

## History of the British Isles I: c. 300-1100

### I. The End of Roman Britain

Was Roman civilization already in irreversible decline in Britain before the end of the fourth century? **OR**

What survived the end of Roman Britain? **OR**

How successfully did the peoples of England and Wales adapt to the new challenges they faced in the period 400-600?

#### Primary sources

*[There are many primary sources relevant to this question; these are the ones most helpful for you to look at so that you can follow the historiographical debates. Gildas and Bede are key to understand the basic chronology commonly used for the fifth century—but be sure to read with Lapidge and Dumville (for Gildas) and Yorke (for Bede). The Welsh inscribed stones feature in any number of accounts of continuity; think about what they can—and can't—tell us.]*

Gildas, 'The Ruin of Britain', in *The Ruin of Britain and other documents*, ed. and tr. M. Winterbottom (London, 1978), esp. chs 1-26.

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. R. Collins and J. McClure, Book I, chs 1-22.

V.E. Nash-Williams, *Early Christian monuments of Wales* (1950), pp. 3-16 and plates I-XV (Group I).

#### Studies of these texts

D.N. Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History* 62 (1977).

\*M. Lapidge and D.N. Dumville (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984), chs 1-4.

B. Yorke, 'Fact or fiction? The written evidence for the fifth and sixth centuries AD',

*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 (1993), 45–50.

#### Synthetic Archaeological Accounts

*[Our best contemporary evidence for the end of Roman Britain, and for what comes next, are a multitude of fourth-, fifth- and sixth-century archaeological finds from any number of sites across the British Isles. Esmonde-Cleary and Gerrard are the best synthetic accounts of this material evidence. They are best read in sequence, with Gerrard incorporating more recent evidence and interpretative models. Faulkner is an important encapsulation of, and contribution to, some key debates from in between.]*

\*\*A.S. Esmonde-Cleary, *The ending of Roman Britain* (London, 1989), esp. chs. 4–6.

N. Faulkner, 'The debate about the end of Roman Britain', *Archaeological Journal* 159 (2002), 59-76.

\*\*J. Gerrard, *The ruin of Roman Britain: an archaeological perspective* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. chs 1-3, 5, 7.

#### Late Roman Britain

*[You may decide you want to know more about late Roman Britain to answer these questions. Millett and Mattingly provide accessible accounts; though do think about how their pictures accord with or diverge from those of Esmonde-Cleary and Gerrard.]*

D. Mattingly, *An imperial possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC – AD 409* (London, 2006), chs 8, 11, 17.

M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: an essay in archaeological interpretation* (Cambridge, 1990), chs 7-9.

## Continuity and Change

*[There have been heated debates on the degree of continuity in post-Roman Britain—often confused by varying definitions of what ‘continuity’ actually means. Higham and esp. Dark present maximalist cases for continuity; Loseby argues for the end of urbanism; Ward-Perkins presents Britain—in a broader imperial perspective—as an extreme case of post-Roman decline. Think about how you might reconcile these treatments. Which interpretations do you find more convincing? Are they using the same or different evidence and/or methodology? Do they prioritise different things, and if so, why?]*

D.A. Brooks, ‘A review of the evidence for continuity in British towns in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1986), 77–102.

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

\*K.R. Dark, *Civitas to kingdom: British political continuity, 300-800* (Leicester, 1994), chs 1-4.

\*S.T. Loseby, ‘Power and towns in late Roman Britain and early Anglo-Saxon England’, in G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt (eds), *Sedes Regiae* (Barcelona, 2000).

\*B. Ward-Perkins, *The fall of the Rome and the end of civilization* (Oxford, 2005), esp. Part II. [Look up Britain in the index.]

## Regional Studies: Wales and the North

*[The presence of villas and towns has often led scholars to focus on lowland southern and eastern Britain; it might be worth going to Wales and up north for alternative perspectives on continuity/change, and to see how those populations fared in the fifth and sixth centuries.]*

W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (1982), ch. 4, pp. 85-102.

R. Collins, *Hadrian’s Wall and the end of empire: the Roman frontier in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries* (London, 2012).

## The Anglo-Saxons

*[No reading list on the fifth- and sixth-century British Isles would be complete without treatments of the arrival of the Saxons (adventus Saxonum) touted by Gildas and Bede. We’ll look at the newcomers more closely in the coming weeks; for these questions, it’s worth thinking about: (a) whether you see them as a cause or a consequence of the end of Roman Britain; (b) whether we can date their arrival with any certainty. Hamerow is a concise guide to some major archaeological debates; Ward-Perkins a trenchant think-piece; Halsall’s recent popular book is a provocative reinterpretation of both Gildas’ narrative and the excavated burials which are normally seen as belonging to ‘Anglo-Saxons’. What does the latter suggest about our capacity to date and locate these new arrivals?]*

H. Hamerow, ‘Migration theory and the Anglo-Saxon identity crisis’, in H. Hamerow and J. Chapman (eds.), *Migrations and invasions in archaeological explanation* (Oxford, 1997).

