.¹⁰⁰ The stipulation clearly demonstrates that Lothar considered Frisia, with its subservient Norse ruler, as a peripheral area protecting the more central parts of his territory from raids. Such a description could equally apply to northern Northumbria and western Mercia upon their creation by the Norse.

As stated above, there is little information available on how the Norse leaders administered their new kingdoms, but what exists indicates that they both emulated Anglo-Saxon practices and introduced innovations. The preamble of the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum suggests that the Norse king ruled with some form of consensus, as did contemporary Anglo-Saxon kings. But it also includes ON terminology, whilst committing to writing a treaty between kings and recording a common political boundary had recent Carolingian precedent, which may link the writing of the treaty to Norse who had emigrated from northern Francia. Information is also available on the political boundaries established by the Norse, and in this they appear to have been innovators. Although the initial use of the river Tyne as a boundary may have been influenced by Northumbrian precedent, when this boundary effectively moved south to the river Tees, and especially in the division of Mercia into eastern and western portions, the Norse were effectively re-drawing the political map of England.

Political innovation and acculturation: the economy

As with the boundaries created by the Norse for their new kingdoms, their economies can also be seen as involving both acculturation and innovation. Furthermore, the Norse

⁹⁹ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, pp. 30-4; Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 4; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 94-5, 117

¹⁰⁰ Reuter, *AF*, 850, p. 30.

economies allow further insight into their administration, with Blackburn considering the coinages introduced by the Norse to ‘imply a considerable degree of administrative organization and control’, an impression that is impossible to obtain from the scanty written record.¹⁰¹ Additionally, once the army had disbanded and settled the three kingdoms some significant differences between the areas, including their economies, emerged. These variances may have resulted in part from the settlers of the distinct kingdoms originating from different places within the Norse world, namely northern Francia and Ireland. This in turn appears to have helped to determine the orientation of their economies. The Norse introduced a bullion economy to areas under their control, sometimes in conjunction with coinage, whilst their coinage introduced innovative designs to England, often based on Frankish coinage.¹⁰²

The pre-Norse historical differences between the areas of Norse settlement in England may have augmented any differences in the origins of the settlers and cannot be ignored. Once the Norse settled, it is likely that the bonds which had held the great army together during its campaigns began to weaken. The three documented Norse settlements occurred in different, rival, kingdoms, each with their own indigenous aristocracy. The new leaders could not help but be affected by the traditional concerns of the area that they settled, and such issues are likely to have had more influence on their policies than a simple division between ‘Norse’ and ‘Anglo-Saxon’.¹⁰³ Indeed, upon settlement such ethnic divisions, if they ever existed, probably started to break down, and the Norse elite are likely to have identified more with the local Anglo-Saxon elite than with any poorer Norse settlers.¹⁰⁴ That such an attitude had developed by 896 may in part explain why only the wealthy members of the 890s Norse army were allowed to settle in Anglo-Norse territory.

Regardless of the possibility raised by the *HSC* that some Norse from Frisia settled in Northumbria, it was demonstrated in chapter 3 that the clearest Norse connection with Northumbria was with Ireland. A political connection between Dublin and York is well attested into the tenth century, especially with a number of named Norse leaders. However the link is also likely to have existed with Norse settlers of a lesser rank. As Halfdan had

¹⁰¹ Mark Blackburn, ‘Expansion and Control’, p. 139.

¹⁰² For the Frankish influence on the designs see ch 3, pp. 152-3.

¹⁰³ Hadley, ‘Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark’, p. 114.

¹⁰⁴ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 83-4.

connections with Dublin, especially through his brother Ivar, when he oversaw the settlement of his part of the great army in southern Northumbria most are likely to have been Norse who had emigrated from Ireland.¹⁰⁵ Smyth has suggested that those who settled under Halfdan were the surviving original members of the great army that had arrived in 865, and this may have been the case for most of those he settled.¹⁰⁶ However the careers of Ivar and Halfdan demonstrated that both leaders visited places in the Irish Sea area during the campaigning period in England, and other Norse may have travelled to England to join their compatriots, either accompanying these leaders or as part of smaller groups. There may have also been further Norse immigrants from Ireland between the initial settlement in 876 and 900. As suggested by the ‘Ireby’ and ‘Scot’ place-names, it is possible that those emigrating from the Irish Sea included natives, or Norse born in that region.

It is possible that the origin of the settlers may have been a major contributing factor to the economic structure of the new kingdom of Norse Northumbria. It is uncertain when the Anglo-Saxon coinage of Northumbria ceased, but it must have done so by at least late 866 when the Norse gained control of York, and none of the client rulers are known to have issued coinage.¹⁰⁷ But if, as is possible, the coinage had ended in the 850s then the local ability to mint coins may have been lost by the time the Norse settled.¹⁰⁸ In contrast, once the Norse settled East Anglia and eastern Mercia they soon minted coins, in part by immigrant moneyers, so the decision of the more northerly Norse not to produce a coinage immediately appears to have been deliberate rather than due to a lack of available moneyers. It may have partly been due to the Norse taking over a kingdom that had adapted to a coinless economy or one that relied on coins minted elsewhere. Yet another contributing factor may have been the cultural expectations of the new settlers. That Halfdan was the leader who directed the settlement suggests that most of the Norse had come from Ireland, which did not yet have a coin economy. Consequently, not only would the Norse emigrating from Ireland not have had familiarity with minting coins, but they may have had little experience of operating in a monetary economy, other than transactions

¹⁰⁵ For retainers accompanying their lords see Lund, ‘The settlers’, p. 152; Ryan Lavelle, ‘Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking’, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings*, pp. 244, 260.

¹⁰⁷ One of the Northumbrian kings defeated by the great army, Osberht, had issued coinage but it is uncertain if it continued to the end of his reign. See Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 301-3.

¹⁰⁸ Blackburn, ‘The Coinage of Scandinavian York’, p. 325.

possibly conducted with Anglo-Saxons during the campaigning period. In effect, the immigrants who had little experience of operating in a coin economy were settling amongst a local population who must have adapted to life in an economy where coins were no longer minted.¹⁰⁹ If York and Dublin were politically, and presumably economically, aligned there was also less immediate incentive for those ruling York to initiate a new coinage, as it would have been of little use in trade with Ireland. Similarly, the areas to the north of the new Norse kingdom also did not have a coin economy.

The areas to the south of southern Northumbria, including Norse settlements, did have a monetary economy, but for the areas controlled by the Norse a dual economy, operating through both coinage and bullion (which may include coinage for its weight value), was in place.¹¹⁰ The bullion economy had initially been introduced to England by the great army during its campaigns.¹¹¹ Gareth Williams has noted that the use of coinage was important for those wanting to trade with people from areas that already had a well-developed monetary economy.¹¹² However in post 880 England only Wessex, and by extension Western Mercia, could be said to have such an economy, suggesting that merchants from Norse Northumbria may not have regularly been directly involved in trade with these areas unless barter was used.¹¹³ For a kingdom oriented towards the coinless Irish Sea region, or even the dual economies of the other Norse settlement areas in England, there was little immediate incentive to create a local coinage for trading purposes.

In contrast, the Norse kingdom of East Anglia did issue its own coinage soon after settlement, suggesting a different origin of the settlers and a different economic orientation. It was posited in chapter 3 that Guthrum and his followers may have arrived in England from northern Francia, perhaps Frisia, explaining the Norse connection with Frankish moneyers and their familiarity with a monetary economy. That the connection was maintained appears to be borne out by the finds of Carolingian coins in the Norse settlement area, with all of the single finds of coins from c. 880-930 being from the region

¹⁰⁹ Even if minting had only stopped in 866 rather than the 850s, the number of Northumbrian coins in circulation must have been significantly reduced by the time of Norse settlement in 876.

¹¹⁰ For the dual economy see Graham-Campbell, 'The Dual Economy of the Danelaw', pp. 52-9.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-8.

¹¹² Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 184.

¹¹³ For the likelihood of barter being used during this period see Susan E. Kruse, 'Trade and Exchange Across Frontiers', in J. Graham-Campbell & G. Williams, eds., *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, 2007), pp. 167, 171-2.

settled by Guthrum's portion of the great army, namely Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and near Royston on the Hertfordshire/Cambridgeshire border.¹¹⁴ A familiarity with coinage may help to explain why Guthrum issued his so quickly. Although based in part on Carolingian issues and those of Wessex, Guthrum's coinage used the lighter weight standard of c. 1.35 g common in southern England before Alfred's monetary reforms from 880.¹¹⁵ The lighter coins were already familiar to members of the great army from payments it had received during its campaign in England, as well as to Guthrum's new Anglo-Saxon subjects, demonstrating Norse acculturation to the local weight standard.¹¹⁶ The coinage was also in Guthrum's own name, his baptismal name of Æthelstan, strongly suggesting that he was firmly in control of the kingdom and that the coinage was his initiative.¹¹⁷ Indeed, Guthrum's apparent familiarity with Frankish coinage strengthens the likelihood that he had emigrated from Francia. The act of minting of coins has been seen as evidence of Norse acculturation in England as the Scandinavian homelands did not issue coins in the late ninth century.¹¹⁸ However, when the recent origin of the Norse is considered the acculturation to minting may have occurred earlier, as the Norse had controlled Frisia whilst coin production continued.¹¹⁹

Despite using Frankish moneyers and some Carolingian and West Saxon designs, Guthrum's coinage is still an important indication of Norse acculturation, but not for simply the minting of coins. Although the West-Saxon produced treaty with Alfred used Guthrum's Norse name, and his obituary in the *ASC* used both this name and his baptismal name, it is significant that his coinage used his Anglo-Saxon baptismal name.¹²⁰ The choice of the Anglo-Saxon name Æthelstan as the name for Guthrum could relate to Alfred's eldest brother, or to the early ninth-century East Anglian king.¹²¹ Whatever the inspiration

¹¹⁴ Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', Table 7.2, p. 133. Based on coins known up to the year 2000.

¹¹⁵ Carolingian coins were c. 1.75 g and Alfred's post 880 coins were c. 1.60 g. For the difference weights see *Ibid.*, pp. 128-30; Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 25.

¹¹⁶ For the likely origin of the weight standard see Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 199.

¹¹⁷ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 1', p. 36.

¹¹⁸ Scholars who note the lack of coinage in the Scandinavian homelands and see coin production as a sign of Norse acculturation in England include Blackburn, 'Expansion and control', p. 138; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 174. Williams ('Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 196) notes the familiarity of members of the great army with coinage from earlier campaigns in Francia, but does not mention the connection with coin production in Frisia.

¹¹⁹ As mentioned in ch 3 (p. 156) the falling literacy of coins produced at Dorestad after the area had been granted to the Norse is thought to be an indication that they were involved in the minting process.

¹²⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 890, p. 82.

¹²¹ Kershaw, 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty', p. 51; Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark', p. 122.

for the choice of name, the use of Æthelstan rather than Guthrum on his coinage, the only evidence created by Guthrum himself, is an indication that Guthrum wanted to portray himself as an accepted ruler of an English kingdom, and perhaps highlight a fictional continuity between his rule and that of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. This effect is further enhanced by a central cross appearing on some of the coins, signaling that Guthrum was, or at least wanted to be represented as, a christian ruler of a christian kingdom. The coins also followed the usual Anglo-Saxon practice of having an initial small cross at the start of inscriptions.¹²² A further sign of Guthrum's acculturation was the use of Latin text for his coin's inscriptions.¹²³ Although Guthrum was the only Norse king to issue coinage in an Anglo-Saxon name, all of the coins to be discussed below of named Norse rulers up to 900 used Latin script and presented, except for one exception, a Latinized version of their Norse name, with their title also in Latin, suggesting that all these Norse kings wanted to be seen as christian Anglo-Saxon kings.¹²⁴

The establishment of an indigenous Norse coinage suggests that the East Anglian economy was geared to interact with established monetary economies, probably specifically Wessex across its southern border, an impression increased by the issuing of imitation coins of Alfred for a decade from the mid 880s.¹²⁵ However Alfred was to reform his coinage soon after Guthrum first issued his, and although Guthrum adopted some of the designs on Alfred's new coinage, he did not copy its heavier weight, perhaps signaling his independence from his godfather.¹²⁶ This differing weight standard between the kingdoms suggests that their economies were not integrated and that an agreed exchange ratio would have been needed between traders. The existence of regular trade between East Anglia and Wessex is demonstrated by the Alfred-Guthrum treaty, with one of its five clauses being concerned with trade between the kingdoms.¹²⁷

¹²² Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 35; Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 198. For an example of such a coin see Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin*, plate 1, number 2.

¹²³ By contrast, some of the Norse Northumbrian coinage of the early-to-mid tenth century featured the royal title in ON, Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 200.

¹²⁴ Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark', p. 123; Hadley, 'Viking and Native', p. 59. Some of the coins of king Siefred, to be discussed below, presented an un-Latinized version of his name, Sievert rather than Siefredus, Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 321.

¹²⁵ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings Part 1', pp. 20-1.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹²⁷ For which hostages were required, 'Alfred and Guthrum', clause 5, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 100-1.

Whatever the volume of trade with Wessex, East Anglia was also part of the Norse bullion economy, which would have helped to facilitate trade with Scandinavia, Northumbria, and perhaps the Irish Sea region.¹²⁸ Although introducing a bullion economy to the previously monetized settlement region may be considered a retrograde step, it is also clear evidence of the acculturation process. By initially operating a dual economy the Norse settlers in East Anglia continued using the bullion economy they were accustomed to from the campaigning period, but also became integrated into the coin economy that their Anglo-Saxon subjects were familiar with. The innovation of a dual economy allowed the East Anglians to trade with kingdoms with either economic system. Evidence of the continued existence of a bullion economy in Norse East Anglia after the introduction of their own coinage may be seen in the Ashdon hoard, Essex, of c. 895, which included coins pecked to check their silver content.¹²⁹ Pecking had occasionally occurred in England in the seventh and early-eighth centuries, but was not current before the arrival of the Norse in the ninth.¹³⁰ A bullion economy may also be inferred from a number of gold and silver ingots found in East Anglia.¹³¹ Significantly, the distribution of weights and Arabic dirhams, both indicators of a bullion economy, are predominantly in the areas settled by the Norse prior to 900, with some weights also in lands bordering the Irish Sea, rather than in the long-monetised kingdoms of Wessex and western Mercia.¹³² That the bullion economy in the south of the Norse settlement area was largely geared towards trade with Norse Northumbria may be inferred from its end, with Graham-Campbell suggesting that it ceased to function earlier in the south than the north.¹³³ The latest evidence for a bullion economy operating in East Anglia appears to be the Ashdon hoard. As this is dated to c. 895, at approximately the same date as the York mint was established to produce a coinage for the Norse kings, it is possible that once a coin economy was operating in Norse Northumbria there was no need for East Anglia to maintain a bullion economy.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Signs of a bullion economy 'are the presence of foreign coins..., ingots, hack-silver and 'pecks' or other test marks that are typically found applied to coins and metalwork in Scandinavia and eastern Europe', Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', p. 134.

¹²⁹ Graham-Campbell, 'The Dual Economy of the Danelaw', p. 58.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57. See also Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the 'Age of Silver'', pp. 75-6.

¹³² For a distribution map see Richards & Naylor, 'The metal detector and the Viking Age in England', Fig. 32.3, p. 345, and p. 349 for discussion.

¹³³ Graham-Campbell, 'The Dual Economy of the Danelaw', p. 59.

¹³⁴ For the opening of the York mint in c. 895, see below.

Whilst the borders between the Norse settlements and their Anglo-Saxon neighbours were discussed above, there has yet been no analysis of the possible borders between the different Norse groups, for which a discussion of eastern Mercia and its possible role in the innovative Norse economic system is essential. Unfortunately there is no written evidence for who ruled this region. By the early tenth century it appears to have comprised a number of independent areas centred on towns; however this may have been a recent development in the face of the aggression of Wessex and western Mercia under Edward and his sister Æthelflæd rather than reflecting the situation upon settlement.¹³⁵ There are at least three coins in the name of a Norse king Halfdan. Originally considered to have been issued in the name of the great army leader, they are now attributed on stylistic grounds to the north of Norse Mercia in the late 880s or early 890s.¹³⁶ As this is too late for Halfdan I the coins could possibly belong to an unknown king of Norse Mercia, or Norse Northumbria. Alternatively, it is not impossible that they were a memorial issue for Halfdan I like those issued in the name of St Edmund. The lack of a known leader increases the likelihood that eastern Mercia was not initially independent but shared between the Norse kingdoms of East Anglia and southern Northumbria. Williams has suggested that eastern Mercia was ruled by earls who did not generally issue coinage in their own name as this was considered to be a regal right, but instead may have minted an anonymous coinage.¹³⁷ This plausible suggestion would certainly account for the situation in the early tenth century with the *ASC* describing Jarl Thurcytel controlling Bedford and Jarl Thurferth in charge of Northampton.¹³⁸ However, this was not necessarily the situation immediately after settlement, and even if it was the earls could have been ruling on behalf of kings of East Anglia or Norse Northumbria in the period before 900.

Eastern Mercia was the second area settled by the Norse when part of the army led by Guthrum settled before the remainder attempted another invasion of Wessex.¹³⁹ As the settlers had been campaigning under Guthrum it is likely that most of them had arrived in England with him and owed some form of allegiance to him, perhaps making Guthrum

¹³⁵ Swanton, *ASC*, 919 [915] – 924 [920], pp. 100-4. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 102. The more northerly of these towns were first referred to as the ‘five boroughs’ in a poem in Swanton, *ASC*, 942, p. 110.