\*B. Ward-Perkins, ‘Why did the Anglo-Saxons not become more British?’, *English Historical Review* 115 (2000) [available online via SOLO].

G. Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur: facts and fictions of the Dark Ages* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 184-94, 215-52.

Good luck!

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## II. Kings, kingdoms and kingship

Was predatory warfare the key to successful kingship in the sixth to eighth centuries? (You may, if you wish, confine your answer to ANY ONE part of the British Isles.) **OR**

By what means, and with what success, were kings able to project their power over large geographical areas in the seventh and eighth centuries? (You may, if you wish, confine your answer to ANY ONE part of the British Isles.) **OR**

What light have archaeological discoveries thrown on the nature of early Anglo-Saxon kingship?

### Primary sources

*[The primary evidence is sparse and diverse; this is a selection. When looking at all these kinds of evidence, think about what features of contemporary kingship they illuminate, and what bases of power they imply. Sutton Hoo revolutionised ideas of early A-S kings; the recently discovered Staffordshire Hoard is still to make its mark in the historiography. Beowulf and the Tain are here because many have thought they give a sense of the societal framework and values in which kings operated; you probably won't want to cite them on any specific points, but they're useful to think with. The law codes from Kent and Wessex present a different sort of image of kingship—what are kings getting involved with here?]*

R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo ship burial*, 3 vols. (London, 1975–1983).

The Staffordshire Hoard: [www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk](http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk); see too <https://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium>. *[Go to the 'understanding the hoard' page in the former, and esp. the 'star finds'; for the latter, read Halsall, Keynes and Brooks.]*

Law codes: *English historical documents* 1, pp. 390–408 [available online].

Beowulf, ed. M. Alexander (Harmondsworth, 1995).

Táin Bó Cúailgne, ed. T. Kinsella (Dublin, 1969);

online translation at: <http://adminstaff.vassar.edu/sttaylor/Cooley/>

### Introductory reading: Anglo-Saxon England and beyond

*[These volumes will provide basic orientation in the narratives and political structures of C6–C8 kingdoms. I'm starting you off with the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and their British neighbours; once you've got your head round them, start thinking about how they compare to the rest of the British Isles. Yorke takes each Anglo-Saxon kingdom in turn; Williams presents a single narrative and a structural analysis; Charles-Edwards is especially useful for incorporating Ireland and Scotland into his framework.]*

S. Bassett (ed.), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (London, 1989), esp. chs. 11–14.

\*T. Charles-Edwards, 'Nations and kingdoms', in idem (ed.), *After Rome*.

D.P. Kirby, *The earliest English kings* (London, 2000), esp. chs. 1–4.

\*A. Williams, *Kingship and government in pre-Conquest England c.500–1066* (1999), chs 1–5, esp. chs 4–5.

\*B. Yorke, *Kings and kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1997), esp. chs 5 and 6.

### Archaeology and key sites

*[Excavations of major sites have been key to our understanding of the formation and exercise of royal power: Arnold and Hamerow are good starts; Hope-Taylor, Carver and Newman survey key sites in Northumbria, E Anglia and Ireland; Hines thinks about connections to the literary evidence. In this connection, remember, too, the British hillforts from last week.]*

C.J. Arnold, *An archaeology of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*, 2nd edn (London, 1995).

\*H. Hamerow, 'The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms', in P. Fouracre (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History, I: c.500–c.700* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 263–88.

J. Hines, 'Beowulf and archaeology: revisited', in C. Karkov and H. Damico (eds.), *Aedificia Nova: studies in honor of Rosemary Cramp* (Kalamazoo, 2008).  
B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeaving: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977).  
M. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: a seventh-century princely burial ground and its context* (London, 2005).  
C. Newman, *Tara: an archaeological survey* (1997).

### **Texts: Anglo-Saxon kings and overkings**

*[A significant strand of debate has considered the character of various forms of 'overkingship'—especially as some have wanted to see in it the prototype for broader ('British'? 'English'?) political unification. Think about the different visions of overkingship presented here—do they seem 'institutional' or more loosely defined; stable or temporary? Above all, what did these forms of overkingship actually mean in practice?]*

J. Campbell, 'Bede's reges and principes', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history* (1986).

\*D.N. Dumville, 'The terminology of overkingship in early Anglo-Saxon England', in Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (Woodbridge, 1997).

S. Fanning, 'Bede, Imperium, and the Bretwaldas', *Speculum* 66 (1991), 1-26.

\*P. Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the origins of the *gens Anglorum*', in P. Wormald et al. (eds), *Ideal and reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon society: studies presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), repr. in his *Times of Bede*.

\*S. Baxter et al. (eds) *Early medieval studies in memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, 2009), see esp. Campbell, Charles-Edwards and Yorke.

### **British Comparisons**

*[As Wormald notes, Anglo-Saxon and 'Celtic' kingship were traditionally considered separately of one another; his lecture is a mission statement for comparison across the British Isles: read it with Charles-Edwards' response in Baxter et al, above. Carver... Charles-Edwards, Fraser and Davies are the best guides to Ireland, Scotland and Wales respectively. Pick a couple of these treatments and think hard about similarities and differences.]*

\*M. Carver (ed.), *The age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in North-Western Europe* (Woodbridge, 1992), chs 6-8.

T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000).

J. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, 2009).

\*W. Davies, *Patterns of power in early Wales* (Oxford, 1990).

\*P. Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship: some further thoughts', in P. Szarmach and V. Oggins (eds.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon culture* (Kalamazoo, 1983), 151-83.

Good luck!

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### III. Conversion and Christianisation

Can histories of the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England be anything better than versions of Bede? **OR**

Is there evidence to suggest that Anglo-Saxon kings of the conversion period saw Christianity as anything other than a tool for political advancement? **OR**

Did ecclesiastical institutions in the conversion period do a better job of providing pastoral care or reinforcing aristocratic status?

#### Primary sources

\* *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

*The Age of Bede*, ed. J.F. Webb and D.H. Farmer, rev. edn. (Harmondsworth, 1998).

Stephen, *The life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1953).

#### Textbooks

\* B. Yorke, *The conversion of Britain: religion, politics and society in Britain, c.600–800* (Harlow, 2006), esp. chs. 1–2.

\* W.J. Blair, *The church in Anglo-Saxon society* (Oxford, 2005), chs. 1–5.

#### Sources

\* N. Brooks, 'From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's interpretation of the Conversion', in C. Karkov and N. Howe (eds.), *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England* (Tempe, AZ, 2006).

J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1996), esp. chs. 1–4.

\* P. Wormald, *The times of Bede: studies in early English Christian society and its historian* (Oxford, 2006)

C. Stancliffe, 'British and Irish contexts', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. S. DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 69–83

D.P. Kirby, 'Bede, 'Eddius Stephanus and the Life of Wilfrid', *English Historical Review* 98 (1983), 101–14.

D.P. Kirby, 'The genesis of a cult: Cuthbert of Farne and ecclesiastical politics in Northumbria in the late seventh and early eighth centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), 383–97.

#### Sites

\* N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984).

M. Carver, 'Why that? Why there? Why then? The politics of early medieval monumentality', in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds.), *Image and power in the archaeology of early medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2001).

R. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989).

#### Mission

I. Wood, 'The mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1–17.

R. Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999).

### **Conversion from above or below?**

N. Higham, *The Convert Kings: power and religious affiliation in early Anglo Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997), esp. introduction.

D. Rollason, *Saints and relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989).

P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and literature in Western England* (Cambridge, 1990).

### **Conversion and cultural change**

\*P. Wormald, 'Bede, Beowulf and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy', *British Archaeological Reports* 46 (1978), 32–95, rptd in his *The times of Bede* (Malden, 2006), pp. 30–106.

R. Abels, 'What has Weland to do with Christ? The Franks Casket and the acculturation of Christianity in early Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 84 (2009) 549-81.

### **Monasticism and pastoral care**

\*W.J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992).

See also the debate between Blair, Cambridge and Rollason in *Early Medieval Europe* 4:1 (1995), 87–104; 4:2 (1995), 193–212 [available online via SOLO].

S. Foot, *Monastic life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge, 2006).

B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon royal houses* (London, 2003), ch. 1.

S. Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church* (Woodbridge, 1992), esp. chs. 1 and 7.

### **Insular comparisons: Ireland, Scotland and Wales**

N.B. Aitchison, *Armagh and the royal centres in early medieval Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1994).

L.M. Bitel, *Isle of the saints: monastic settlement and Christian community in early Ireland* (Ithaca, NY, 1990).

\*T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000).

C. Etchingham, *Church organisation in Ireland A.D.650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999).

C. Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland c.450–1150* (Oxford, 2002).

\*W. Davies, 'The myth of the Celtic church', in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992).

### **Broader comparative perspectives**

M.O. Carver (ed.), *The Cross goes North: processes of conversion in northern Europe, AD 300-1300* (Woodbridge, 2003). LCAM

Good luck!

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#### IV. Vikings in the British Isles

Why was the impact of viking settlement so different in various parts of the British Isles? **OR**  
How do we best account for the strong reactions of late eighth- and ninth-century writers to the vikings? **OR**

What was Danish about the Danelaw?

##### Primary sources

*[Contemporary and near-contemporary texts provide a vivid sense of the impact of Scandinavians from the turn of the eighth century onwards; these are the key sources for the British Isles. Alcuin's letters present the shock of a northerner on the continent; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Annals of Ulster narrate events in England and Ireland respectively. Look out for the developing 'phases' of viking activity in each text; what sort of social/military organization these events imply; and compare the responses of indigenous polities. And remember (as discussed previously) that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is Wessex-centric.]*

Alcuin, *Letters* 12, 13, 26-29 in Alcuin of York, trans. S. Allott (York, 1974).