¹³⁶ Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 319.

¹³⁷ Williams, ‘Kingship, Christianity and Coinage’, p. 201.

¹³⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 918 [914], 921 [917], pp. 100, 102-3.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 877, p. 74.

overlord of these settlements. Guthrum's connection with Mercia can also be seen in his movements after the battle of Edington. After leaving Wessex, Guthrum and his defeated army based themselves in Cirencester (Gloucestershire) for a year, before settling in East Anglia in late 879-880.¹⁴⁰ Guthrum and his army would have then travelled through Norse Mercia on their journey to East Anglia. Guthrum's control of the south of Norse Mercia appears to be confirmed in his treaty with Alfred where the border arrangements indicate that Guthrum controlled the land roughly north of the Thames and to the east of Bedford, which includes the southern portion of eastern Mercia as well as East Anglia.¹⁴¹ Not only is Guthrum described as the sole ruler of this area, but eastern Mercia is not given its own identity and instead the prologue describes the treaty as including 'all the people who dwell in East Anglia'.¹⁴² This suggests that under Guthrum the kingdom of 'East Anglia' comprised not only the former kingdom but also south-eastern Mercia, including the modern counties of Essex¹⁴³ and Cambridgeshire, and parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire.¹⁴⁴

The notion of a greater East Anglia appears to have continued after Guthrum's death in 890. Sometime after that the St Edmund memorial coinage began to be issued, and it appears to have been minted not only in East Anglia but also in the south-east Midlands.¹⁴⁵ Both of these areas had been controlled by Guthrum according to his treaty with Alfred, and the joint issuing of the St Edmund coinage suggests a continued link, perhaps under a single ruler.¹⁴⁶

The silence of the *ASC* on eastern Mercia also supports the notion that it was not an independently ruled area. A pertinent example can be found in the entry for the year 893-4,

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 879, 880, p. 76.

¹⁴¹ 'Alfred and Guthrum', clause 1, in Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 98-9. See Map 4, p. 224.

¹⁴² *eal seo ðeod ðe on Eastænglum*, prologue, in *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ For the suggestion that the northern bank of the Thames and its hinterland in Essex was not controlled by East Anglia see Hart, *The Danelaw*, p. 118. However as this is not stipulated in the treaty it may have been a development after Guthrum's death.

¹⁴⁴ This area is referred to as the 'outer Danelaw' by Hart, *Ibid.*, pp. 10-6, a designation followed in Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings Part 1', pp. 18-20.

¹⁴⁵ Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 201.

¹⁴⁶ In addition to this coinage the south of eastern Mercia issued a number of anonymous issues, including many copies of Alfred's coinage, but there was also coinage for earl Sihtric issued at *Sceldfor*, Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', p. 132. Gundiberht, the moneyer of these coins and someone also known to have minted the St Edmund memorial coinage, also struck coins for Edward the Elder after 917 (Hart, *The Danelaw*, p. 11), making it likely that Sihtric's coinage and the possible independence from East Anglia which it may signify should be dated to after 900.

the second year of the campaign of the 890s army. The entry records that the Northumbrians and East Anglians assisted the new arrivals by joining the campaign against Wessex, but it fails to mention eastern Mercia.¹⁴⁷ Even in years when the 890s army must have travelled through eastern Mercia, for example to reach Chester from Essex in 893, and to reach East Anglia and Northumbria from Bridgnorth when the army dispersed in 896, eastern Mercia is not mentioned.¹⁴⁸ It is unlikely that only two of the three areas of Norse settlement would join the campaign against Wessex, and instead eastern Mercia may not have been mentioned as it did not exist as its own political entity, at least in the mind of the chronicler. In this instance it might be expected that the chronicler would know who Wessex was fighting against. This is especially likely when one considers the detail provided on the campaign of the 890s army. Similarly, when the *ASC* recorded that some members of the army settled in East Anglia and Northumbria Sawyer considers it probable to have included settlement in eastern Mercia.¹⁴⁹

It is likely that at some stage in the later ninth century the northern portion of eastern Mercia came to be controlled by Norse Northumbria. This area was beyond the scope of the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, perhaps in part due to it being too far north to be of immediate concern to Alfred. There are no indications of when Norse Northumbria extended its influence south of the Humber, or if it had occurred as soon as the Norse settled, but there is evidence that it had happened by 894. For that year Æthelweard records that the West Saxon ealdorman Æthelnoth went to York and those there ‘possessed large territories in the kingdom of the Mercians, on the western side of the place called Stamford. This is to say, between the streams of the river Welland and the thickets of the wood called Kesteven by the common people’.¹⁵⁰ If Norse Northumbria controlled a town as far south as Stamford it is highly probable that it also possessed the area between there and the Humber. Sawyer posits that Æthelweard’s *Chronicle* indicates that by 894 Norse Northumbria controlled a significant portion of the modern counties of

¹⁴⁷ Swanton, *ASC*, 894, p.84.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 894 & 897, pp. 88-9.

¹⁴⁹ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, pp. 97-8. The only other area that is mentioned during these campaigns is Essex, so it is possible that it had some degree of autonomy from East Anglia, Swanton, *ASC*, 894, 895, pp. 85, 87, 88.

¹⁵⁰ *qui non parua territoria pandunt in Myrciorum regno loci in parte occidentali Stanforda. Hoc est inter fluenta amnis Vueolod et condensa syluæ, quæ uulgo Ceostefne nuncupatur*, Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 51. For a slightly different translation see Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 337. For the argument in favour of Campbell’s translation see Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, n. 13, p. 115.

Lincolnshire, and Rutland.¹⁵¹ It is equally likely that the area further west, including the towns of Derby, Nottingham and Leicester, were also under its control. Furthermore, if Norse Northumbria controlled Stamford by 894 it is logical to assume that it had gained control of the area north of Stamford earlier, if indeed it had not controlled the entire region from its settlement by the Norse in 877. Norse Northumbrian control of eastern Mercia from the Humber to Stamford, and perhaps the river Welland, would mean that its territory extended almost as far south as the northern extent of the area controlled by Guthrum according to his treaty with Alfred. As both of these indications of the territory controlled by the two Norse kingdoms date to before 900 it increases the likelihood that eastern Mercia had been divided between East Anglia and Norse Northumbria since 877.

This control of the area south of the Humber may explain why kings of Norse Northumbria had some of their coinage produced in the north of eastern Mercia. Only a single coin, from the Ashdon hoard, is known for Guthfrith, the Norse king who died in 895 and was buried at York, and on stylistic grounds it is thought to have been produced south of the Humber in the area later known as the five boroughs.¹⁵² Guthfrith's coins are likely to have been produced before mints were operating in Norse Northumbria.¹⁵³ The coin of the unknown Halfdan mentioned above is stylistically similar to that of Guthfrith's, suggesting they were from the same mint.¹⁵⁴ This connection between kings at York and mints south of the Humber was to continue, as even after a mint in Norse Northumbria had been established, Lincoln was producing coins for the Norse kings at York in the 920s.¹⁵⁵

Although Norse Northumbria operated solely with a bullion economy before the mid 890s, Lincoln and Leicester in eastern Mercia issued coins from the early 880s.¹⁵⁶ The extension of minting to this area has been considered 'a radical monetary development',¹⁵⁷ and represents a significant and deliberate innovation under Norse rule. If it were not for the report in *Æthelweard* that clearly states that the Norse in York controlled the area around Stamford, and therefore presumably also Lincoln further north and possibly

¹⁵¹ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 101.

¹⁵² Mark Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings Part 2: The Two Scandinavian Kingdoms of the Danelaw, c. 895-954. Presidential Address 2005', *British Numismatic Journal* 76 (2006), p. 215. For Guthfrith's death see *Æthelweard, The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 51.

¹⁵³ Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', p. 128.

¹⁵⁴ Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 319.

¹⁵⁵ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings Part 2', p. 212.

¹⁵⁶ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings Part 1', p. 21; Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', p. 131.

¹⁵⁷ Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', p. 139.

Leicester to the west, this would appear to make little sense. Whilst Norse Northumbria proper had a bullion economy, the area it controlled to the south had a dual economy similar to that of East Anglia. The Stamford hoard of c. 890 is the earliest known hoard in Britain to include pecked coins, and the use of pecking suggests that a bullion economy continued to be in use after the production of coins had commenced in the region, and that a dual economy was in operation for at least as long as the one in East Anglia.¹⁵⁸ As with greater East Anglia, a dual economy would have allowed those in the north of eastern Mercia to trade with all of their neighbours in Britain. With Norse minting spreading out from East Anglia the same weight standard was adopted, which would have continued the weight standard with which they were already familiar.¹⁵⁹ This decision would have also facilitated trade with greater East Anglia. It is possible that Norse Northumbrian control of this coin-producing area allowed it to participate in the dual economy. Once Norse Northumbria began to issue its own coinage it also adopted the East Anglian weight standard,¹⁶⁰ suggesting that its monetary economy was designed for trade with its Norse-administered neighbours to its south. This new coinage, the first in Northumbria for at least thirty years, was an innovation under Norse rule. By its end the previous Northumbrian coinage, known as the ‘styca’, had become debased, and ended up a small coin of pure brass.¹⁶¹ In contrast, the new Norse coinage reintroduced silver and employed innovative designs, which were influenced very little by either Anglo-Saxon or Carolingian issues.¹⁶²

Despite its innovation the new coinage also demonstrates that significant acculturation had taken place by its appearance in c. 895. The coins of two otherwise unknown Norse kings of Northumbria, Siefrid and Cnut (Siefrid probably reigned from c. 895-900 and Cnut c. 900-905), included various liturgical inscriptions in Latin, as well as featuring crosses both in their primary design and before the inscription.¹⁶³ This initial coinage consequently provides a clear indication of the Norse kings operating in a christian milieu. Some have argued that the Archbishop of York may have been in control of the

¹⁵⁸ Graham-Campbell, ‘The Dual Economy of the Danelaw’, p. 58.

¹⁵⁹ Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings Part 1’, p. 34.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Blackburn, ‘The Coinage of Scandinavian York’, p. 325.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 329-31, 343.

¹⁶³ Blackburn, ‘Currency Under the Vikings Part 2’, p. 205; Williams, ‘Kingship, Christianity and Coinage’, p. 198. It was only in the post 900 coinage that symbols like Thor’s hammers, swords, birds, and the triquetra were featured, Williams, ‘Kingship, Christianity and Coinage’, p. 198.

coinage,¹⁶⁴ but as Blackburn notes, although the Church may have had an influence on the coinage, it was overtly regal.¹⁶⁵ It would also be expected that as Archbishop Wulfhere had issued his own coinage under the Anglo-Saxon kings prior to 867, if the archbishops, especially Wulfhere who was probably archbishop until 900, were in control of the coinage at least some of it may have been issued in their own name.¹⁶⁶

The Norse acculturation with local ecclesiastical centres in Northumbria was well under way before the coins first appeared in c. 895. On the political level, we saw that Archbishop Wulfhere dealt with the great army during the campaigning period and may have ruled southern Northumbria on behalf of the Norse, before remaining archbishop after the Norse settlements. As demonstrated above, there was also a political alliance between Guthfrith and the community of St Cuthbert. The description of the election of Guthfrith in the *HSC* appears to contain an interesting account of acculturation at work, with a combination of traditional Norse symbolism with christian relics. Abbot Eadred of Carlisle made Guthfrith king on *Oswigesdune* (Oswiu's dune) by placing a golden arm-ring on his right arm. A strong christian element, especially for the community of St Cuthbert, was also evident as the body of the saint was then brought to Guthfrith, over which he swore an oath.¹⁶⁷ Having the ceremony held atop a hill associated with the Northumbrian king Oswiu (d. 670) was most likely done to add 'regal tradition to the legitimacy of the events'.¹⁶⁸ That Oswiu had had an important role in establishing Roman christianity in Northumbria was possibly also a reason for the choice.¹⁶⁹ The use of the arm-ring may have been understood by both Norse and Anglo-Saxons in the audience. The use of rings as items of importance is evident in Anglo-Saxon poetry, especially in the giving of rings by a lord to

¹⁶⁴ For example Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, pp. 224-8.

¹⁶⁵ Blackburn, 'Currency Under the Vikings Part 2', p. 205; Blackburn, 'The coinage of Scandinavian York', p. 332. See also Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 45-7, including images of the coins.

¹⁶⁶ For the pre-Norse coinage of Wulfhere see Blackburn, 'The coinage of Scandinavian York', p. 325. Æthelweard records that his successor Æthelbald was consecrated in 900, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 52. For two traditions on the date of Wulfhere's death see Rollason with Gore & Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History*, p. 59.

¹⁶⁷ Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 13, pp. 52-3.

¹⁶⁸ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 40.

¹⁶⁹ It was during the reign of Oswiu that the synod of Whitby (664) was held in Northumbria, which decided in favour of Roman over Gaelic practices in a number of matters, most importantly the future dates of Easter, Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, iii.25, pp.185-92.

his worthy followers, for example in *Beowulf* and *The Seafarer*.¹⁷⁰ Ring giving, albeit of finger-rings, were also part of the Anglo-Saxon christian milieu, with a finger-ring given to the Prodigal Son in the OE version of the parable.¹⁷¹ The contemporary importance of rings to the Norse, and the Norse settlers in particular, is demonstrated by a report in the *ASC* of Guthrum swearing an oath to Alfred on a sacred ring at Wareham in 876.¹⁷² Such oath-rings are mentioned in later saga literature that looks back to pre-Christian times, particularly *Eyrbyggja Saga*.¹⁷³ Furthermore there is probable contemporary evidence for the use of oath-rings in Scandinavia in some images on picture stones, and a number of metal rings have survived, one probably dating to the ninth or tenth century with a runic inscription that mentions law.¹⁷⁴ Although the description of Guthfrith's election was part of a miracle story designed to emphasize the power of St Cuthbert, the mention of such details as the arm-ring and the name of the abbot provide some confidence that the story includes genuine information.¹⁷⁵ As Guthfrith's body was 'entombed in the city of York in the high church', he was presumably considered a christian at his death.¹⁷⁶ Despite the probable inclusion of some pagan symbolism in the inauguration ceremony, it is significant that the ceremony was presided over by the Church and included christian relics. Indeed, Anglo-Saxon kingship and the Church were inexorably linked, and the Church provided useful models of kingship to the newly settled Norse rulers. Consequently it is not surprising that all of the Norse rulers appear to have accepted aspects of christianity early in their rule as they endeavoured to establish themselves as legitimate kings in the Anglo-Saxon style.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ *Beowulf*, ln. 1194, *earn-rēade*, arm-ornament, in Michael Alexander, ed., *Beowulf: A Glossed Text*, Revised ed. (Penguin, London, 2000), pp. 78-9; *The Seafarer*, ln. 44, *hringþege*, ring-receiving, in Hamer, *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*, pp. 188-9.

¹⁷¹ *Luke* 15:22, in James W. Bright, ed., *The Gospel of Saint Luke in Anglo-Saxon* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893), p. 69.

¹⁷² Swanton, *ASC*, 876, p. 74. See also Richard Abels, 'King Alfred's Peace-Making Strategies with the Danes', *Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991), pp. 27-9.

¹⁷³ Judy Quinn, trans., *The Saga of the People of Eyri*, chs. 4 & 16, in V. Ólason, ed., *Gisli Sursson's Saga and The Saga of the People of Eyri* (Penguin, London, 2003), pp. 76, 90.

¹⁷⁴ Stefan Brink, 'Forsaringen – Nordens äldsta lagbud', in E. Roesdahl & P. Meulengracht Sørensen, eds., *Beretning fra femtende tværfaglige vikingsymposium* (Aarhus Universitet, Århus, 1996), pp. 27-55; Magnus Källström, 'Forsaringen tillhör 900-talet', *Fornvännen* 4 (2010), pp. 228-32.

¹⁷⁵ For discussion see Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, pp. 245-6; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 38-9.

¹⁷⁶ *cuius mausoleatur Euoraca corpus in urbe in basilica summa*, Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 51.

¹⁷⁷ Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark', p. 115.

The direct involvement of the Norse on some of the innovations starting under their rule has been questioned by David Rollason. He has posited that the evidence of renewal in York beginning in the latter ninth century, including the establishment of a mint and town planning that saw the Coppergate district established from c. 890, should not be attributed to the Norse kings but instead to the archbishops of York, who may have ‘used the military capabilities of the Viking kings when it suited them’.¹⁷⁸ In terms of town-planning, he notes that there was not ‘anything characteristically Viking about the laying out of the city around Coppergate’.¹⁷⁹ However, this suggests that Norse town-planning was standardized and that they would all share certain identifiable characteristics, whereas it is far from clear what a typical Norse town should look like, especially before 900.¹⁸⁰ Proposed layouts of towns occupied by the Norse have been based on keyhole excavations and are far from certain.¹⁸¹ Rollason also notes that the differences between the buildings of York and Dublin demonstrate that there was no ‘Norse’ way of building.¹⁸² Although this may be correct, it is likely that Norse leaders and traders adapted to local building styles, and town layout, perhaps best exemplified by the Type 1 houses now identified in ninth-century levels in Dublin which may be a ‘compromise type adapted to Irish conditions but influenced in form and layout by Norse prototypes’.¹⁸³ Indeed, at Cherrywood on the outskirts of modern Dublin a ‘longhouse’-style building was constructed in the late ninth century, but it was soon replaced by a Type 1 house, suggesting that any potential ‘Norse-style’ buildings would not necessarily have been retained.¹⁸⁴ In England, where the Norse were occupying

¹⁷⁸ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, pp. 223-230, quote p. 228. For town planning at Coppergate see *Ibid.*, pp. 221-3, and Hall, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes’, p. 315.