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a. 789, 793-4, 838, 851, 866-903, 917, 927, 937-54, 991-1018, trans. Whitelock in *English Historical Documents*, I.

*Annals of Ulster*, a. 795, 823-4, 832, 837, 845, 847, 850, 856-7, 895, 902, 917-18, 936-7, 951, 953, 980, 1014, in S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (trans.), *The Annals of Ulster* (Dublin, 1983).

Both also available in A.A. Somerville and R.A. McDonald, *The Viking Age: A Reader* (Toronto, 2010).  
J. Graham-Campbell (ed.) *Cultural atlas of the Viking World* (1994; reissued 2013).

*[The literature on Scandinavians in the British Isles is truly VAST. I've tried to limit the following to the best introductions, and the most stimulating research articles, but this still goes on to a third page. Don't panic! Get a basic grasp of the range of issues involved; and then zero in on one of the three question topics: settlement; violence/violent reactions; the Danishness (or otherwise) of the Danelaw.]*

##### Orientation

*[Two useful surveys of the historiography with critical commentary; excellent starting points. How has the scholarly consensus shifted between these two treatments?]*

P. Wormald, 'Viking Studies: Whence and Whither?', in R. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), pp. 128-53.

\*J.H. Barrett, 'What Caused the Viking Age?', *Antiquity* 82 (2008), 671-85.

##### General

*[Three big picture treatments. Sawyer's Age of the Vikings was controversial (as you'll notice in Wormald, just for starters) but important in many ways; the chapters by Hines and O'Corrain will give you basic narrative and historiographical orientation.]*

P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn (London, 1971).

\*P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1997), chs by Keynes and O'Corrain on England and Ireland.

S. Brink (ed.), *The Viking World* (London, 2009), esp. Part II.

##### The military impact of vikings in England

*[The Scandinavian newcomers to C8 and C9 England are best known in modern cultural imagination for the military threat they posed to 'civilised' society, and esp. for violence towards monks and clerics. The articles in these two sections consider various aspects of this threat. Brooks is an important statement of a maximalist position for both numbers and impact (in response to Sawyer, above); Smyth and Foot do something similar for their impact on churches; the articles by Nelson and Halsall crucially*

*change the terms of the debate. Abels and Fleming are good for thinking about how Alfred and the West Saxons responded.]*

N. Brooks, 'England in the ninth century: the crucible of defeat', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 29 (1979), 1–20.

\*J.L. Nelson, 'England and the continent in the ninth century: II, the vikings and others', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 13 (2003), 1–28.

R. Abels, 'Alfred the Great, the *micel hææn* here and the viking threat', in T. Reuter (ed.) *Alfred the Great*, (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 265–79.

A.P. Smyth, 'The effect of Scandinavian raiders on the English and Irish Churches: a preliminary reassessment', in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300. Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1–38.

S. Foot, 'Violence against Christians? The Vikings and the Church in Ninth-Century England', *Medieval History* 1 (1991), 3–16; response by G. Halsall, 'Playing by Whose Rules? A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century', *Medieval History* 2 (no. 2) (1992), 2–12.

R. Fleming, 'Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking Age', *English Historical Review* 100 (1985), 247–65.

### **Settlement and identity (1): the 'Danelaw' and England**

*[Work on the areas of Danish settlement in the north and east of England—later called the 'Danelaw'—has been at the forefront of rethinking the destructive model of Anglo-Scandinavian interactions. These items present something more constructive: political, social and cultural assimilation, and the formation of new 'identities'. Richards is basic on the archaeology; Hadley's Anglo-Norman Studies article and later book present a new interpretation of long-term developments; the two edited collections contain much of interest.]*

J.D. Richards, *Viking Age England* (1991).

\*D.M. Hadley, '"And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves": the Scandinavian settlement of England', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19 (1997), 69–96.

\*D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (eds.), *Cultures in contact: Scandinavian settlement in England in the ninth and tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2000), esp. chs by Kershaw, Innes, Abrams, Barrow, Halsall, Richards.

J. Graham Campbell et al (eds), *Vikings and the Danelaw: select papers from the proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, (Oxford, 2001), various papers.

D.M. Hadley, *The Vikings in England: settlement, society and culture* (Manchester, 2006).

### **Settlement and identity (2): Ireland**

*[Ireland's experience of Scandinavian raiding, settlement and long-term interaction was rather different from that of either southern England or the Danelaw—in thinking about the viking impact on the British Isles, it represents a fascinating comparative case. Byrne is a basic introduction; Downham narrates political events from c. 850 onwards; Mytum presents a model parallel to e.g. Innes, above; Sheehan and Valante consider settlement.]*

\*F. J. Byrne, 'The viking age', in D. Ó Cróinín (ed.) *A new history of Ireland I: prehistoric and early Ireland*, ed. (Oxford, 2005), pp. 609–34.

\*C. Downham, *Viking kings of Britain and Ireland: the dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh, 2007), ch. 2.