¹⁷⁹ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, p. 223.

¹⁸⁰ However, the long, narrow plots found at Coppergate from the early tenth century (R.A. Hall, ‘The Topography of Anglo-Scandinavian York’, in Hall et al, *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York* (Council for British Archaeology, York, 2004), p. 494) were paralleled at Dublin from the late ninth century (although the plots were not as long, Simpson, *Director’s Findings*, Fig. 11, p. 21) and Ribe from the eighth century (Stig Jensen, *The Vikings of Ribe* (Den Antikvariske samling, Ribe, 1991), p. 7; Claus Feveile, ‘Ribe: continuity or discontinuity from the eighth to the twelfth century?’, in J. Sheehan & D. Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), pp. 98-9.

¹⁸¹ For example, only 5% of the area inside the ramparts at Hedeby has been excavated, and 0.125% of York, Helen Clarke & Björn Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1991), p. 139.

¹⁸² Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, pp. 223-4.

¹⁸³ Patrick F. Wallace, ‘Foreward’, in Simpson, *Director’s Findings*, p. v (quote), and Simpson, *Director’s Findings*, pp. 20 & 27 for the structures.

¹⁸⁴ John Ó Néill, ‘Excavations of rural Norse settlement at Cherrywood, Co. Dublin’, available at www.mglarc.com/index.php/dublin-based/92-excavation-of-rural-norse-settlement-at-cherrywood-co-dublin.html [accessed August 6, 2010].

and extending existing towns, the incentive to follow local precedent is likely to have been strong. Although York, and indeed other Norse-controlled towns in England, may not appear to be ‘typically Norse’, whatever that may mean, that the development of the towns occurred during Norse rule suggests that it was authorized by them, regardless of the ethnicity of those doing the planning and building.¹⁸⁵

Rollason’s suggestion that the development of York was undertaken by its archbishops is based on the succession of Norse kings being ‘broken, complex and marked by violence and instability’, making it unlikely that these kings could have been responsible for the development of York.¹⁸⁶ He also notes that many of the imports were not from Scandinavia. Yet Norse influence on economic activity in England need not be assessed purely in terms of an influx of Scandinavian goods; it may be visible in the presence of goods traded along well established Norse trade routes.¹⁸⁷ Rollason’s own admission that ‘the see of York lost substantial estates in the period of the Viking kings’ seems to argue strongly against his position regarding the control of the archbishop, and his evidence is primarily from post 900.¹⁸⁸ The rapid succession of Norse kings belongs to the tenth century, with only three kings known from c. 876-900 (Halfdan, Guthfrith, and Siefrið), so it is possible that they were established enough to make use of the Church bureaucracy. Indeed Guthfrith probably reigned for twelve years (c. 883-895) and it was under his reign that the establishment of Coppergate began, and that kings of Norse Northumbria first minted coins, although admittedly the coin of Guthfrith was produced south of the Humber. Consequently, whilst Archbishop Wulfhere was undoubtedly an important and powerful figure in Norse Northumbria, it is probably more than mere coincidence that York

¹⁸⁵ In addition to Coppergate, the best evidence for this is the creation of Flaxengate, and possibly Grantham street, and reoccupation of the surrounding area in late ninth-century Lincoln, Dom Perring, *Early Medieval Occupation at Flaxengate Lincoln*. The Archaeology of Lincoln, 9/1 (Council for British Archaeology, London, 1981), p. 44. It is interesting to note that the first metalled road at Dublin was created before the Norse return in 917, and presumably before their expulsion (at least of the leaders) in 902, Simpson, *Director’s Findings*, p. 25, & Fig. 11, p. 21; Linzi Simpson, ‘Viking Dublin: the ninth-century evidence begins to unfold – Temple Bar West, Ship Street Great and South Great George’s Street’, in E. Roesdahl & J.P. Schjødt, eds., *Treogtyvende tværfaglige Vikingsymposium* ((Forlaget Hikuin og Afdeling for Middelalderarkæologi, Aarhus Universitet, 2004), p. 51. Considering the lack of metalled roads in Ireland it is possible that the inspiration for the Dublin road came from Norse-administered towns in England.

¹⁸⁶ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100*, pp. 218 (quote), 223-4.

¹⁸⁷ In particular, the suggestion (*Ibid.*, p. 223) that the finds from the Muslim world did not necessarily come to York through the Norse trade network, although possible, does seem unlikely considering the existence of the network and the evidence of Norse control of York. Instead, such imports increase the likelihood that the Norse were in control of York and attracting traders linked to the Norse trade routes through eastern Europe.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

witnessed major developments following the Norse settlement, and the early Norse kings were likely to have been directly involved. Indeed, Blackburn considers the new Norse coinage at York from c. 895-905 to be evidence of the Norse kings being in control and at the head of an able administration.¹⁸⁹ Instead of an either/or scenario it is likely that ongoing interaction between the Norse and the archbishops meant that both were involved in developments at York

It has been demonstrated that the Norse rulers introduced many innovations once they took direct control of the Norse settlement areas. New boundaries created new political entities by dividing former kingdoms. Furthermore, the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum suggests that the old Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia expanded to include the south of Norse Mercia, while there are indications that the area to the north was controlled by Norse Northumbria. The new Norse kingdoms also introduced another innovation in the co-existence of monetary and bullion economies, and the different origins of the migrants in northern Francia and Ireland may partly account for the initial economic differences between the kingdoms. The Alfred-Guthrum treaty set a precedent for written Anglo-Saxon treaties during the tenth century, and also saw the first use of ON words in an English document. However these innovations took place within an existing framework of Anglo-Saxon kingship that the Norse kings appeared to emulate. The minting of coins with Latin regal titles and christian motifs, and the issuing of laws for their subjects, are signs that at the political and administrative level the Norse were rapidly acculturating. The quick adoption by the Norse rulers of the style of christian kingship used by their Anglo-Saxon forerunners is the clearest example of Norse assimilation, but this should be seen in relation to the origin of the Norse settlers. Norse from northern Francia and Ireland had no doubt witnessed the highly christian framework of kingship in those regions, and their familiarity with that aspect of kingship allowed them to appropriate it so quickly once they settled in England. The acculturation process can be seen to have been a two-way process. Anglo-Saxons acculturated to such things as buffer states, client kingdoms, new political

¹⁸⁹ Blackburn, 'The coinage of Scandinavian York', p. 332; Mark Blackburn, 'Crosses and Conversion: The Iconography of the Coinage of Viking York ca. 900', in K.L. Jolly, C.E. Karkov, & S.L. Keefer, eds., *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*. Medieval European Studies IX (West Virginia University Press, Morgantown, 2007), pp. 178, 200.

boundaries, and a mixed economy, whilst the Norse acculturated to regal christianity and Anglo-Saxon language¹⁹⁰ and customs. The final chapter will deal with the question: did Norse acculturation to christianity occur at lower levels of society than the aristocracy, and did it involve anything other than the nominal legitimisation of rulers?

¹⁹⁰ Presumably – there is little information on the language spoken by the immigrants in the pre-900 period.

Chapter 6: Christianization and the strange case of Norse adaptability

Perhaps one of the most interesting and least understood aspects of Norse settlement in eastern England was their apparently rapid assimilation to most aspects of the prevailing Anglo-Saxon culture. I have argued that for the elite the acculturation process involved both the adoption of Anglo-Saxon culture and the introduction of their own innovations, and the process is likely to have been equally diverse for other Norse settlers. For example, the lack of oval brooches suggests that Norse women largely adopted Anglo-Saxon dress styles, with the five pairs found in England being a stark contrast to the 44 known from Iceland, an area settled by the Norse at approximately the same time as England but without an existing population to emulate.¹ Although some aspects of the acculturation process have been discussed in previous chapters, there are many that remain, including dress, food, place-names, and language. Unfortunately there is either little information available on these topics, or else it is impossible to ascribe the evidence to the period before 900. Instead this chapter will focus on a topic for which there are various types of evidence from the campaigning and early settlement period, the Norse acculturation to christianity. Whilst in part a macro-level political decision made by the elite,² the process of adopting aspects of christianity may also be regarded as operating on a personal level, affecting all of the Norse immigrants.

The investigation of the Norse use of christian culture is a useful exercise as it includes various forms of evidence, from written records to burial customs and pendants. Furthermore, although much of the evidence, including the record of Norse leaders being baptised and the use of christian iconography on Norse coins, involves the Norse elite, it also includes evidence that may incorporate those below that level. By investigating the

¹ For the brooches in England see ch 2, p. 79, fn. 142. If brooch fragments are included there are at least 13 oval brooches known, Kershaw, 'Culture and Gender in the Danelaw', p. 316. For oval brooches in Iceland see Michèle Mariette Hayeur Smith, *A Social Analysis of Viking Jewellery from Iceland*. Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2003), pp. 157-8. Although Kershaw has interpreted other Norse brooch types found in eastern England as indicating 'women dressed in an overtly Scandinavian manner' ('Culture and Gender in the Danelaw', p. 296), other brooch types were not restricted to use with the distinctive apron-style dress used with oval brooches. Indeed, many of the 'brooches with diagnostically Scandinavian forms' were made in England with insular rather than Scandinavian pin fittings (*Ibid*, p. 296), suggesting that they were adapted for use on Anglo-Saxon dress.

² For example the issuing of coinage with christian symbols discussed in the previous chapter.

acculturation of the Norse to at least the public aspects of Anglo-Saxon religious practices, I hope to add to previous explanations by demonstrating that an understanding of the cultural world of the immigrants is essential to our understanding of the process. Consequently, and in line with previous chapters, this chapter is as much about the exposure of the Norse to christian culture before they immigrated as it is about what happened once they arrived in England.

Lesley Abrams has reminded scholars that there may have been a significant difference between the christianisation of the Norse and their conversion. In particular, the latter may have been an ongoing process taking a generation or more after a nominal conversion which probably would have included baptism.³ During the process hybrid religions may have emerged in many, or all, Norse settlement areas, where aspects of Norse beliefs and christianity coexisted. For example, this has been proposed as an explanation for the examples of sculpture in Norse Northumbria that depict both biblical scenes and scenes from Norse mythology,⁴ providing an example of Anglo-Saxons in the settlement zones acculturating to the Norse.⁵ Of course, such coexistence may not have been recognised as proper christianity by many contemporaries within the church.⁶

As Martin Carver notes, a distinction needs to be made between conversion which involved some adoption of christian ideas and the establishment of christian infrastructure.⁷ The latter, part of a societal conversion or christianisation, is difficult to detect for the Norse settlers as they were settling amongst an existing christian society, and its infrastructure, although arguably severely diminished, still appears to have remained in the areas which the Norse settled. Consequently this chapter will focus on conversion that involved the adoption of christian ideas, even if those involved adopted only some rather than all of the notions of christianity.

³ Lesley Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Danelaw', in J. Graham-Campbell, R.A. Hall, J. Jesch, & D.N. Parsons, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2001), pp. 31-44, esp. pp. 31-2; Lesley Abrams, 'Conversion and Assimilation', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2001), pp. 135-53, esp. pp. 135-9. Christianisation is often also seen as involving societal change rather than just being concerned with individuals.

⁴ David Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2001), pp. 194-5.

⁵ The ringed cross-heads to be discussed below are another example of an innovation introduced by the Norse.

⁶ Abrams, 'Conversion and Assimilation', pp. 144-7.

⁷ Martin Carver, 'Agency, Intellect and the Archaeological Agenda', in M. Carver, S. Semple & A. Sanmark, eds., *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism revisited* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2010), p. 10.

None of the available evidence can attest private religious belief so this chapter will by necessity be concerned with evidence for Norse conversion to the culture of christianity. This minimalist view of conversion helps to solve the problem of it being impossible to establish that someone following a particular religious culture actually believed in the religion itself. For example, being buried in a christian manner in a christian cemetery does not mean that the person buried, or those burying them, would have necessarily accepted the teachings of Jesus, believed in the virgin birth, and worshipped the christian god to the exclusion of all others, as leaders of the church may have desired.⁸ Despite this, such burials do demonstrate that they had accepted one of the key cultural aspects of christianity and may have appeared, at least publicly, christian. Indeed, burial may be considered a public demonstration of the affiliations, including religious, of both the deceased and/or the witnesses.⁹ Although for such people the conversion process may not have been complete, being buried in a christian cemetery shows that they were accepted as christians and had possibly been baptised.

Regardless of the degree of personal christian belief, the Norse appear to have largely adopted the culture of Anglo-Saxon christianity soon after settlement, if not during the campaigning period of 865-878.¹⁰ This in itself appears to be somewhat remarkable and requires explanation. One answer lies in the notion of lordship, by which the new Norse elite would have wanted to legitimise their rule by adopting existing displays of governance that would have been recognisable to the Anglo-Saxon population. Hadley has noted that in their effort to establish themselves in an unstable environment, 'it is perhaps not surprising that these rulers should have come so quickly to adopt the trappings of lordship prevalent in England'.¹¹ With regards to the Norse adopting christian kingship, the issuing of christian

⁸ It is as difficult to ascertain the religious beliefs of most Anglo-Saxons as it is of the Norse migrants.

⁹ Hadley ('Vikings and native', p. 67) has noted that burial 'is as much an expression of social status and ambition... as it is an expression of religious affiliation'. Similarly Carver ('Agency, Intellect and the Archaeological Agenda', p. 5) notes that elite burials were almost certainly affected by 'political purpose', a notion which for the Norse is likely to especially apply to the mass burial and perhaps grave 511 at Repton. Although I agree with this position, the religious aspect of burials should not be downplayed, and the burials were no doubt informed by status, ambition, politics, religion and other factors to various degrees.

¹⁰ In her examination of the burial evidence Redmond considers accompanied Norse burials in christian cemeteries to have occurred in a single generation, ie. the first generation of migrants, and that such burials are evidence of interaction and acculturation with Anglo-Saxons, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 115.

¹¹ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 70. Despite the appeal of Anglo-Saxon-styled lordship, occasional displays of Norse identity by Norse rulers persisted and can often be related to political conditions, *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

coinages, the use of the term 'God' in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the granting of land to the Community of St Cuthbert, and the burial of king Guthfrith, and possibly Guthrum, in churches may all be cited as examples.¹² Furthermore, for the landowning elite, the support of a local church became an important indicator of status.¹³

The need for legitimacy is a compelling argument that should not be underestimated, but it may have been less relevant the further down the social scale the immigrant was. Although lordship has also been used in a wide sense it still does not account for all of the evidence.¹⁴ Furthermore, legitimization of lordship fails to account for *how* the Norse managed to change their customs so quickly, other than a vague notion that they must have been very adaptable. Even with a minimalist view of what conversion entailed this adaptability is surprising, especially if they are thought to have arrived as committed pagans with little previous experience of christianity. A consideration of the origins of the Norse settlers immediately prior to arriving in England helps to provide an answer for their adaptability.

Evidence for Norse paganism in England

Despite the seemingly universal scholarly consensus that the Norse arrived as pagans, the evidence for this is surprisingly sparse.¹⁵ The earliest extant recension of the *ASC* does not refer to the Norse armies or settlers of 865-900 as being pagan overall, although it may be inferred that the majority were as there is a single reference to two leaders of the great army

¹² For Guthrum's burial at *Headleage*, probably Hadleigh in Suffolk, probably at St Mary's church, see David Dumville & Michael Lapidge, eds., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*. Vol. 17, The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti (D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1985), 890, p. 95.

¹³ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 225; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 183.

¹⁴ For example, lordship fails to explain much of the Norse and Anglo-Norse jewellery, and the Norse place-names. If the new Norse elite wanted to adopt Anglo-Saxon culture to help them rule the local population, then why did they not keep the native name Northworthig, or even use a hybrid name, rather than renaming the centre Derby? Similarly, it is interesting that most of the Norse (rather than Anglo-Norse) jewellery has been recovered in rural rather than urban contexts (Kershaw, 'Culture and Gender in the Danelaw', p. 303), which may suggest that acculturation and adopting notions of Anglo-Saxon lordship were of less concern in rural areas, cf. Thomas 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw', p. 240. Finally, much of the jewellery was mass-produced from copper and lead alloys (Patterson, 'From Pendants to Brooches', p. 267), which presumably made it affordable to many people below the elite level, perhaps rendering notions of lordship less applicable to such evidence.