H. Mytum, 'The Vikings and Ireland: ethnicity, identity, and culture change', in J.H. Barrett (ed.) *Contact, continuity, and collapse: the Norse colonization of the North Atlantic* (York, 2003), pp. 113–37.

\*J. Sheehan, 'The longphort in Viking Age Ireland', *Acta Archaeologica* 79 (2008), 282–95.

M.A. Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland: settlement, trade and urbanisation* (Dublin, 2008).



Good luck!

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## V. The Making of England?

Was a unified England in the tenth century inevitable? **OR**

'Let me state a certainty. Late Anglo-Saxon England was a nation state.' (Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon state*, p. 10). Discuss.

### Primary sources

*[The best place to start with this question is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—which you already dipped into for Vikings last week. Read the entries from Alfred to Æthelred, and get a sense of the tenth century as viewed from Wessex. Asser's Life of Alfred is important as both king and text are the starting point for many accounts of English unification. In thinking about the late Anglo-Saxon state, the various docs from EHD will be useful.]*

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (entries from 871-1016), trans. Whitelock (EHD I) or Swanton (London, 2000).  
D. Whitelock (ed.) *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, nos 33, 35-39, 102, 99, 117, 119-20, 135.

S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other contemporary sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983).

### Basic Orientation

\*P. Stafford, *Unification and conquest: a political and social history of England in the tenth and eleventh centuries* (London, 1989), chs 2-3.

A. Williams, *Kingship and government in pre-conquest England c.500–1066* (Basingstoke, 1999), ch. 7.

S. Keynes, 'England, c. 900–1016', in *The new Cambridge medieval history*, vol. 3, c. 900–c.1024, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 456–84.

### Kings in the long tenth century

*[Once you've sorted your Æthelstan from your Æthelred (see **Basic Orientation**), worth delving into specific aspects of the reigns of tenth-century kings. Sarah Foot's book on Æthelstan is particularly useful for these questions.]*

T. Reuter, *Alfred the Great: papers from the eleventh-centenary conferences* (Aldershot, 2003).

N. Higham and D. Hill (eds.), *Edward the Elder, 899–924* (London, 2001), chs 4, 10, 14-15.

\*S. Foot, *Aethelstan: the first king of England* (New Haven, 2011), chs 1, 5-6, 8.

D. Scragg, *Edgar, king of the English, 959-975: new interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), chs 1, 3-5, 7-8.

### The late Anglo-Saxon state: maximalist (and other) views

*[In answering either of these questions, you need to take a view on the reach, sophistication and uniformity of late Anglo-Saxon government. The classic treatments are by James Campbell: read all three of these chapters, alongside Wormald's 'Englaland' piece from next section, for a self-consciously 'maximalist' case. The recent books by Roach and Molyneaux respond in intelligent and complementary ways to this model; the more of them you can read, the better. Keynes is good on the use of documentation.]*

\*J. Campbell, 'Observations on the government of England from the tenth to the twelfth centuries', in idem, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986).

\*J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (Hambledon, 2000), chs 1-2.

S. Keynes, 'Royal government and the written word in late Anglo-Saxon England', in

R McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), 226–57.

\*\*L. Roach, *Kingship and consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. chs 1 and 10; then worth exploring more widely, I'd suggest chs 2 and 8.

\*\*G. Molyneaux, *The formation of the English kingdom in the tenth century* (Oxford, 2015), esp. chs 1 and 4; again, repays broader reading.

### **(National?) Identities: Englishness, Britishness and Regionalism**

*[Identity is crucial to these questions. The key problem is: when did Englishness become a significant collective identity which might underpin a self-styled kingdom of the English? Wormald and Foot are classic studies of the formation of Englishness. Other historians have worried about the significance of such terminology; Molyneaux highlights British regnal language; Innes and Insley are case studies of distinctive regional societies and identities.]*

\*P. Wormald, 'Englaland: the making of an alliance', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7.1 (1994), 1–24.

\*S. Foot, 'The making of Angelcynn: English identity before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series 6 (1996), 25–49.

P. Stafford 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, identity and the making of England', *Haskins Society Journal* 19 (2007), 28–50.

G. Molyneaux, 'Why were some tenth-century English kings presented as rulers of Britain?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (2011), 59–91.

M. Innes, 'Danelaw identities: ethnicity, regionalism, and political allegiance', in D. Hadley and J.D. Richards (eds) *Cultures in contact: Scandinavian settlement in England in the ninth and tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 65–88.

C. Insley, 'Kings and lords in tenth-century Cornwall', *History* 98 (2013), 2–22.

### **Royal resources**

*[If you get particularly interested in administration (and who isn't?): some important studies of wealth and resources; compare and contrast with Campbell's model, and Molyneaux's recent detailed account. The debate in Past and Present 135 is excellent in highlighting divergent approaches to the exercise of power in the early middle ages.]*

R. Abels, *Lordship and military obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988).

D. Hill and A.R. Rumble (eds.), *The defence of Wessex: the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon fortifications* (Manchester, 1996).

J.R. Maddicott, 'Trade, industry and the wealth of King Alfred', *Past and Present* 123 (1989), 3–51. See also the debate in *P & P* 135 (1992), 142–88.

P. Sawyer, *The wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), chs 4–5.

### **Kings and churches**

S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1988).

D. Rollason, *Saints and relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), chs. 6–7.

B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxons Royal Houses* (London, 2003), chs. 3–4.

## VI. The End of Anglo-Saxon England

Is the Norman Conquest best understood as the culmination of decades of political crisis in England?

**OR**

What kinds of changes did the Norman Conquest cause? **OR**

Was the consolidation of William's conquest a matter of winning hearts and minds, or of brutal suppression? **OR**

What made 1066 different from 1016, and why?

### Primary sources

*[There are an abundance of conflicting narrative accounts of the conquest: see Stafford, Golding and Garnett below for full surveys. I've given you three of the earliest, which represent (wildly opposed) interpretations: for an English view, our old favourite, the Chronicle; for a Norman view, William of Poitiers; and the tantalizingly ambivalent account of the Bayeux Tapestry—some combo of the two. Can we reconcile these three—should we try? The Vita Edwardi Regis is crucial for the reign of the Confessor; if you pick it up, think about the version of Edward's reign it sets out, why it does it, and whether you buy it.]*

*Vita Edwardi Regis*, ed. F. Barlow, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Oxford, 1992).

*The Bayeux tapestry*, ed. D.M. Wilson (London, 1985).

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock (1961)

William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. and tr. R.H.C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), part II, pp.100–187.

### General

*[These are all good starting points. Stafford takes you from Cnut to Conquest; pick up Chibnall or Golding for orientation in the key themes of the latter—helpful for second Q.]*

M. Chibnall, *The debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester, 1999).

\*P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1989), chs 4-6.

\*B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, rev edn. (Basingstoke, 2001).

### Conquest and Impact

*[Accounts of the conquest are, as you might expect, v. numerous. Here's a sample. Make sure to read Garnett's provocative interpretation (not all agree!). Thomas is an exemplary (if slightly long-winded) working through of issues of identity and cultural interaction. Matthew is excellent for wider picture of Britain's place in western Europe and North Sea.]*

J.C. Holt, *Colonial England, 1066–1215* (London, 1997), ch. 1.

\* G. Garnett, *The Norman Conquest: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2009).

D. Matthew, *Britain and the Continent, 1000–1300: The Impact of the Norman Conquest* (London, 2005), ch. 2.

H.M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), chs 5-6 (and Part II if particularly keen).

A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), chs 1-3.

### Confessor and Conqueror

*[The reigns of Edward and William can be tricky to get your arms around—Bates and Barlow are the best attempts to make sense of their reigns holistically. If you get sucked into the succession problem, Baxter is a good guide.]*

\*D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (Stroud, 2004).

F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1997).

S. Baxter, 'Edward the Confessor and the succession question', in *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, ed. R. Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 77–118.

### **Nobility**

[Make sure to read Fleming (either in short or long form) and Baxter on the balance of power between king and earls. Who do you agree with? This debate is crucial for assessing the reign of Edward and the functioning of the Anglo-Saxon state in the middle decades of the C11.]

\*R. Fleming, 'Domesday estates of the king and the Godwines: a study in late Anglo-Saxon politics', *Speculum* 58 (1983).

\*R. Fleming, *Kings and lords in conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991).

\*S. Baxter, *The earls of Mercia: lordship and power in late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), chs 3–4.

P. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994).

F. Barlow, *The Godwins: the rise and fall of a noble dynasty* (London, 2003).

### **The Anglo-Norman state, maximal (and other) views**

[This may look rather familiar from last week! Another big question is what happens to the sophisticated Anglo-Saxon state—if you decided it was sophisticated!—once the Normans take over. Did they keep it going? Turbocharge it? Run it into the ground? How does Domesday—that unique document of early medieval government—fit into all this?]

\*A. Williams, *Kingship and government in Pre-Conquest England c.500–1066* (1999), ch. 11.

J. Campbell, 'Some agents and agencies of the late Anglo-Saxon state', in J.C. Holt (ed), *Domesday studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), 210–18, repr in his *The Anglo-Saxon state* (London, 2000), IX.

J. Campbell, 'The Significance of the Anglo-Norman State in the Administrative History of Western Europe', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 171–190.

W.L. Warren, 'The Myth of Anglo-Norman Administrative Efficiency', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> series 34 (1984).

\*P. Sawyer, (ed.), *Domesday Book: a re-assessment* (London, 1985).

P. Sawyer, *The wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013).

### **The Other Conquest: 1016 and All That**

[Figuring out one conquest may be sufficient work for one week—and that would be fair enough. But if you have time, it's worth thinking about Cnut's takeover of England—not least because it's on a lot of Anglo-Saxonists' minds right now, and its effects are both an interesting comparative case, and set up the parameters of eleventh-century English politics. Read Stafford's chapter, above, and then Mack and Bolton will take you a long way.]