¹⁵ For example 'We can therefore safely imagine that the Scandinavian conquests of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms brought pagan invaders into immediate relationship with the churches and churchmen of those kingdoms', Abrams, 'Conversion and Assimilation', p. 140; and 'it is certain that the majority of the settlers were initially pagan', Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 224. See also Logan, *The Vikings in History*, p. 152; Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 15.

being ‘heathen kings’.¹⁶ The non-Christian status of the Norse, at least according to those who opposed them, is portrayed much more clearly by Asser, who often refers to them as ‘pagan’.¹⁷ Yet Asser’s terminology may emanate from a desire to heighten the ‘otherness’ of the Norse and to position Alfred as a champion of Christianity, creating a sense of religious war.¹⁸ There is little evidence in the written record for the paganism of the great army, especially of the overt type proposed by Smyth, wherein the Norse worshipped Odin and made human sacrifices to him.¹⁹ The *ASC* records Guthrum swearing an oath to Alfred on a sacred ring, and the *HSC* has Guthfrith wearing an arm-ring in his coronation.²⁰ But in both instances high-ranked Christians were involved, in the negotiations and ceremony respectively, so it may be unwise to stress the pagan element overly. *ASC* recensions B, C, D, and E record a brother of Ivar and Halfdan landing in Devon with a raven banner, as does the *Annals of St Neots*, a text written in c. 1120-40 and based in part on the northern version of the *ASC* no longer extant.²¹ The raven could be a pagan emblem associated with the war-god Odin, but the report does not appear in the earliest extant version of the *ASC*, nor in Æthelweard’s *Chronicle* which was apparently based on an early version of the *ASC*, despite these texts reporting the event itself, so the use of the raven banner is difficult to verify.²² Even if it was used, a raven banner was apparently also raised in the battle of Ashingdon in 1016 by the Christian king Knut, so it need not imply that those using it were pagan and honouring Odin.²³ Furthermore, ravens and other carrion animals feasting on the

¹⁶ *heþnan cyningas*, Bately, *ASC*, 871, p. 48; Swanton, *ASC*, 871, p. 70. The oft-quoted *mycel hæðen here*, ‘great heathen raiding-army’, most recently used as a chapter title (‘The ‘Great Heathen Army’ In England’, in Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 82.) occurs in recension E, the latest of the *ASC* recensions: Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Parallel, 866, p. 69; Swanton, *ASC*, p. xxvi-xxvii for the dating, & 866, p. 69.

¹⁷ For example, *paganorum*, Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 26, in William Henry Stevenson, ed., *Asser’s Life of King Alfred: together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904), p. 22. Keynes & Lapidge (*Alfred the Great*) usually translate ‘pagan’ as ‘Viking’.

¹⁸ For Asser and Norse paganism see Page, ‘A Most Vile People’: *Early English Historians on the Vikings*, pp. 10-11. For his creation of a sense of religious war see Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, n. 12, pp. 230-1.

¹⁹ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, p. 222 posits that the great army sacrificed kings Ælle and Edmund to Odin.

²⁰ Swanton, *ASC*, 876, p. 74; Johnson South, *HSC*, ch. 13, pp. 52-3.

²¹ Swanton, *ASC*, E, 878, p. 77. Dumville & Lapidge, *The Annals of St Neots*, 878, p. 78, & pp. xv-vi for the dating, and pp. xxxi-ix for the use of a copy of the *ASC*.

²² Swanton, *ASC*, 878, p. 76; Æthelweard, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 43.

²³ Alistair Campbell, ed. & trans., *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (Royal Historical Society, London, 1949), I, 9, pp. 24-5. For the uses of raven symbolism by the Norse (primarily based on later sources), including the banner of Sigurd the Stout of Orkney, see Leon Wild, ‘The Raven Banner at Clontarf: The Context of an Old Norse Legendary Symbol’, in K.L. Burge, ed., *Vikings and their Enemies* (Viking Research Network, Melbourne, 2008), pp. 37-48.

slain of the battlefield feature in Anglo-Saxon poetry long after the Anglo-Saxons had become christian, for example in the poem on the battle of Brunanburh used as the annal for 937 in the *ASC*.²⁴ Thus ravens appear to have been common battle motifs of the northern world, without necessarily any specific religious connotations.

Asser's use of 'pagan' gains some support from the burial evidence, but it may be unwise to assume that all burials that did not conform to Anglo-Saxon christian customs are evidence of overt Norse paganism.²⁵ Although it is now recognised that Anglo-Saxon burials were far from uniform in the latter ninth century and did at times include grave goods, there are still a number of burials that are thought to be Norse, often due to the inclusion of weapons with the burial. Anglo-Saxon grave-goods, when they occur, were more likely to be jewellery and other accessories associated with dress.²⁶ The cremations at Heath Wood have been mentioned a number of times during this thesis, partly as they are the clearest evidence for Norse burial and a non-christian rite. But they are also atypical. A small number of weapon burials not associated with a known christian cemetery are thought to date to the campaigning period of the great army.²⁷ Other Norse weapon burials of the campaigning and early settlement periods, including the mass internment at Repton, are associated with christian cemeteries and will be discussed below.

The large numbers of ninth to eleventh century weapons found in English rivers have been interpreted as ritual deposits paralleled by those known from the Scandinavian homelands.²⁸ For example, David Wilson noted that there have been more swords of the period found in rivers than in burials.²⁹ At one site in particular, Skerne, East Yorkshire, objects including a ninth or tenth-century iron sword and at least twenty animal skeletons, including a horse that had been pole-axed in the forehead, were associated with a jetty or bridge abutment's oak piles.³⁰ Wetland depositions increased during the Norse period and

²⁴ Swanton, *ASC*, 937, p. 109 for the carrion beasts – ravens, eagles, hawks, and wolves.

²⁵ For the problems of distinguishing 'pagan' and 'christian' evidence see Carver, 'Agency, Intellect and the Archaeological Agenda', pp. 2-17.

²⁶ For Anglo-Saxon burial see Hadley, *The Vikings In England*, pp. 247-8; Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 207-9.

²⁷ Specifically those at Thetford, Reading and Sonning.

²⁸ Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 40-1. For an overview of possible ritual deposits in water in Scandinavia at this time see Julie Lund, 'At the Water's Edge', in M. Carver, S. Semple & A. Sanmark, eds., *Signals of Belief in Early England* (Oxbow, Oxford, 2010), pp. 51-3.

²⁹ Wilson, 'Some Neglected Late Anglo-Saxon Swords', pp. 50-2.

³⁰ J. Dent, 'Skerne', *Current Archaeology* 91 (1984), pp. 251-3.

were predominantly found in regions under Norse influence.³¹ Yet any temptation to link such deposits to paganism or the Norse in particular is tempered by the discovery of a tradition of votive offerings in water at a site in the Fens that lasted from the late Bronze/early Iron Age to the fourteenth century. Furthermore, these Fen offerings were probably made under the supervision of the Church during the medieval period.³²

Some personal jewellery items recovered in the Norse settlement areas may provide an indication of the religious beliefs of the immigrants. Unlike most jewellery associated with the Norse, Thor's hammers have an obvious religious affiliation with the god Thor. Although the finds of Thor's hammers in England has increased significantly in the last decades, the numbers involved are still relatively small.³³ The Thor's hammers are an interesting body of evidence as they vary greatly in material and execution, ranging from well-made gold pendants with stamped decoration, to simple items of iron or even bone.³⁴ As such, this jewellery may be thought to provide evidence of the beliefs of a wider spectrum of Norse settlers than just the elite who are known to us from written sources and well equipped burials. Whilst it cannot entirely be discounted that some of the Thor's hammers were worn by Anglo-Saxons copying the fashions of the new Norse elite, this does seem unlikely. Staecker suggested that Thor's hammers were a pagan reaction to christianity, marking the earliest stage of the conversion process.³⁵ Thor's hammers found in England are therefore rare evidence for personal religious affiliation of the immigrants. The pendants may also suggest that those that did not assimilate to christian practice felt the need for a personal, and perhaps private, pagan insignia. If Thor's hammers were a pagan reaction to christianity it suggests that most of the Thor's hammers would have belonged to members of the great army and other early immigrants, with a lesser number perhaps

³¹ Lund, 'At the Water's Edge', pp. 53-4.

³² David Stocker & Paul Everson, 'The Straight and Narrow Way: Fenland Causeways and the Conversion of the Landscape in the Witham Valley, Lincolnshire', in M. Carver, ed., *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe AD 300-1300* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 280-5. For wetland offerings in Ireland during the christian period see Lund, 'At the Water's Edge', p. 59.

³³ In museum collections I am aware of single Thor's hammers at Derby Museum and Art Gallery, Saffron Walden Museum, Essex, and Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester, and six from the Castle Museum, Norwich. To these can be added two in the British Museum found at Leconfield, East Yorkshire, and near Carlisle, Cumbria. Another was found in the Cuerdale hoard, Lancashire. Other single examples were found at Wetwang, East Yorkshire, and Sibton, Suffolk. See 'Treasure record 2002 T168', Portable Antiquities Scheme, www.finds.org.uk [accessed March 10, 2010].

³⁴ For a photo of six Thor's hammers of different materials and workmanship from Norfolk see Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 107.

³⁵ Staecker, 'Thor's Hammer – Symbol of Christianization and Political Delusion', pp. 89-99.

arriving with new migrants after 900. The rarity of both the hammers and other evidence for continuing Norse paganism also suggests that they were worn by those arriving in the later ninth century.³⁶ The discovery of a Thor's hammer on a necklace of the man buried in grave 511 at Repton, a probable member of the great army, supports this position.³⁷ That more Thor's hammers are currently known from East Anglia, which submitted to Wessex in 917, than from Norse Northumbria also suggests that they were more likely to be present in the early settlement period, assuming that christianity was an important aspect of integration with Wessex and therefore pagan amulets may not have been tolerated. If such pendants were a reaction to christianity it would be interesting to know where the reaction began. Did the man buried at Repton, for example, arrive with the great army with his Thor's hammer, or was it made or acquired in England? The single Thor's hammer first appears in Denmark in the late ninth century, but most date from the tenth century, so those associated with the Norse in England are very early examples.³⁸ Earlier in the homelands Thor's hammers appeared on a metal ring with other iron items, rather than as single pendants. These Thor's hammer rings first appeared in the eighth century, initially in Sweden, were common during the ninth, but then disappeared during the tenth.³⁹ However, two examples of single Thor's hammer pendants are known from Gilton, England in a sixth-century context, at a time of religious change for the Anglo-Saxons.⁴⁰ Indeed, considering that single Thor's hammer pendants do not appear in the Scandinavian homelands until the late ninth century, it cannot be discounted that the pendant worn by the man buried at Repton in c. 873-80 was produced in England, or perhaps Ireland or northern Francia. Wherever Norse Thor's hammer pendants originated, it would appear that the man buried at Repton was one of the first to wear one. Although the origin of the pendants in England may be uncertain, they suggest that some of the Norse, and not just the elite, wore Thor's hammers, and that it is likely that they were pagans. Consequently, along with the cremation cemetery at Heath Wood, Thor's hammers are the clearest material evidence for Norse paganism and most are likely to date to the period before 900. However, the small

³⁶ Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw', p. 242.

³⁷ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', p. 61.

³⁸ Staecker, 'Thor's Hammer – Symbol of Christianization and Political Delusion', p. 94.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

number of pendants known does not signal hundreds of pagans arriving in eastern England.⁴¹

Other pieces of jewellery whose religious symbolism is less certain are oval brooches and figurine pendants. Johan Callmer has suggested that the shape of oval brooches may be symbolic of fertility, whilst Annika Larsson has noted that oval brooches excavated in the Scandinavian homelands do not occur in christian contexts, and that consequently they may have been associated in some way with pre-christian rituals.⁴² For example, many oval brooches have been found in Birka, which was abandoned in c. 975, but not at nearby Sigtuna, founded in c. 980.⁴³ This premise also agrees with the dating of the brooches established by Jansson, by which they cease to be produced in the homelands from c. 980-1000.⁴⁴ The circumstances of the three pairs of oval brooches found in eastern England do not contradict the notion that they may have not been compatible with christianity. The pair from Santon Downham, Norfolk, was found either near or with a sword burial, on the slope of a hill north of a church, without any indication that they were in the churchyard itself.⁴⁵ The non-matching pair buried with a woman beside a Romano-British trackway at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire was amongst other grave-goods, and the location has no known association with a church or contemporary christian cemetery.⁴⁶ Finally, the pair from Bedale was found in a grave along with a proposed spearhead on the chest, 'In the centre of the road' (the Roman road Dere Street), with no obvious christian association.⁴⁷ Despite this strong circumstantial evidence, further research needs to be conducted before an association between paganism and oval brooches can be presumed.

⁴¹ For example the 14 Thor's hammers noted above in fn. 33 for all of England is still less than the 25 found at a single site, Storagård, Tissø, Denmark. For the latter see Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 171.

⁴² Johan Callmer, 'The Meaning of Womens' Ornaments & Ornamentation: Eastern Middle Sweden in the 8th and early 9th Century', *Acta Archaeologica* 79 (2008), p. 201. (pp. 185-207); Larsson, 'Förbjöd kyrkan den vikingatida kvinnodräkten?', pp. 6-7.

⁴³ Larsson, 'Förbjöd kyrkan den vikingatida kvinnodräkten?', p. 4.

⁴⁴ For the dating see Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, p. 228.

⁴⁵ Evison, 'A Viking grave at Sonning, Berks.', p. 333.

⁴⁶ Speed & Rogers, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire', pp. 88-9. There had been inhumation and cremation burials in the area from the Roman period, *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴⁷ W. Hylton Longstaff quoted in 'Archaeological Intelligence: Anglo-Saxon Period', *Archaeological Journal* 5 (1848), p. 220. Speed & Rogers, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire', suggest that the burial may have been to the side of the road (p. 89), and that what was thought to be a spearhead may have been a spear-shaped weaving batten, 'A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire', fn. 79. Hadley (*Vikings in England*, p. 246) says the pair 'was found near the church at Bedale', but this is not recorded in the original report, or the reappraisal in Speed & Rogers.

Even if a link is clearly demonstrated, with only three pairs known, oval brooches provide scant evidence for Norse paganism in eastern England.

A number of small pendants of human figures in profile which have been associated with pagan beliefs have been found in eastern England, and similar pendants are known from the late ninth century in Sweden.⁴⁸ For example, a pendant showing a horse and rider found at Fulmodestone, Norfolk, has been described as possibly echoing the same tradition as a mount from Bylaugh, Norfolk, which may depict a valkyrie welcoming a horseman into Valhalla.⁴⁹ This interpretation has also been used of a similar mount found at Hedeby.⁵⁰ Another pendant or mount found near Wickham Market in Suffolk and dated to the late ninth century has been described as being of ‘Valkyrie’-type’ and has also been compared to the Bylaugh mount.⁵¹ Finally, a pendant discovered at Cawthorpe, Lincolnshire, has been referred to as being of a valkyrie.⁵² The similarity of the Fulmodestone mount to images of a rider being greeted on picture stones from Gotland may increase the likelihood that it represents a scene from Norse mythology, but the iconography of the picture stones themselves is far from certain.⁵³ Indeed, rather than a valkyrie some of the figures could instead represent a high status woman welcoming a horseman.⁵⁴ The figures from Wickham Market and Cawthorpe both carry a shield and sword, perhaps making a male warrior as likely an interpretation as a valkyrie.⁵⁵ As with oval brooches, although these pendants are quite likely to be ‘pagan’, this association is far from clear.

⁴⁸ Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 8 & 12, pp. 12 & 14.

⁵⁰ Hildegard Elsner, *Wikingen Museum Haithabu: Schaufenster einer frühen Stadt* (Archäologisches Landesmuseum, 1989), p. 78, fig. 3.

⁵¹ Ager & Minter, ‘Near Wickham Market’, *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), p. 213.

⁵² Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 107.

⁵³ For a conventional interpretation of the ‘valkyrie’ scene on Gotlandic picture stones see Anders Andrén, ‘Doors To Other Worlds: Scandinavian Death Rituals in Gotlandic Perspectives’, *Journal of European Archaeology* 1 (1993), p. 41. Roesdahl (*The Vikings*, p. 148) notes that the pictures ‘can rarely be interpreted precisely’.

⁵⁴ Roesdahl (*The Vikings*, p. 32) describes the ‘valkyries’ on the picture stones simply as women, and the small female figures from Sweden, similar to the pendants found in England, as ‘stately women’, whilst Griffiths (*Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 145) refers to such a figure on a cross-shaft in north-west England as a ‘cup bearing females’. See also Larsson, ‘Förbjöd kyrkan den vikingatida kvinnodräkten?’, pp. 4-7, who argues, based on the remains of a dress found in Russia, that the ‘valkyries’ are actually wearing the style of dress that was worn with oval brooches.

⁵⁵ Such an interpretation has been posited for the pendant from the Wickham Market area, B. Ager, ‘43 Wickham Market area, Suffolk: Anglo-Scandinavian silver pendant or appliqué’, *Treasure Annual Report 2002*, pp. 54-6, available at www.finds.org.uk/documents/reports/TreasureCataloguepp3870.pdf [accessed March 10, 2010].

Another factor that has sometimes been cited as evidence of Norse paganism is their effect upon the Church, both to individual church buildings and to its infrastructure. The effects of the Norse campaigns and settlement on Church institutions in the settlement areas are difficult to assess, but they appear to have suffered in comparison to those in the south and west, especially in regards to diocese and land.⁵⁶ The evidence that exists suggests that 'most minsters were drastically reduced in wealth and status by the time of Domesday Book'.⁵⁷ However, the two-century lapse between the Norse settlements and Domesday Book often makes it difficult to attribute the demise of any particular church to the Norse, and there is circumstantial evidence of some cult survival during the settlement period, as well as the continued use of churches and/or their burial grounds.⁵⁸ For example, excavation at North Elmham, Norfolk, revealed evidence of continuity other than a possible contraction or break during c. 850-75, that is, possibly before the defeat of Edmund of East Anglia in 869-70, and certainly before Norse settlement in 879-80.⁵⁹ Ely still had clerics when it was re-founded in 970, as did Bury St Edmunds, which housed the relics of Edmund, when it was re-founded.⁶⁰ The cult of St Edmund is particularly interesting as it commenced during the period of Norse control of East Anglia,⁶¹ suggesting that christianity survived and that the promoters of Edmund's cult may have been 'a sizeable population with political and religious leaders of some importance'.⁶² In Norse Northumbria, as well as the survival of the archbishopric and the Community of St Cuthbert, continuity is also suggested by over 60% of sites with pre-Norse sculpture having ninth-eleventh century sculpture.⁶³ Furthermore, it has been noted that the Church also suffered in non-Norse controlled regions, for example the apparent loss of lands post 800 at Sandbach in English Mercia.⁶⁴ Even in instances where the Church did suffer due to the Norse, for example at Repton where the church building was incorporated into the winter camp defences and the

⁵⁶ For a summary see Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Danelaw', pp. 33-5.

⁵⁷ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 295.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-8. For more on possible church survival see Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 212-4.

⁵⁹ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 317.

⁶⁰ For Ely see Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, II:3, pp. 97-8; Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw', *Saga Book* 12 (1945), pp. 173-4. For Bury see Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 225. For an overview of the evidence see Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 315-20.

⁶¹ I consider Norse rule to have begun with the conquest of the kingdom and the establishment of client kings.

⁶² Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 212-23, quote p. 217.

⁶³ For the sculpture see Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 80. For an overview of the evidence see Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 311-5.

⁶⁴ Higham, 'Viking-Age Settlement in the North-Western Countryside: Lifting the Veil?', p. 307.

probable mausoleum was cut down to create a mound over the mass burial, there is no evidence that this was due to any anti-christian sentiments of the Norse.⁶⁵ Instead, the church was used for practical defensive purposes and the mausoleum was in decay and had been used as a workshop.⁶⁶ In short, the evidence for Norse paganism in ninth-century England in relation to the Church is inconclusive, as is the evidence of the written sources. It is only the relatively few finds of Thor's hammer pendants and the cremations at Heath Wood that provide real proof that some of the immigrants arrived as pagans.

If the Norse had emigrated direct from the Scandinavian homelands then their quick adoption of christian customs may indeed appear to be surprising, especially when they were in political control. Although previous notions of a fiercely pagan great army have largely been abandoned, it is still generally believed that the available evidence suggests 'that the majority of the settlers were initially pagan',⁶⁷ at least in the strictest sense. Yet even if the Norse settlers were not the defiant pagans that some scholars once thought, if they arrived with a world view based on Norse mythology and little previous meaningful contact with christianity it is somewhat surprising that they could give up their beliefs and customs so readily, especially when they were in political control, unless we believe that they did not have a strong attachment to their beliefs and rituals.⁶⁸ However, another more likely reason for the quick adoption of christian customs is available. In line with the evidence presented in chapter 3, most of the Norse had emigrated from areas which were nominally christian. Consequently, the review of the evidence which follows will suggest that most of the Norse migrants, although probably 'pagan' in the sense that they had not been baptised and had not forsaken their own gods, were nevertheless likely to be well acquainted with christianity, much more so than most of those living in Scandinavia. As such, the adoption of customs already familiar to them, and which often had tangible benefits, is hardly remarkable.

The culture of the immigrants has usually been assumed to have been that of the Scandinavian homelands, and that is where comparisons have usually been drawn. For

⁶⁵ For the buildings at Repton see Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', pp. 58-9, 67-74, 84-5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁶⁷ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, p. 224.

⁶⁸ Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England*, p. 7, cites evidence for migrants rapidly changing their burial rites, but those used in the example (Hindu's in modern Britain), are not in political control and is therefore not applicable to the Norse migrants in eastern England.

example, Hall posits that ‘The ‘great heathen army’ probably maintained contacts with the homelands’, whilst Abrams suggests that ‘it seems logical to believe contemporary accusations that they [the Norse] were pagan on arrival’ as, although the Scandinavian homelands had been exposed to christianity, the Norse ‘had resisted the appeal of the foreigners’ religion’.⁶⁹ Other than Abrams’ note about the likely time difference between official conversion and final christianisation, the assimilation of christian practices in eastern England is generally considered to have happened quickly, probably by 900.⁷⁰ How this was achieved is far from clear. If christianisation was a top-down process as the evidence suggests, it could have been achieved either through force by the converted Norse leaders, or voluntarily.⁷¹ Indeed, Richards suggests that some of the great army had ‘found it expedient to allow themselves to be converted to Christianity’ as early as 874.⁷²

It has long been recognised that at least some of the leaders of the great army, and presumably some of the warriors that accompanied them, were from Ireland, and in this regard Halsall’s observation that much of the ‘Norse’ material found in England actually ‘is of Hiberno-Norse origin’ is surely significant.⁷³ Although some of the material he refers to may post-date 900, the review of the evidence in chapter 3 demonstrated that a not inconsiderable amount of material from Ireland reached England during the latter ninth century, a result consistent with the great army being led in part by Norse from Dublin. Bearing this in mind, there are no chronological reasons why Hiberno-Norse influence could not have begun prior to the expulsion of the Norse from Dublin in 902, especially in Northumbria. As we have seen, there are also strong indications that many of the migrants arrived in England from northern Francia. Determining which Carolingian material and influences came to eastern England via Norse immigration is problematical due to the existing connections and influence between Francia and Anglo-Saxon England, yet as demonstrated in chapter 3, the connection between northern Francia and eastern England

⁶⁹ Abrams, ‘Conversion and Assimilation’, p. 139; Hall, *Exploring the World of the Vikings*, p. 82.

⁷⁰ See for example Whitelock, ‘The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw’, pp. 159-76; D.M. Wilson, ‘The Vikings’ relationship with Christianity in northern England’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 30 (1967), pp. 37-46; Graham-Campbell, ‘The Scandinavian Viking-Age burials of England’, pp. 379-82; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 292-3.

⁷¹ Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, pp. 132-3.

⁷² Richards, ‘Pagans and Christians at a Frontier: Viking Burial in the Danelaw’, p. 391.

⁷³ Halsall, ‘The Viking Presence in England?’, p. 271.

post 865 is clear and suggests direct migration.⁷⁴ In speaking of Norse immigration to north-west England in the early tenth-century Griffiths notes that the Norse ‘had already been substantially influenced by 9th-century cultural change experienced in Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere’, and I argue that this is equally true of the earlier Norse immigrants to eastern England but that northern Francia needs to be added to the list.⁷⁵

The probable exposure of the Norse to christianity prior to immigration

Even if some of the Norse did migrate directly to England from the homelands they are likely to have known something about christianity. By the ninth century there had already been centuries of contact between christian Europe and the Scandinavian homelands, demonstrated in part by various types of christian objects found and changes in burial rite.⁷⁶ As Else Roesdahl has noted, ‘objects and ideas often travel together’.⁷⁷ Those who had been on trading or raiding expeditions to christian countries would have come into direct contact with christianity. According to Rimbert (830-888), by the mid-ninth century a number of Norse, probably merchants, residing at Birka and Hedeby had been baptised at Dorestad and Hamburg.⁷⁸ These people are also likely to have brought home views on christianity to their immediate circle.⁷⁹ Furthermore, that an envoy was sent by King Sigifrid to Louis II in 873 to help end border disputes and allow merchants to trade suggests that diplomatic and trade contacts between southern Denmark and Francia were regular and substantial.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ For the connection between Francia and Anglo-Saxon England see Story, *Carolingian Connections*.

⁷⁵ Griffiths, ‘Settlement and Acculturation in the Irish Sea Region’, p. 135. A similar sentiment has been expressed about the Anglo-Saxon migration to England, where it is necessary to examine contemporaneous evidence from both sides of the North Sea, Sally Crawford, ‘Britons, Saxons and the Germanic Burial Ritual’, in S. Chapman & H. Hamerow, eds. *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation* (Oxford University School of Archaeology, Oxford, 2008), pp. 45-72.

⁷⁶ For christian objects found in Scandinavia see Michael Müller-Wille, ‘The Cross Goes North: Carolingian Times between Rhine and Elbe’ in M. Carver, ed., *The Cross Goes North* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 2005), p. 448-54. For changes in burial practice see Else Roesdahl, ‘The archaeological evidence for conversion’, in B. Sawyer, P. Sawyer, & I. Wood, eds., *The Christianization of Scandinavia* (Viktoria Bokförlag, Alingsås, 1987), p. 3. For a review of Danish inhumation graves, excluding Hedeby, see Johannes Brøndsted, ‘Danish Inhumation Graves of the Viking Age’, *Acta Archaeologica* 7 (1936), pp. 81-228.

⁷⁷ Else Roesdahl, ‘Pagan Beliefs, Christian Impact and Archaeology – a Danish View’, in A. Faulkes & R. Perkins, eds., *Viking Revaluations. Viking Society Centenary Symposium 1992* (Viking Society For Northern Research, University College London, 1993), p. 130.

⁷⁸ Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, ch. 24, 27, in Robinson, *Anskar*, pp. 84 & 93.

⁷⁹ Wood, ‘Christians and pagans in ninth-century Scandinavia’, p. 51.

⁸⁰ Reuter, *AF*, 873, p. 70. Louis agreed to the request.

Some Norse would have had direct contact with christianity within the Scandinavian homelands. Archbishop Ebo of Reims preached in Denmark in 823 and in 826 the king of Denmark, Harald Klak, was baptised in Mainz before returning home accompanied by the missionary Anskar, who intended to continue the work of Ebo.⁸¹ This mission ended abruptly when Harald was exiled in 827, but following a mission to Birka in Sweden Anskar was able to return in the middle of the century when he was successful in establishing churches in the Danish trading centres of Hedeby and Ribe.⁸² He is also reported to have earlier established a school to educate some Danish boys in a christian manner.⁸³ Although Anskar's mission was ultimately unsuccessful in Denmark and Sweden, it does indicate that some ninth-century inhabitants of these areas would have had a degree of familiarity with the christian faith, especially those living in or travelling to Birka, Hedeby and Ribe. Even without Anskar's missionary efforts such international trading centres are likely to have included foreign christian merchants, with Hedeby thought to have had resident populations of Frisians, Saxons, and Franks.⁸⁴ It is also probable that christians, either Norse or foreign, could have been met at other trading places in the Scandinavian homelands. Furthermore it has been clearly demonstrated that the Church required the backing of the ruling elite in order to conduct missionary efforts.⁸⁵ Consequently, although the kings of Denmark and Sweden are not known to have been converted by Anskar, his mission must have still had the backing of kings Horic I and Horic II of Denmark, as well as of Hergeir, the prefect of Birka, and kings Björn and Olof of the Svear.⁸⁶ Even though this royal support is likely to have been a pragmatic decision to encourage international trade, and to lessen the possibility of conflict with their powerful Carolingian neighbour, it still had the effect of offering christianity official sanction and

⁸¹ Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii*, ch. 7, in Robinson, *Anskar*, pp. 38-40.

⁸² *Ibid.*, ch. 11, 24, 26, 28, 32, pp. 48, 82-3, 89, 95, 102-3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ch. 8, p. 44.

⁸⁴ There was probably also a Slavic population. The inference on resident populations is based on excavations of the Hedeby cemeteries, Michael Müller-Wille, 'Hedeby', in P. Pulsiano, ed., *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia, Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages* (Garland, New York, 1993), p. 275. Unfortunately no excavation reports covering the cemeteries have been published, Claus von Carnap-Bornheim & Volker Hilberg, 'Recent archaeological research in Haithabu', in J. Henning, ed., *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium. Vol. 1: the Heirs of the Roman West* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007), p. 206.

⁸⁵ Alexandra Sanmark, *Power and Conversion: a Comparative Study of Christianization in Scandinavia*, OPIA 34 (Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2004), pp. 75-117.

⁸⁶ Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii*, ch. 11, 24, 26, 27, 32, in Robinson, *Anskar*, pp. 49, 82-3, 89, 92-3, 102-3. Hergeir of Birka was baptized.

presumably protection, allowing it to become established.⁸⁷ To conclude, the *Vita Anskari* makes it clear that although their numbers may have been small, there were Norse christians living in Scandinavia a century or more before the official conversion commenced in c. 965, and over a decade before the great army arrived in England.

The possible influence of christian culture on the burial customs in the Scandinavian homelands is an important factor when considering the Norse burials in England. Fredrik Svanberg's work clearly shows that burial practices varied widely within relatively small geographical areas. For example both cremation and inhumation burials were carried out concurrently in the district of Öland during the tenth century.⁸⁸ Within the variety of burial types practiced in Scandinavia during the ninth century were burials that would not have differed noticeably from those in Anglo-Saxon England: inhumations with few or no grave-goods in well ordered cemeteries. Although cremation burials continued during the ninth century in the Scandinavian homelands, it was a rite which was in decline and had been largely abandoned by the time that the homelands officially converted to christianity from the late tenth century.⁸⁹ Indeed in some areas inhumation had been adopted by c. 800, for example in southern Jutland, possibly due to its proximity to the christian lands to the south.⁹⁰ In at least one cemetery, at Hjemsted in western Denmark, east-west aligned graves began to appear at the beginning of the migration period in the fifth century.⁹¹ It could be theorized that this was due to the influence of the christian late-Roman Empire, perhaps through trade contacts or returned mercenaries. During the ninth century, most graves in Denmark contained few or no grave-goods, with bodies placed on their backs and orientated east-west with their heads to the west.⁹² It is important to note that any Norse settlers in England buried in this manner would be unlikely to be identified as Norse unless isotope samples were taken. The Danish graves may have been influenced by the burial of christian communities in cemeteries discovered at Hedeby, where most of the graves

⁸⁷ Wood, 'Christians and pagans in ninth-century Scandinavia', pp. 45-9.

⁸⁸ Svanberg, *Death Rituals In South-East Scandinavia AD 800-1000*, p. 139.

⁸⁹ Roesdahl, 'The archaeological evidence for conversion', p. 3. In Denmark in particular cremation was rare after 800, Brøndsted, 'Danish Inhumation Graves', p. 81.

⁹⁰ Helen Clarke, 'Daily Life', in J. Graham-Campbell, ed., *Cultural Atlas of the Viking World* (Andromeda Books, Oxford, 1994), p. 73.

⁹¹ Crawford, 'Britons, Saxons and the Germanic Burial Ritual', p. 63.

⁹² Else Roesdahl, *Viking Age Denmark*, S. Margeson & K. Williams, trans. (British Museum Publications, London, 1982), pp. 165, 168-9; Graham-Campbell, 'The Scandinavian Viking-Age Burials of England', p. 380; Brøndsted, 'Danish Inhumation Graves', pp. 226-7.

orientated east-west contained few grave-goods.⁹³ This brief review of burial customs demonstrates that, although a variety of practices existed in the Scandinavian homelands, if any of the Norse had immigrated to England directly from there some could have been familiar with customs that closely resembled the Anglo-Saxon burials in the east of England in the late ninth century.

However, it was argued in chapter 3 that the majority of Norse immigrants had participated in the type of staged migration known from studies of historical migrations. It is important to recognise that Norse immigrants from Ireland and northern Francia would have had significantly different personal cultural experiences than a migrant who had arrived in England directly from Scandinavia, including more familiarity with christianity, and this is likely to have affected the acculturation process. As Norse settlements in northern Francia (Frisia intermittently from 826) and Ireland (Dublin from 841) had been established long before members of the great army began to settle in England from 876, it is likely that some of the Norse immigrants had not even been born in the Scandinavian homelands. Indeed the migrants may have had one non-Norse parent, or not been biologically Norse at all, even if they were culturally Norse.⁹⁴ Individuals born in a Norse settlement outside of the Scandinavian homelands are likely to have experienced significant exposure to the culture of the area in which they were settled. This may have been particularly true for those in Frisia, which was a Frankish benefice, as opposed to independent Dublin. But even at the latter it may be expected that the Norse had regular dealings with the Irish at all levels of society, including the supply of food from Irish farmers in Dublin's hinterland, and between craftsmen and traders.⁹⁵ This is not to deny the importance of the Norse cultural heritage of the settlers in England, but it does help to explain some of the peculiarities of the evidence. For example, Dominic Tweddle has noted

⁹³ Müller-Wille, 'Hedeby', p. 275; Clarke & Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 61. There were more elaborate inhumations, especially in chamber graves like those found at Birka, Hedeby, and throughout Jutland. Other inhumations were in coffins, pits, or with the body wrapped in a birch-bark shroud, Clarke, 'Daily Life', p. 73.

⁹⁴ As outlined in Chapter 1, p. 15, 'culturally Norse' includes people who are likely to have spoken ON and display aspects of Norse culture, for example weapon burial or cremation, the use of oval brooches or Thor's hammers, regardless of their genetic heritage.