M.K. Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the early Eleventh century* (London, 1993).

\* K. Mack, 'Changing thegns: Cnut's conquest and the English aristocracy', *Albion* 16 (1984), 375–87.

A. Rumble (ed.), *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London, 1994)

\* T. Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009) [Part I]

P. Stafford, 'The laws of Cnut and the history of Anglo-Saxon royal promises', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1981), 173–90.

M.K. Lawson, 'The Collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the Reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut', *English Historical Review* XCIX (1984), (and subsequent debate with Gillingham in *EHR* CIV–CV (1989–90)).

### **The Norman Conquest and the British Isles**

*[Like the Normans, you may flag a bit by the time you get beyond southern England. But that would be a shame. Exploring the (v. different) impact of the Normans in Wales, Ireland, Northumbria and Scotland might make you think differently about the conquest, and about what happened in the old heartland of Wessex power.]*

R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Co-existence and Change: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1987).

C. Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea zone in the eleventh century', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2003).

W. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the north: the region and its transformation, 1000–1135* (London, 1979).

H.M. Thomas, 'The Gesta Herewardi, the English and their Conquerors', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1998).

Good luck!

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## VII. Gender

For 8<sup>th</sup> week, rather than handing in an essay, you will put together a 10-minute presentation (from notes) with a handout or powerpoint including the main points you want to make and any key passages from primary texts/images/diagrams to illustrate your argument. I've suggested some potential questions below, but I'm very happy for you to formulate your own 'problem' to discuss, so long as you run it by me beforehand. I'll also expect a short note to me and your colleagues by 5pm the day before indicating what you're planning to discuss, and suggesting one article from your section it would be particularly useful to read, so that we can all prepare.

### Possible Questions

1. What do the careers of Queen Emma and Queen Edith reveal about the nature and limits of the powers of queens in late Anglo-Saxon England?
2. How did a monastic life empower women in seventh and eighth centuries, and how did it constrain them?
3. What can material culture tell us about early medieval gender norms?
4. Can we trace anxieties about masculinity in the early middle ages?
5. To what extent did the power and agency of EITHER women OR men fluctuate depending on where they were in the lifecycle?

### General Reading

\*J. A. Stodnick and R. R. Trilling (eds), *A handbook of Anglo-Saxon studies* (Hoboken, 2012), chs 3, 8, 12, 17.

J. H. Smith, 'Introduction', in L. Brubaker and J. H. Smith (eds), *Gender in the early medieval world* (Cambridge, 2004).

D. M. Hadley, *Masculinity in medieval Europe* (1999), introduction.

### I. Anglo-Saxon Queens

*[Queens are (and were) the most visible women in Anglo-Saxon England. They are a microcosm of a v. early medieval problem: the people we know best are often the least representative of society as a whole. Nevertheless, as lightning rods for high politics, they can still provide us with a sense of broader views about women's roles and life courses, esp. as feminist scholars now emphasise a need to recover the multiplicity of those roles and lives (rather than seeking a singular 'Anglo-Saxon woman'); and that political role is in itself a fascinating subject of study. This section is focused in particular on Emma and Edith, who were the patrons of two superb narratives sympathetic to their political aims; but feel free to explore late Anglo-Saxon queenship more broadly; the work of Pauline Stafford will help considerably.]*

### Primary Texts

*Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell, Camden Third Series 72 (London, 1949) repr. by S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1998)

*Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992)

### General

## Queenship volume

- \*P. Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex, 800–1066', *Past and Present* 91 (1981)
- P. Stafford, 'Queens and Queenship', in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c. 500–c. 1100*, ed. P. Stafford (Oxford, 2013), pp. 459–76
- \*P. Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Past and Present* 163 (1999), 3–35.
- M.A. Meyer, 'The Queen's demesne in later Anglo-Saxon England', in M.A. Meyer (ed.), *Culture of Christendom* (London, 1993).

## Edith and Emma

- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [easily accessible online]: Simon Keynes, 'Emma (d. 1052)' [wife of Æthelred II and Cnut, mother of Edward the Confessor]; Ann Williams, 'Edith (d. 1075)' [wife of Edward the Confessor, daughter of Earl Godwine].
- \*P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997). [if you can't get hold of, let me know; various essays/articles where she presents these arguments]
  - \*S. Keynes, 'Introduction to the 1998 Reprint: Queen Emma and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell, Camden Third Series 72 (London, 1949) repr. by S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1998), pp. i–lxxxvii.