⁹⁵ For the supply of food see Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland*, pp. 140-4. Thomas Fanning claims that 'exchanges in form and decorative techniques... clearly took place between the Irish and the Norse during these crucial decades in the mid-ninth century, *Viking Age Ringed Pins from Dublin*, p. 57. For trade and military interaction see Clare Downham, 'Viking camps in ninth-century Ireland: sources, locations and interaction', in Seán Duffy, ed., *Medieval Dublin X* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), pp. 108-12.

that ‘there are very few decorated objects from York which are purely Scandinavian’, and that ‘the overwhelming number of Viking-style objects from York are in English versions of the style, preserving only echoes and resonances of the original’.⁹⁶ If the majority of the settlers had come direct from the Scandinavian homelands then the lack of such jewellery may certainly be considered unusual. But it would not be so unusual if the settlers had instead spent a considerable number of years in Ireland or northern Francia. Indeed it would instead be surprising if the immigrants had many possessions actually manufactured in the Scandinavian homelands to bring with them to England, while their modes of dress are likely to have been influenced by the styles they observed in Ireland and northern Francia. Although items in a pure Norse style may still have been produced, it is likely that the Norse would have come to appreciate the art styles of the indigenous population, as evidenced in particular by the Hiberno-Norse style.

To begin with Ireland, we have seen that it appears to have been primarily Norse from Dublin who immigrated to England, which is fortunate as it is this group on which we have much more information preserved in Irish annals than of other Norse. There is no record of Norse conversion to christianity in Ireland before 900, although it must be noted that such an event is likely to have been recorded only if it had been the baptism of a Norse king, with the possible conversion of other Norse probably not being noteworthy. One possible Norse conversion, though unverifiable due to the late and literary nature of the sources, was of Aud. According to the *Saga of Erik the Red* this former wife of a king of Dublin was, after spending time in the Hebrides and Orkney, one of the primary settlers of Iceland. She had been baptized and once in Iceland she said prayers at Kross Hills.⁹⁷ The saga does not specify where Aud was baptized, but it would appear to have been somewhere in the Irish Sea region. Furthermore Aud probably arrived in Iceland as a christian in the late ninth century.⁹⁸ Another late Icelandic work, *Landnámabók*, also claims that many of the settlers from the British Isles, including Aud, had been baptised before

⁹⁶ Dominic Tweddle, ‘Art in Pre-Conquest York’, in R.A. Hall, D.W. Rollason, M. Blackburn, D.N. Parsons, G. Fellows-Jensen, A.R. Hall, H.K. Kenward, T.P. O’Connor, D. Tweddle, A.J. Mainman, & N.S.H. Rogers, *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York* (Council for British Archaeology, York, 2004), p. 453.

⁹⁷ *Eirik’s saga*, ch. I, in Magnusson & Pálsson, trans., *The Vinland Sagas*, p. 75.

⁹⁸ For the settlement of Iceland and the role of Unn (Aud) and her descendants see Byock, *Viking Age Iceland*, pp. 82-7.

they emigrated.⁹⁹ Similarly, in a recent review of the evidence of early Norse settlement in the Faroe Islands, Steffen Hansen has suggested that there was a strong Hiberno-Norse element amongst the earliest Norse settlers, including christians.¹⁰⁰

One way in which christianity may have reached the Norse in Ireland was through alliances between Norse and Irish kings. The *Fragmentary Annals* record a marriage in 862 between the christian Irish daughter of the high-king of the Northern Uí Néill dynasty and Olaf, the co-king of Dublin with Ivar.¹⁰¹ The same text, which includes annals, narrative tales and poems, and whose reliability is a matter of dispute between scholars, also reports fostering between the Norse and Irish during the ninth century.¹⁰² *Landnámabók* also records Irish princesses marrying the Norse of Dublin.¹⁰³ Although these accounts are late, ninth-century alliances between Irish kings and Norse kings are attested in the *AU*, making inter-marriage and fostering a firm possibility.¹⁰⁴ For example, Cerball, king of Osraige (d. 888), an alleged ancestor of Icelanders, was in a military alliance with Ivar and Amlaib of Dublin in 859.¹⁰⁵ If such things did occur it would have increased the opportunities for the Norse to learn more about christianity, and possibly convert. Ó Corráin has noted that in the *AU* the use of the term *geinti* (gentiles/heathens) to describe the Norse is common until 860.¹⁰⁶ It then declines and is used only twice up to 877, after which it disappears completely until 902.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that this could represent the annalists' knowledge of

⁹⁹ Hermann Pálsson & Paul Edwards, trans., *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*. University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies vol. I (University of Manitoba Press, 1972), ch. 399, p. 147.

¹⁰⁰ Steffen S. Hansen, 'Toftanes and the early Christianity of the Faroe Islands', in J. Sheehan & D. Ó Corráin, eds., *The Viking Age* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), pp. 465-73.

¹⁰¹ Radner, *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, FA 292, pp. 112-3. The text was probably compiled in the mid-eleventh century but now only exists from a transcript made in the seventeenth century, *Ibid.*, pp. vii-xii.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, FA 408, pp. 146-7. For a review of the text see Lesley Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1997), p. 11, including fn. 69 for the scholarly debate.

¹⁰³ Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin', p. 20 and references therein.

¹⁰⁴ For example Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 862.2, pp. 318-9, which records an alliance between the Norse and the Uí Néill. For the possible link between such alliances and silver hoards found in Irish-controlled areas see Sheehan, 'Early Viking Age Silver Hoards from Ireland', p. 176.

¹⁰⁵ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 859.2, pp. 316-7. Cerball is known as King Kjarval of Ireland. However it is not clear if his appearance in *Landnámabók* is an authentic late-ninth century oral tradition or a later addition based on the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*. For discussion see Ó Corráin, 'Viking Ireland – Afterthoughts', pp. 437-40. For an entry featuring Kjarval see Pálsson & Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, ch. 366, p. 137.

¹⁰⁶ Donncha Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*. Gill History of Ireland 2 (Gill & MacMillan, Dublin, 1972), p. 96.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin', p. 10. For the two post-860 occurrences see Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 867.6, 877.5, pp. 322-3, 332-3.

the conversion of the Norse leaders during this period, but it is not certain that the terminology is a true reflection of religious beliefs.¹⁰⁸

Unfortunately only a small portion of the settlement area of what may have been ninth-century Dublin has been recovered, so it is not surprising that there is no material evidence for christianity from what has been recovered so far.¹⁰⁹ The better known burials dated to the ninth century in the vicinity of Dublin, especially those at Islandbridge and Kilmainham, included both high status and every-day grave-goods such as swords, shields, oval brooches, and scales, so are often thought of as non-christian burials. Griffiths has compared the Norse use of mound burial in the Irish Sea region, such as the Islandbridge and Kilmainham cemeteries, to those in earlier Anglo-Saxon England, seeing them as ‘a short-lived phenomenon marking the cusp of a transition’, namely the adoption of christianity.¹¹⁰ It may also be significant that these cemeteries near Dublin were added to existing Irish christian cemeteries and may be an example of the Norse starting to adopt local burial customs, as has been argued for such burials in eastern England.¹¹¹ Of course it is difficult to determine if utilising an existing cemetery was undertaken by the Norse as a step towards christianisation, or to demonstrate that they were now in control of the local area, or indeed a combination of these and other factors, including a desire for legitimacy. The burial of the child found in the ninth-century settlement area discussed in chapter 3 could be another possible indication of some christian burial customs being adopted. The grave was orientated east-west and contained no grave-goods.¹¹² Furthermore, as pre-christian children’s graves are rarely found in the Scandinavian homelands, and there are indications that children were disposed of in other ways, the burial of a child may be a further indication that there were christians in ninth-century Dublin, or that some christian customs were starting to be adopted.¹¹³ However, the grave’s possible association with the

¹⁰⁸ For a review of the terms used to describe the Norse in different Irish annals see Abrams, ‘The Conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin’, pp. 9-13. Holman, *The Northern Conquest*, p. 121, notes that a similar shift happened in the *ASC* for the Norse in England at a similar time.

¹⁰⁹ For a review of the archaeological evidence for ninth-century Dublin, see Simpson, ‘The first phase of Viking activity in Ireland’, pp. 418-29.

¹¹⁰ Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea*, p. 143.

¹¹¹ To be discussed below.

¹¹² Simpson, *Director’s Findings*, pp. 16-7, & pl. VI, p. 19.

¹¹³ For the disposal of children in the Scandinavian homelands see Roesdahl, *Viking Age Denmark*, pp. 167-8. For the change in attitude to children and childhood brought by christianity see Lotta Mejsholm, *Gränsländ. Konstruktion av tidig barndom och begravningsritual vid tiden för kristnandet i Skandinavien* (Borderland.

burial of a cow skull in a nearby pit makes it unwise to push the christian affiliation too far.¹¹⁴ But it does suggest that not all of those living in the ninth-century settlement were burying their dead in a noticeably non-christian fashion.

Of more significance are the excavations at Golden Lane, Dublin, in the cemetery of St Michael le Pole, which demonstrate a continuation of burial during the Norse period. This suggests ‘that an element of the Viking population became Christian or a local native population survived the proximal establishment of Dublin as a Viking town. In fact a combination of both explanations is likely’.¹¹⁵ Four burials on the periphery of the cemetery were discovered, two of which were accompanied by ‘Norse’ objects.¹¹⁶ Even if none of the Norse of Dublin became christian, and that scenario seems increasingly unlikely, the excavations demonstrate that they were living in close proximity to a christian Irish population. In such a circumstance acculturation would appear almost inevitable, greatly increasing the probability that the Norse of Dublin settling in England were familiar with the culture of christianity. Indeed, the excavations at Golden Lane support the earlier argument of Howard Clarke for continuity of ecclesiastical provision in Dublin throughout Norse rule, and a continuing Irish christian population.¹¹⁷

One possible indication of Norse familiarity with christianity in the Irish Sea region that has hitherto received little comment is the ringed cross-heads familiar from these areas that begin to appear in Norse Northumbria.¹¹⁸ The reproduction of this style in areas that had previously only known free-armed cross-heads demonstrates that those either creating or commissioning the crosses had more than just a passing familiarity with the style,

Constructions of Early Childhood and Burial Rituals during the Christianisation in Scandinavia), OPIA 44 (Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2009).

¹¹⁴ Simpson, *Director’s Findings*, pp. 16-7.

¹¹⁵ Edmond O’Donovan, ‘The Irish, the Vikings and the English: new archaeological evidence from excavations at Golden Lane, Dublin’, in S. Duffy, ed., *Medieval Dublin VIII. Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2006* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2008), p. 70.

¹¹⁶ A female burial was found with only a bone buckle in Norse style. As this was a dress accessory I would not class it as a grave good. However a male burial also included dress accessories, plus a knife and lead weights, whilst an iron spearhead was found in the soil above the burial. C14 testing suggests that the male was buried before 832. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-3.

¹¹⁷ Howard B. Clarke, ‘Conversion, church and cathedral: the diocese of Dublin to 1152’, in J. Kelly & D. Keogh, eds., *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2000), pp. 31-4, 38.

¹¹⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. III*, p. 30. For example it is not mentioned in the article on the evidence for Norse christianity in Ireland, Abrams, ‘The Conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin’, pp. 1-29.

strongly suggesting that they had emigrated from an area such as Ireland or south-west Scotland where the style was common.¹¹⁹ The appearance of the crosses in eastern England is conventionally linked to the arrival of settlers from the Irish Sea with Ragnall: ‘The ring-head has an immediate origin in the Celtic west, primarily Ireland, whence the Norse-Irish settlers of this part of Yorkshire came soon after 920’.¹²⁰ However, as the quote makes clear the dating is primarily based on the written sources describing the political link between York and Dublin in the first half of the tenth century. Considering the evidence presented earlier for the link being established with the conquest of York in 866, and especially in the Norse settlement under Halfdan in 876, nothing precludes a pre-920 date for some of the ring-head crosses. Indeed the Cuerdale hoard, whose contents demonstrate a likely connection between the Norse of the Irish Sea and eastern England, is further evidence of pre-920 contact.¹²¹ Instead the dating needs to be justified from a stylistic perspective. Such an example is a ring-headed cross from Middleton, Yorkshire, which includes inter-locked animals in the Jelling style, securely dating the cross to the tenth century.¹²² However, such stylistic reasons are not given for the dating of all of the ringed cross-heads.¹²³ Regardless of when the crosses first appeared, it is surprising that Norse who had left the Irish Sea region as pagans would decide to erect crosses of the ‘Celtic’ style after being converted when they arrived in England, rather than in the local Anglo-Saxon style where they had accepted christianity. Instead, the use of ring-head crosses in eastern England suggests that some of the immigrants were already christian when they left the Irish Sea area.

¹¹⁹ Lang considers Ireland to have been the inspiration for the crosses (*Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. III*, p. 41), whereas Richard Bailey sees no evidence of an Irish influence, especially in the layout of the ornamentation, and instead suggests Iona and western Scotland as the models, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 230-1.

¹²⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. III*, p. 41. See also Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 213.

¹²¹ The hoard included a large number of coins minted in Norse England and bullion from the Irish Sea, and is often regarded as evidence of a route between York and Dublin. See for example Graham-Campbell, ‘The Early Viking Age in the Irish Sea Area’, pp. 108-10, and articles by N.J. Higham, ‘Northumbria, Mercia and the Irish Sea Norse, 893-926’, pp. 21-30; D.M. Metcalf, ‘The Monetary Economy of the Irish Sea Province’, pp. 89-106; & J.A. Graham-Campbell, ‘The Cuerdale Hoard: Comparisons and Context’, pp. 107-15, in J. Graham-Campbell, ed., *Viking Treasure from the North West: the Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*. National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside Occasional Papers, Liverpool Museum No. 5 (Liverpool Museum, Liverpool, 1992).

¹²² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. III*, p. 188.

¹²³ See for example part of a cross-head from Kirby Grindalythe, Yorkshire, *Ibid.*, p. 151.

While it has to be admitted that these possible indications of some of the Norse in Ireland being christian are hardly conclusive, the notion of their familiarity with christianity before they immigrated to England should not be dismissed. As in the Scandinavian homelands, there were no doubt diplomatic and trade contacts between christians and the Norse. But in Ireland, even when staying within the confines of their trading place enclaves, the Norse were living amongst a christian population so the contact, and opportunity to learn about christianity, would have been much more intense. Apart from the diplomatic envoys presumably necessary to establish the military alliances attested in Irish annals, an important and easily overlooked avenue for high ranking christians to enter the court of Norse kings in Dublin was as hostages or prestigious captives. Although the Irish taken as slaves in Norse raids may have included men and women of the church, such captives may not have been treated with much respect and therefore would not have had access to the Norse court. However, captives of high rank who could possibly be ransomed were presumably better treated. For example, in 879 the *AU* report that both the superior and lector of *Ard Macha* (modern Armagh), an important ecclesiastical centre, were taken prisoner by the Norse.¹²⁴ Hostages were often voluntarily exchanged as part of an alliance, unlike captives (and many modern-day hostages) who were seized. As with the hostages provided by the client kings to the great army, for the system to work the hostage had to be important to the hostage-giver, providing an incentive for the hostage-giver to adhere to the agreement.¹²⁵ Most hostages in Ireland were the sons of lesser kings or lords, but daughters and important churchmen could also be used.¹²⁶ The arrangement could also have symbolic significance signalling the authority of the person receiving hostages.¹²⁷ In 866 there is a report of Olaf of Dublin raiding the christian Picts and taking away hostages, whilst in England the *ASC* reports the great army taking Mercian hostages from Ceolwulf in 874, and Guthrum giving hostages to Alfred in 876 and 878.¹²⁸ There is a report in the *AU* for 1029 of a Norse king being held hostage by an Irish king, and part of the ransom paid by the Norse to release their king included the return of their Irish hostages, showing that the

¹²⁴ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 879.6, pp. 335-6.

¹²⁵ Ryan Lavelle, 'The use and abuse of hostages in later Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 14:3 (2006), pp. 271-3.

¹²⁶ Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series 3 (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1988), p. 174.

¹²⁷ Lavelle, 'The use and abuse of hostages', p. 270.

¹²⁸ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 866.1, pp. 320-1; Swanton, *ASC*, 874, 877 [876], 878, pp. 72, 74, 76.

Norse were involved in hostage-taking at least by that time.¹²⁹ Yet although there are no specific reports of hostages being part of the alliances between Norse and Irish in the ninth century, Irish kings had been engaged in hostage exchange since at least the eighth century. An arrangement so familiar to both parties it thus likely to have occurred in the ninth century.¹³⁰ Whether it was Irish (or Pictish) hostages at the court of the Norse or Norse hostages at an Irish court, it would have provided an opportunity to learn about one another's culture, including religious notions.

Whilst the above discussion suggests that those Norse who immigrated to England from Dublin would have had some familiarity with christianity, they were probably less familiar with the religion than the Norse emigrating from northern Francia. There are a number of reports in Frankish sources of Norse receiving baptism in Francia. These are conveniently summarised by Coupland and include not only the baptism of those like Godfrid who were granted a Frankish fief, but also the leaders of Norse warbands like Weland who converted to christianity with his wife and children at the court of Charles the Bald in 862.¹³¹ Weland remained with Charles, and was killed in single combat the following year after being accused of treachery by two unnamed and otherwise unknown Norse who had also gone to Charles asking to be baptised.¹³² In such instances any Norse children, like those of Weland, are likely to have been brought up as christians, thereby increasing the number of Norse christians known about through the written record. One possible example of this is the Hemming who died defending Walcheren in Frisia against a Norse attack in 837. He is described as a Norse christian leader and the son of Halfdan, possibly the Halfdan who was sent by King Sigfrid of Denmark as an envoy to Charlemagne in 782.¹³³ There are also reports of otherwise unknown Norse christians living in Francia who acted as intermediaries between the Norse and Charles the Bald.¹³⁴ These individuals are known to us only because of the important service which they offered; there were likely to be other Norse christians living in Francia for whom no evidence exists. The example of Weland and the intermediaries suggests that even some

¹²⁹ Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *AU*, 1029.6, pp. 466-7; Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, pp. 174-5.

¹³⁰ For the use of hostages in Ireland see Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, pp. 173-6.

¹³¹ Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', pp. 85-114. For Godfrid see Nelson, *AB*, 882, pp. 224-5. For Weland see *Ibid.*, 862, p. 99.

¹³² Nelson, *AB*, 863, pp. 110-1.

¹³³ For discussion see Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', pp. 87-8.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.

members of the great army or 890s army that had gone to England after extensive campaigning in Francia, as the 890s leader Hæstin had, could still have arrived in England as christians.

Chapters 3 and 5 suggested that many of the Norse immigrants to England from northern Francia originated from the Norse-controlled fief of Frisia, and such migrants may be expected to have had a greater familiarity with christianity than those from warbands operating elsewhere in Francia. As parts of Frisia were first granted to Harald in 826 it is possible that Frisia had had a resident Norse population since that time, even if Norse rulers were not always in possession of territory up to the death of its last known Norse ruler, Godfrid, in 885. Consequently, much interaction, including marriage, can be envisaged between the Norse and Frisian populations, and resident Norse were likely to have become familiar with christianity and its customs. Indeed, the lack of Norse cultural objects and obviously Norse burials in an area which they effectively ruled for decades may be an indicator that the local customs had been adopted.¹³⁵ When the great army began its campaigns in 865 Roric had been ruling Frisia almost continuously since 850. Although the event itself is not recorded, Roric had become a christian by 863 when Hincmar of Rheims wrote to him, as well as to the bishop of Utrecht, about possibly imposing a penance upon Roric.¹³⁶ The baptism of the leader may have encouraged other Norse to follow his example. Roric's fief included parts of the bishopric of Utrecht, and although this suffered during the period of Norse control, with the church at Utrecht abandoned in 857 following an attack, significantly this campaign by Norse raiders occurred whilst Roric was away from Frisia in Denmark, so the Norse of Frisia were probably not involved.¹³⁷ Furthermore, there is no evidence that clergy ceased to operate in the fief.¹³⁸ Thus it may be supposed that it was relatively easy for any curious Norse to gain information on christianity from members of the Church. Interestingly, a late tenth-century source depicts Roric, although

¹³⁵ The notable exceptions are the two hoards on Wieringen discussed in chapter 3, p. 159. The lack of objects associated with the Norse is in contrast to areas like East Anglia and eastern Mercia, which they ruled for a shorter period of time. Of course other factors, especially coastal erosion in Frisia, could prejudice such a comparison.

¹³⁶ If the rumour that Roric had encouraged a Norse attack on Dorestad proved to be true, Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', p. 98.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹³⁸ The bishopric also suffered from disputes between Carolingian rulers, and its lands were often split between rival kingdoms. It was unable to return to Utrecht until 925, forty years after Norse control of Frisia had ended. See Vliet, 'Traiecti muros heu! The Bishop of Utrecht during and after the Viking Invasions of Frisia (834-925)', pp. 133-54.

described as a pagan king, and his followers, who would presumably have included other Norse, preparing to save a church from a sand dune, demonstrating that in later tradition he was remembered as a friend of the Church.¹³⁹ Later, the *AF* record an unnamed Norse christian leading the Frisians in an attack and then siege of a Norse raiding-army in 873. The *Annals* report that this man had lived a long time amongst the Frisians, perhaps indicating the cultural impact upon the Norse of living amongst the Frisians for a prolonged period, including the adoption of christianity.¹⁴⁰

Although most of the great army and later settlers may have technically arrived as pagans, especially in the eyes of churchmen such as Asser, the above discussion has demonstrated that they are unlikely to have been ignorant of christianity, or of the christian customs surrounding such things as burial. The evidence clearly suggests that many of the Norse are likely to have had long-standing regular contacts with christians and in some instances have lived amongst christian populations and had possibly been baptized before emigrating. This background of the Norse is likely to have had a strong influence on their acculturation in England.

The probable exposure to christianity during the campaigning period

Even if one discounts the likelihood of Norse-christian contact prior to arrival, many members of the great army had been in England for a decade or more before settling, allowing this group at least time to become familiar with aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture. Whilst it may have been only Norse leaders who were involved in the documented negotiations with their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, there were likely to have been other undocumented opportunities for Norse to interact with Anglo-Saxons other than on the battlefield, including markets, food delivery and billeting. Consequently, as shown in chapter 5, the acculturation process for all members of the great army and associated non-combatants may be thought to have been under way once they arrived in England.

With regards to christianity and its associated customs, clergy could have been involved in some of the negotiations between the great army and Anglo-Saxon leaders, and must have participated in the baptisms of Guthrum and his followers and of Hæstin's sons, but they are perhaps unlikely to have been directly involved with the Norse at markets and

¹³⁹ Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers', pp. 98-9. St Adalbert miraculously intervened to remove the sand dune.

¹⁴⁰ Reuter, *AF*, 873, p. 72.

providing provisions and lodgings at winter camps. However, the clergy do appear to have had direct contact with the Norse once client kingdoms were established. The Archbishop of York appears to have had a relationship with the army that continued beyond the settlement period, whilst the signatures of Mercian bishops on charters of the client king Ceolwulf II suggests that they were part of the Mercian court and would have also had contact with the Norse.¹⁴¹ Additionally, the evidence for Norse women and children being in England from 865 presented in chapter 2 raises the possibility mentioned by Abbo of Fleury that some Norse remained in the conquered kingdoms while the great army continued its campaign, allowing more intensive interaction with the local population, probably on a daily basis. It is in dealings with the courts of the client kings that members of the great army and associated non-combatants are most likely to have learnt about Anglo-Saxon christianity.

Even one of the most heinous crimes of which the great army is accused, both by later medieval writers and more recent scholars, the destruction and robbing of churches, needs to be viewed against the likely cultural experiences of the members of the army, both during the campaign and prior to arriving in England.¹⁴² It has been noted that in Ireland the Norse may not even have been the most prevalent attackers of churches, whilst they were also not the only group that robbed church in Francia.¹⁴³ Consequently, members of the great army had emigrated from christian areas in which armed groups other than the Norse attacked church buildings. Christian Anglo-Saxons were also not above robbing and burning churches: King Eadred attacked and burned Ripon cathedral during a campaign in Northumbria in 948, whilst earlier that century the relics of numerous saints had been taken from their shrines in the Norse settlement areas and moved to Wessex and western Mercia.¹⁴⁴ In such an environment attacks on churches by the great army may not have been unusual in a wider European context, except that the army were not considered to be christian. Despite numerous accusations, the only conclusive evidence for a church

¹⁴¹ For the Archbishop of York see ch 4, pp. 186-8, for the Mercian bishops see ch 4, p. 195. There is no evidence available for East Anglia.

¹⁴² For examples of unverified accusations of church destruction made against the great army see Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 193-5.

¹⁴³ Lund, 'Allies of God or Man?', pp. 46-7 and references therein.

¹⁴⁴ Swanton, ASC, D, 948, p. 112; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 210-1. The attack on Ripon in 948 was likely to be the time that St Wilfrid's relics and a copy of Eddius's Life of St Wilfrid were moved to Canterbury, *Ibid.*, p. 203.

suffering at the hands of the great army is at St Wystan's, Repton. Here the church building and probable mausoleum were adapted for practical purposes rather than being destroyed merely because they were christian. Indeed, although Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle speak of the events at Repton being evidence for 'a ruthless assertion by the Vikings of their own ancient religion, carried through without regard for people or possessions', Richards considers the evidence to show a degree of assimilation of the Norse to christian culture, perhaps including some conversion.¹⁴⁵ Richards' suggestion is based in part on the Norse using the mass burial to deliberately associate themselves with the former elite of the Mercian kingdom, to the extent of mingling the bones of deceased Norse with those already buried at St Wystan's monastery, as well as the contrast of this burial to the cremations nearby at Heath Wood. Indeed, the mass burial may be interpreted as the assimilation of christian mausoleum burials into a Norse form, the burial mound.

The Repton churchyard also contains some male Norse burials in an area previously unused for burial.¹⁴⁶ These burials could relate to the winter camp and the period of Mercia being a client kingdom, c. 873-6, based on the discovery of five silver pennies of the mid 870s in one of the graves, and due to the graves being cut into 'burnt Bunter sandstone, charcoal, and debris, suggesting that the church had already been badly damaged'.¹⁴⁷ Of the three graves recognized as Norse, only one, grave 511, has extensive grave-goods, whilst those in graves 295 and 529 were buried with only a knife, and a gold finger-ring and the coins respectively, and would not be dissimilar from many Anglo-Saxon burials of the period.¹⁴⁸ These were the first graves north of the chancel and are aligned east-west, with grave 529 actually touching the side of the church wall.¹⁴⁹ So although the side-by-side graves 511 and 295 were covered by a low 40 centimetres stone cairn in part made from fragments of an Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft, which suggests continuity with other known Norse burial practices and possibly a certain disregard for christian objects, the graves were

¹⁴⁵ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', p. 85; Richards, 'Pagans and Christians at a Frontier: Viking Burial in the Danelaw', pp. 390-1, 394.

¹⁴⁶ As determined to some extent by the inclusion of grave-goods but confirmed by isotope readings, see ch 2, pp. 107-8.

¹⁴⁷ Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the 'great heathen army', 873-4', Pl. 4.2, p. 49, & pp. 65-6. It should be noted that coins of the mid 870s does not exclude burial in the early period of Norse settlement in the area from 877. Similarly, it is possible that the debris from the site was not cleared for some years.

¹⁴⁸ For the grave-goods see *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 65.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 4.2, p. 49, Fig. 4.11, p. 61, & p. 66.

aligned in a christian manner in a place of significance to the local christian population.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, since it cannot be certain who smashed the cross or when, it could be argued that incorporating the broken cross into an important burial displays a high regard for the object. Other graves nearby that have been described as being of ‘Scandinavian type’ by the excavators have not had their origin confirmed by isotope analysis, and only had grave-goods relating to their clothing.¹⁵¹ In this they were no different to many contemporary Anglo-Saxon burials.¹⁵² If the three Repton burials do date to c. 873-6 then it is remarkable how quickly probable members of the great army had adopted christian burial rites, even before the first recorded Norse settlements.¹⁵³ Indeed, the man buried against the church wall was in one of the most holy places available without being inside the church. That grave 511 was the founder burial of a new burial ground makes the christian east-west alignment of this and subsequent burials significant, as those who dug the grave did so deliberately and were not merely following the alignment of existing graves. The number and type of grave-goods included in grave 511, especially the sword and Thor’s hammer, suggests a stage of syncretism between Norse beliefs and christianity.¹⁵⁴ But if such weapon burials were the norm for at least a portion of the great army,¹⁵⁵ as is indicated by the weapon burials at Reading, Sonning, Thetford and the weapons included in the mass burial, then grave 295, and especially 529 would appear to represent the adoption of christian burial.¹⁵⁶ This raises the question of where and when this familiarity with christian burial rites had been obtained: was it during the campaigning period or before they had arrived in England? Considering that it is likely that these were members of an army that was still campaigning it is perhaps more likely that this familiarity was gained prior to 865, but it would have been ongoing.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1. Although it is claimed that the cross had been ‘killed’ (p. 66) no evidence is presented to support that hypothesis.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65. An axe and spearhead found in the area could relate to a further two contemporary weapon burials.

¹⁵² The uncertainty of the origin of those buried in the other graves north of the chancel will preclude them from further discussion.

¹⁵³ At least two of those buried, in graves 511 and 295, had suffered violent deaths, Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘Repton and the ‘great heathen army’, 873-4’, pp. 61, 65.

¹⁵⁴ For the use of the term syncretism see Abrams, ‘Conversion and Assimilation’, p. 144.

¹⁵⁵ Not including those cremated at Heath Wood.

¹⁵⁶ Interpretation of grave 295 is complicated by its association with grave 511, and it may only contain a knife as the young man buried was the weapon-bearer of the older man, Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, ‘Repton and the ‘great heathen army’, 873-4’, p. 65. For the weapons recovered from the mass burial see *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Evidence for Norse conversion in England

Unfortunately the Norse conversion to christianity, or assimilation to christian customs, after settlement is a process for which there is little documentary evidence.¹⁵⁷ From what is available, it would appear that christianisation was in part a top-down process. The ASC records that Guthrum and thirty of his most honourable followers were baptised in Wessex in 878, and the evidence discussed in the previous chapter leaves no reason to suspect that, at least publicly, Guthrum and his nobles did not remain christian.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, the connection between King Guthfrith and the Community of St Cuthbert, and the burial of Guthfrith in the high church in York, suggests that the king of Norse Northumbria was also christian. Later still, two sons of one of the leaders of the 890s army, Hæstin, were baptised, with Alfred of Wessex and Æthelred of Mercia becoming their godfathers.¹⁵⁹ With christian Norse kings, and probably leading members of the Norse elite, ruling, at least in Norse Northumbria, with the support of the Church, there was probably a strong incentive for other Norse settlers to become christian, at least publicly.¹⁶⁰

An example of this is evident in post-Guthrum East Anglia. From c. 895 memorial coins in the name of St Edmund, the East Anglian king killed by the great army in 869-70, were issued, demonstrating that his cult was well established by this time and that there were christians in power to promote it. As coinage was a royal prerogative the issue was presumably authorised by the Norse kings of East Anglia, perhaps in part to promote themselves as legitimate successors of Edmund.¹⁶¹ Although the St Edmund coinage is not evidence for the conversion of most of the Norse settlers, it does demonstrate the importance of christianity, or at least its public display, to the Norse elite.¹⁶²

The influence of the established christian Anglo-Saxon population in the process cannot be underestimated, especially as the Norse began to settle into existing communities. The survival to some extent of church infrastructure, especially in Northumbria, would have made it easier for the Norse to adapt to christian customs. An example of this possibly

¹⁵⁷ For the suggestion that the Church and Norse may have had different notions of what conversion to christianity entailed, see Abrams, 'Conversion and Assimilation', pp. 143-7.

¹⁵⁸ Swanton, *ASC*, 878, p. 76.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 894, p. 86. In this instance the baptism appears to have had little effect on Hæstin's activities.

¹⁶⁰ It cannot be certain that church institutions survived in the Norse settlement area south of the Humber.

¹⁶¹ Abrams, 'The Early Danelaw: Conquest, transition, and assimilation', p. 65. For coinage possibly being a royal prerogative see Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and Coinage', p. 201.

¹⁶² For the coinage see Grierson & Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 319-20.

involving Norse below the upper elite level can be seen in the *Liber Eliensis*. The relevant section of the mid twelfth-century Latin compilation comes from an earlier OE work that recorded land transactions beneficial to the monastery at Ely, East Anglia.¹⁶³ It records that during Norse rule the priest Cenwold resided at Horningsea, Cambridgeshire, and the local pagan population were baptised and gave the minster five hides of land.¹⁶⁴ Those being baptised were presumably Norse settlers who were receiving religious instruction from the local Anglo-Saxon priest. Although this is the only surviving record of such an event, it need not have been an isolated example. Indeed, John Blair notes that if the local Norse landlord was converted then low-level religious life and christian ritual could have continued.¹⁶⁵ The account also demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon priests at the minster level continued to be active in an area for which no bishops are known during the period of Norse rule, indicating that christian instruction and baptism were available in at least parts of East Anglia.¹⁶⁶ Both were presumably more readily available in Norse Northumbria, with the continued existence of both the Archbishop of York and the community of St Cuthbert.

Even if some areas were without clergy for some time, it may be expected that the local Anglo-Saxon population continued to observe some christian rituals and to bury their dead in the manner and places to which they had become accustomed. Consequently, Norse settlers not already familiar with christianity could have become so without direct contact with clergy. Inter-marriage and friendships with the local population would have accelerated the process, whilst inter-marriage in particular would have had a significant impact on the acculturation of the following generation. Although such contact would not have been enough to ‘convert’ the Norse to christianity, especially in the eyes of the church as baptism was required, it could have led to the Norse adopting aspects of christianity such as its burial customs. It is also possible that in areas with priests death-bed baptisms may have occurred.

¹⁶³ Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, p. xv.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, II, ch. 32, p. 128.

¹⁶⁵ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 293.

¹⁶⁶ However intensive religious instruction may not have been considered important, especially when faced with a large number of possible converts. For the situation during the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, Frisians and Saxons see Sanmark, *Power and Conversion*, pp. 43-53. Sanmark (p. 46) notes that baptism appears to have been ‘the beginning rather than the end result of a period of preaching’.

Considering that Norse burials in Anglo-Saxon churchyards, some with minimal grave-goods, were apparently already happening before settlement, it is not surprising that there are few probable non-churchyard Norse burials dated to the early settlement period. Isolated mound burials at Cambois and Camphil are not consistent with Anglo-Saxon christian practice in eastern England and are thought to be Norse, as is the burial found in a ditch at Middle Harling and accompanied by various grave-goods, and the isolated burial at Leigh-on-Sea, accompanied by a sword, horse, and coins that date the burial to c. 895.¹⁶⁷ Other than those at Repton, the most striking churchyard burial associated with the Norse is that of seven or eight inhumations buried with grave-goods including weapons and aligned east-west under the church floor at Kildale, Yorkshire.¹⁶⁸ Another possible Norse churchyard burial that was aligned east-west and accompanied by grave-goods including weapons was discovered at Wensley, Yorkshire.¹⁶⁹ The small number of suggested non-christian burials, and even accompanied churchyard burials, suggests that most of the Norse were buried in a manner indistinguishable from their Anglo-Saxon neighbours.