## The Texts

- E.M. Tyler, 'The Vita Ædwardi: the politics of poetry at Wilton Abbey' *ANS* 31 (2008).
- E.M. Tyler, 'Fictions of the family: the Encomium Emmae Reginae and Virgil's Aeneid, *Viator* 36 (2005); \*'Talking about history in eleventh-century England: the Encomium Emmae Reginae and the court of Harthacnut', *Early Medieval Europe* 13:4 (2005), 359–83.
- J.L. Grassi, 'The Vita Ædwardi Regis: the hagiographer as insider', *ANS* 26 (2003).
- \*F. Lifshitz, 'The Encomium Emmae Reginae: a 'Political Pamphlet' of the Eleventh Century?', *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989), 39–50.

## II. Women and monasticism in the seventh and eighth centuries

[The double monasteries of the seventh and eighth centuries provide numerous fascinating case studies of women in positions of power; more broadly, the efforts of Christian writers to set guidelines for how pious individuals should act—what Lees and Overing call the 'disciplining' of a 'Christian subject'—give us unparalleled access to how some (and that's the key word) contemporaries understood what it might mean to be female in early Anglo-Saxon society. Unsurprisingly, critics have read these texts v. closely for evidence of female agency and social/cultural constraints; it is worth noting the evolution of views esp. on prominent abbesses, which in many ways parallel the development of women's/gender history more broadly.]

Bede, *HE*, various stories in book IV.

*The Life of Wilfrid* (see esp. sections on Hild).

Aldhelm, *De virginitate*, esp. i–xix, lviii–lix; if get really interested, look at some lives; in M. Lapidge and M. W. Herren (eds) *Aldhelm: the prose works* (Cambridge, 1979).



See chapter on 'Women' in *Handbook Anglo-Saxon Studies*.

\*S. Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon women and the church* (Woodbridge, 1992), introduction, chs 3, 5-6, 8 (useful readings of various texts, but read with critical reviews through SOLO).

\*S. Foot, *Veiled women I* (Aldershot, 2000), chs 1-2 (pp. 21-60 for this period, but worth reading pp. 1-20, too).

B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon royal houses* (London, 2003).

L.M. Bitel, *Isle of the saints: monastic settlement and Christian community in early Ireland* (Ithaca, NY, 1990).

C. Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland c.450–1150* (Oxford, 2002).

B. Yorke, "'Sisters under the skin'? Anglo-Saxon nuns and nunneries in southern England', in A. K. Bate and M. Barber (ed.) *Medieval women in southern England* (Reading, 1989).

\*P. Wormald, 'Appendix: Hild, saint and scholar (614-680)', in *The times of Bede, 625-865* (Oxford, 2006).

\*C. A. Lees and G. Overing, 'Before history, before difference: bodies, metaphor and the church in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 11 (1998).

C. A. Lees and G. Overing, *Double agents: women and ecclesiastical culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001), esp. ch. 1.

### III. Material culture

*[Archaeologists of post-Roman Britain have started to wake up to the fact that people with genders were buried in the cemeteries they have mined for data on ethnic groups, and that that might just have mattered for how and why an individual was buried as they were. These studies consider how burials might reveal gender norms: both in the practice of burial itself and—perhaps?—in reflecting the society of the living.]*

\*H. Hamerow et al (eds) *Oxford handbook of Anglo-Saxon archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), chs by Owen-Crocker and Lucy.

N. Stoodley, *The spindle and the spear* (Oxford, 1999).

P. Walton Rogers, *Cloth and clothing in early Anglo-Saxon England, AD 450-700* (York, 2007).

H. Hamerow, 'Furnished female burial in seventh-century England: gender and sacral authority in the conversion period', *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016) 423-47.

\*D. M. Hadley, 'Warriors, heroes, and companions: negotiating masculinity in Viking-Age England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15 (2008) 270-84.

D. M. Hadley, 'Negotiating gender, family and status in Anglo-Saxon burial practices, c. 600-950' in Brubaker and Smith, *Gender*.

### IV. Masculinity

*[These studies rather more chronologically and thematically dispersed than other sections; the study of masculinity is quite a recent development in the Academy in general, and in early medieval history in particular. The material culture section will also be useful, esp. Lucy, Stoodley and Hadley on the burial archaeology.]*

\*See 'Masculinity' in *Handbook Anglo-Saxon Studies*.

\*D. M. Hadley, *Masculinity in medieval Europe* (1999), introduction, chs 3 and 5, as well as ch. 8 by Nelson—not on England per se, but minor classic (with Alfredian cameo).

P. Stafford, 'Succession and inheritance: a gendered perspective on Alfred's family history', in T. Reuter (ed.) *Alfred the Great* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 251-64.

\*P. H. Cullum and K. J. Lewis, *Holiness and masculinity in the middle ages* (Cardiff, 2004), chs 2 and 10 (Pettit and Christie).

C. A. Lees, 'Men and Beowulf', in C. A. Lees et al (eds) *Medieval masculinities* (Minneapolis, MN, 1994), pp. 140-48.

C. Rhodes, "'What, after all, is a male virgin? Multiple performances of male virginity in Anglo-Saxon saints' lives', in E. L'Estrange and A. More (eds) *Representing medieval genders and sexualities in Europe* (London, 2011) pp. 27-42.

Good luck!

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