Some evidence for Norse christianity may be found on sculpture. Quite a large corpus of sculpture exists that combines christian iconography or design with art motifs influenced by Norse styles or including scenes identifiable from later Norse literary sources, but it is difficult to date them to before 900. For example, it has been suggested by Phil Sidebottom that most of the Norse-influenced sculpture of Derbyshire dates to c. 911-950 and was a reaction to the extension of West Saxon power, including its Church, to the area.¹⁷⁰ A tenth-century date is also ascribed to the Norse-influenced sculpture of Lincolnshire.¹⁷¹ North of the Humber, some of the sculpture is dated to the 'Late ninth to early tenth century' and therefore could represent monuments erected by either early Norse settlers or their children.¹⁷² Sidebottom has noted that the 'people responsible for the erection of the stones appear to be demonstrating a conspicuous acceptance of Christianity',

¹⁶⁷ Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 194; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 243-4; Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 16 & Fig. 18, p. 17.

¹⁶⁸ Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 201-2.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹⁷⁰ Phil Sidebottom, 'Viking Age Stone Monuments and Social Identity in Derbyshire', in D.M. Hadley & J.D. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000), pp. 231-3.

¹⁷¹ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants', p. 179.

¹⁷² For example see 'York Minster 2: Part of a cross-shaft, in two joining pieces', Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. III*, p. 55.

suggesting that the Norse either were or wanted to appear as christians.¹⁷³ Pertinent to the discussion of early Norse christianity may be part of a cross-shaft found at Levisham, Yorkshire, which includes some Borre-style features paralleled by metalwork from York, with the Borre style being in use at the time of the Norse settlement. James Lang suggests that the piece may 'represent a transition between Anglian form and Scandinavian ornament' and that it could date to the late ninth century.¹⁷⁴ Another fragment of sculpture from York includes a ring-knot which was 'ubiquitous in Viking colonial art', presumably making it difficult to date but it could also be early.¹⁷⁵ The work of the second sculptor on the cross-shaft at Nunburnholme, Eastern Yorkshire, is another possible example of Norse influence on sculpture prior to 900. Although much of the sculptor's work is considered to be drawing upon Anglian tradition, they also introduced Norse elements in the forms of a seated figure with a sword, and a scene from the Sigurd legends.¹⁷⁶ The work influenced the carver of a piece from Newgate, York, and it has been demonstrated that the same craftsman was responsible for a rejected piece found at Coppergate and dated by stratigraphy to the early decades of the tenth century.¹⁷⁷ As the Nonburnholme cross must pre-date Newgate, and probably also the Coppergate piece, it is possible that the second sculptor at Nonburnholme was working sometime around 900. Although such examples do not necessarily mean that the people commissioning or carving the sculpture were Norse converts, it does suggest that Norse-style ornamentation, and possibly secular iconography, was considered applicable for christian sculpture possibly from an early date. Such a development may be considered unlikely without Norse christian patronage of the Church.

Like Norse-influenced sculpture, the proliferation of churches in the Norse settlement areas following their arrival is difficult to date and may have occurred largely after 900. Indeed, in many instances Norse-influenced sculpture is the only available

¹⁷³ Sidebottom, 'Viking Age Stone Monuments and Social Identity in Derbyshire', p. 232.

¹⁷⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. III*, Levisham 3, p. 177

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94. 'Late ninth to mid tenth century' is the dating horizon given. The *York and Eastern Yorkshire* corpus includes 21 Norse-influenced or possibly Norse-influenced pieces with this dating: York Minster 2, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39; York, All Saints' Pavement; York, St Mary Bishophill Senior 16, 17, 18, 19, 22; Eastern Yorkshire, Folkton 1; Eastern Yorkshire, Kirby Grindalythe 3; Eastern Yorkshire, Kirkdale 1, 9; Eastern Yorkshire, Levisham 3; Eastern Yorkshire, Nunburnholme 1; Eastern Yorkshire, Old Malton 1; Eastern Yorkshire, Sherburn 2, 3, pp. 55, 72-4, 79-80, 94-5, 131, 151, 159, 163, 177, 191-3, 196-7, 202-3. However York Minster 2, 39; York, All Saints' Pavement; & Eastern Yorkshire, Sherburn 2, all include possible influence from the Jelling style, which makes a late ninth century dating less likely.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9, 189-93.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

evidence for a church being on the site prior to Domesday Book.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps the best archaeological evidence for a new foundation following the Norse settlements is a single-celled church that was built on a stone foundation at Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire. Unfortunately this church, which was not initially accompanied by a cemetery, cannot be dated closer than to the late ninth or tenth century, and need not have been founded by a Norse lord.¹⁷⁹ However, the creation of new churches, like the use of christian sculpture, may both be indications that many of the Norse had accepted christianity by at least the early tenth century.

More positive for the notion of Norse christianity prior to 900 is a comment by Asser, writing in 893, that he saw a young Norse christian monk at the court of Alfred, and that he knew of others.¹⁸⁰ The Norse settlement areas are their most likely origin and may suggest that some Norse settlers were sending their children to monasteries. Similarly Oda, who became archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother who became a priest, were the sons of a member of the great army led by Ivar, so their father had presumably arrived before Ivar's departure from England in 870.¹⁸¹ Regardless of the beliefs of their parents, this suggests that at least the children of early Norse settlers could become active christians.

The above discussion has hopefully helped to explain how the Norse settlers from 876 were able to adapt so quickly to the customs of their new homeland, particularly those related to christianity. Studies of historic migrations suggests that migrants have usually already acquired knowledge of their intended destination prior to emigration, and the Norse are likely to have known that if their migration was successful they would be living amongst a christian population. It has been demonstrated that this is likely to have presented few serious problems to the immigrants: perhaps only those cremated at Heath Wood, and the few interred in isolated burials refused to assimilate to the prevailing customs. By 865 even those Norse who proceeded to England directly from the Scandinavian homelands are likely to have had some acquaintance with christianity. But many of the settlers appear to have come from Norse-controlled Dublin and northern Francia, all areas in which they had

¹⁷⁸ Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 214-5; Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 182-3, 186-7.

¹⁷⁹ Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 184.

¹⁸⁰ Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 94, in Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 103.

¹⁸¹ Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Danelaw', p. 37, & n. 14, p. 41.

been living amongst a christian population and consequently may be thought to have become quite familiar with aspects of christian culture, especially any migrants from the Norse-controlled fief of Frisia. Once they arrived in England, there were further opportunities for members of the great army to become acquainted with Anglo-Saxon christianity before they began to settle. A familiarity with christian burial practice is the best explanation for members of the great army being buried during the campaign period in east-west aligned graves at Repton, close to the church north of the chancel.

Conclusive evidence for Norse conversion to christianity prior to 900 is admittedly sparse, consisting of the written reports in the *ASC* and *Asser*, Norse coinage, sculpture, and Norse churchyard burials, but when considered together these indications of Norse christianity are substantial. Indications of overt Norse paganism are even harder to find, especially after the great army ceased campaigning. Other than some Thor's hammers and a few isolated burials with grave-goods not specifically related to dress, there is little to suggest that most of the immigrants did not adopt christian customs. Considering the proposed origin of the Norse, this acceptance of christian customs soon after settlement, and in some instances before, was likely to have been greatly facilitated by an existing familiarity with christianity. The immigrants were not dedicated pagans proceeding directly from the Scandinavian homelands with little awareness of the customs of christian Europe, but were instead people with experience in christian Europe, and were consequently adapting to a culture with which they were already familiar.

Conclusion

In Chapter 1 it was stated that this thesis would concentrate on the first generation of Norse settlers, and in particular answer two questions posed by Hadley and Richards in 2000: ‘What type of society did the Scandinavians come from?’ and ‘What were the implications of setting cultures in contact, and how is this reflected in the surviving material, documentary and linguistic evidence?’¹ These questions then led to a number of others being asked throughout the thesis, including ‘Where did the migration of members of the great army and other early Norse settlers begin?’, ‘Did these origins have an impact on the acculturation process?’, ‘What was the age and sex ratios of the immigrants?’, and ‘Did the Norse simply assimilate or did they also introduce innovations to Anglo-Saxon England?’. The answer to these questions has dramatically altered our view of the great army and the acculturation process.

To achieve the aims of the thesis migration theory was examined and it was demonstrated that some aspects of the theory were useful in the study of the proto-historic migration of the Norse to eastern England. Further investigation suggested that the Norse settlement should be seen as a spike in a much longer trend of migration from Scandinavia, that it primarily involved young adults, but that more females were involved than many scholars had considered previously. Importantly, migration theory encourages us to look for the emigration point, and suggests that those who migrate are usually those who have migrated previously. It was discovered that the best textual and archaeological evidence for the origin of the migrants was Ireland and northern Francia rather than the Scandinavian homelands. It is possible that some of the Norse from Ireland and northern Francia had been born at those locations, whilst others may have earlier migrated from elsewhere in the Norse world. There is evidence of career migrants with specialized skills in minting and pottery arriving from northern Francia, whilst there is place-name evidence for migrants from Frisia and the Irish Sea region. Such groups are likely to have gained information on their destination from other Norse.

The discovery of the west-European origin of the majority of the migrants has significant implications for our understanding of the acculturation process. Despite the

¹ Hadley & Richards, ‘Introduction: Interdisciplinary approaches to the Scandinavian settlement’, p. 3.

arguments by earlier scholars for some Norse migration from Ireland prior to 900 CE, when looking at the acculturation of the Norse in England scholars have consistently looked to the culture of the Scandinavian homelands. Considering the results of this thesis such comparisons should now be largely abandoned and scholars should instead consider the culture of the Norse in Ireland, particularly Dublin, and northern Francia, particularly Frisia. As both of these places were culturally part of the same christian western Europe that the Norse encountered when they settled in England, it makes the acculturation of the immigrants much less dramatic than has sometimes been supposed. Rather than emigrating from the largely non-christian Scandinavian homelands, many of the Norse settlers in England are likely to have been familiar with such cultural products as written laws, coin economies, and east-west aligned burial in churchyards, thereby making the adaptation to these elements of Anglo-Saxon culture soon after settlement, and perhaps during the campaigning period, much easier. Additionally, members of the great army had many opportunities to experience Anglo-Saxon culture before the documented settlements, particularly in their dealings with client kings, and at market sites like Torksey. Consequently, an existing familiarity with aspects of the culture is likely to have been as important a reason for rapid assimilation as adopting Anglo-Saxon notions of lordship. Chapters four to six examined the likely impact that the origin of the Norse had upon their actions in England in some areas of innovation and assimilation, but many other areas remain to be investigated.

In some respects this thesis is a reflection upon migration theory and its usefulness to pre- and proto-historic migrations. It was demonstrated that some aspects of the theory were of use, some were not applicable to this Norse migration, and others could not be utilized due to a lack of available evidence. Consequently, and unlike many previous attempts to apply migration theory to proto-historic migrations, each aspect of the theory must be critically evaluated rather than assuming that all of its tenets apply in the absence of any supporting evidence. An example of the latter approach also highlights a potential failing of the theory if it is to be applied to pre-modern migrations. Prior to this thesis Redmond had made the most use of migration theory when examining Norse migration to England, and often the observations gained from the theory added greatly to an understanding of the process. However no effort was made to demonstrate that tenets based on post-Industrial Revolution migrations were also applicable to the Norse, leading to a

number of doubtful assumptions in her work. In particular, she follows migration theorists, and many previous scholars working on the Norse, in assuming that the overwhelming majority of settlers were male, particularly in the 'scouting' phase. In contrast, my examination of the best available evidence, osteologically sexed burials that were likely to be Norse, demonstrates that Norse women and children were present in England from the beginning of the migration and that the ratio of males to females may have been close to equal. It is possible that in earlier migrations people were more likely to migrate as part of a family group of males and females, and that this tenet of migration theory needs to be altered when the theory is applied to pre-modern migrations.

Returning to the questions posed at the opening of this section, the Norse immigrants to eastern England comprised mainly young adults, including women, but children also emigrated. Most arrived from other areas of Norse settlement, particularly Ireland and northern Francia. This West-European origin of the immigrants is likely to have greatly assisted their acculturation in England due to cultural similarities between the Franks and Irish amongst whom they had been living, and the Anglo-Saxons. However the Norse did not simply assimilate to Anglo-Saxon culture, but also introduced some innovations. The innovations discussed in this thesis include the use of client kings and buffer zones, new political boundaries, a dual economy, ringed cross-heads, Norse iconography on sculpture, and wheel-thrown pottery. Many of these innovations were due to the experiences which the Norse had before embarking for England.

The use of migration theory and the realisation that most of the Norse settlers did not embark from the Scandinavian homelands allowed for a re-evaluation of the probable motivations to migrate, an important aspect of the 'push/pull' theories underpinning many studies of migrations. This is an important contribution to the scholarship as previously the motivations to migrate have been based on the notion that the Norse had emigrated from Scandinavia, a region for which there is little contemporary evidence. In assessing the Frankish and Irish annals it was ascertained that 'pull' factors were likely to have been a more important factor to the migrants than 'pushes'. In particular, the entries in the *ASC* that mark the documented settlement suggest that a more substantial and secure land ownership than was possible in either Ireland or Frisia was a major motivating factor in migrating.

The decision to migrate leads me to a discussion of a loose theme throughout the thesis which has yet to be fully articulated, the possible intent of the earliest migrants. Studies of migrations demonstrate that potential migrants have invariably gathered information about their desired home, and the long history of Anglo-Saxon/Norse interaction prior to 865 leaves little doubt that this was also the case in this migration. As the Norse are likely to have been motivated to migrate by 'pull' factors then it means that they intended to go to England. That other regions were available to Norse migrants in the second half of the ninth century, including parts of Scotland, the Faeroes, Iceland, and eastern Europe, increases this probability. Potential ninth-century Norse migrants unwilling to acculturate to christian communities had alternative places to settle, for example the Faroe Islands and Iceland. Accordingly, the willingness of the Norse to settle in Anglo-Saxon England, given their probable foreknowledge of its culture, suggests that many Norse arrived prepared to adapt to its political, religious, and economic cultures.

Perhaps the clearest indication of this is the decision by the leaders of the army to install client kings in the conquered territories from 867, with the agreement reached with Ceolwulf II of Mercia as reported in the *ASC* clearly stating that the Norse intended to return and settle.² Although Mercia was the last kingdom to be conquered and have a client king installed, there is nothing to suggest that similar arrangements were not made with the client kings of Northumbria and East Anglia, kingdoms which members of the great army also returned to settle. The campaigns of the army in Northumbria and the creation of a buffer state north of the river Tyne prior to the settlement of Norse Northumbria in 876 further suggests that some consideration may have also been given to the initial extent of Norse settlement. The likely involvement of the Norse and Frankish moneyers in the coin design of the East Anglian client kings from the 870s, prior to the documented settlement of the kingdom by the Norse, and the production of pottery at Lincoln by Frankish potters possibly during the reign of the Mercian client king are both examples of career migration by groups probably known to the Norse. Their probable decision to migrate before the commencement of documented Norse settlement makes it likely that some Norse groups had settled when kingdoms were first conquered, waiting for those continuing to campaign to join them. Finally, the presence of Norse women and children in England by at least

² Swanton, *ASC*, E, 874, p. 73.

873/4 also increases the likelihood that members of the great army had arrived with the intention of settling the kingdoms that they conquered. Indeed, these non-combatants are likely to have been amongst those Norse that remained in the conquered kingdoms, a tactic later used by the 890s army.

This thesis has also tackled some lingering perceptions about the early Norse settlers. It has been demonstrated that there is little evidence for them being overtly heathen and instead they are likely to have been familiar with christianity, and it is possible that some arrived as christians. The existence of women and children with both the great army and the 890s army has shown that notions about the membership of early medieval armies needs to be reconsidered, and for the Norse at least it appears that an 'army' could be made up of kin groups of both warriors and non-combatants. In both of these examples the evidence used has not been new, but the existing evidence has been re-evaluated.

To conclude, let us consider the migration of the Norse to eastern England c. 865 to 900. Following a long history of contact between Scandinavia and England, groups primarily originating from Ireland and northern Francia and collectively known as the great army arrived in 865. Primarily young adults, they included warriors, women, and children, and possibly some people who were not genetically Norse. The lure of secure land ownership, and possibly the empire-building desire of their leaders, is likely to have motivated the migration, and they soon conquered kingdoms to settle, leaving native client kings to rule while the campaigns continued. Upon settlement the Norse created new boundaries and operated a dual economy of both coin and bullion, with the settlement regions possibly geared towards different trading partners. Career migrants from northern Francia with specialised skills settled and worked in the areas governed by the Norse. The acculturation of the Norse in their new homeland was apparently quick, no doubt helped by their familiarity with the christian cultures of Ireland and Francia, and by the years spent in England prior to settlement. In the 890s the settlers were augmented by new arrivals from Francia, and possibly other undocumented immigrants. As with the great army, the 890s army included women and children and they probably arrived with the intention of settling, and presumably acculturating. This study reveals the Norse settlers as a group with knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture and a willingness to adapt to it, whilst also introducing some of their own innovations to England.

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